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THE BIBLE HAND-BOOK

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THE BIBLE HAND-BOOK
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SACRED SCRIPTURE

BY THE LATE

JOSEPH ANGUS, M.A., D.D.

A NEW EDITION, THOROUGHLY REVISED
AND IN PART RE-WRITTEN

BY

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'HANDBOOK OF CHURCH HISTORY,' ETC. ETC.

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PREFACE

MORE than a half-century has passed since the publication, in 1853, of Dr. Angus's *Bible Handbook*. The discoveries and research of the intervening years have furthered our knowledge of the Bible in a degree perhaps unequalled by any previous period, and the results have appeared in a wealth of literature accessible to the English student.

For some years before his death in 1902 it had been the intention of Dr. Angus himself to undertake a new edition of his work, a desire accentuated by his own share in the Revised Version of the New Testament issued in 1881. That the task has fallen into other hands must inevitably mean loss, especially in unity of treatment. But it is believed that the *Handbook* still holds unchallenged the place it has made for itself among aids to the interpretation of the Scriptures, by the bold comprehensiveness of its plan, carried out with rare combination of scholarship and profound reverence for the Bible as the inspired and authoritative Word of God.

In this reissue the original plan has been retained, with some rearrangement, substantially unaltered. The matter of the book however has been freely dealt with. While large portions most characteristic of the author's

standpoint and purpose have been kept, with but slight revision, much else has been rewritten or added in view of later scholarship, and much omitted under necessities of space. The book is, therefore, a combination of old and new, and here and there the seams may possibly be apparent. Yet it is hoped that even students of the old *Handbook* will welcome the new, and that after more than fifty years of usefulness it may, in spite of the inevitable limitations under which this revision has been conducted, fulfil still more amply the aim stated in the original Preface, 'to teach men to understand and appreciate The Bible.'

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PART I

THE BIBLE AS A BOOK

Its Characteristics, Literary History, and Interpretation

'I use the Scriptures not as an arsenal to be resorted to only for arms and weapons . . . but as a matchless temple, where I delight to contemplate the beauty, the symmetry, and the magnificence of the structure ; and to increase my awe and excite my devotion to the Deity there preached and adored.'—BOYLE: *On the Style of Scripture*, 3rd obj. 8.

'Scarcely can we fix our eyes upon a single passage in this wonderful book which has not afforded comfort or instruction to thousands, and been met with tears of penitential sorrow or grateful joy drawn from eyes that will weep no more.'—PAYSON: *The Bible above all Price.*

'This lamp, from off the everlasting throne,
Mercy took down, and in the night of time
Stood, casting on the dark her gracious bow,
And evermore beseeching men with tears
And earnest sighs, to hear, believe, and live.'—POLLOK.

The Bible as a Book

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

1. The Claims of the Bible.—Even as a literary composition, the sacred Scriptures form the most remarkable book the world has ever seen. They are of high antiquity. They contain a record of events of the deepest interest. The history of their influence is the history of civilization. The wisest and best of mankind have borne witness to their power as an instrument of enlightenment and of holiness; and having been prepared by men who 'spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost[a],' to reveal 'the only true God and Him Whom He did send, even Jesus Christ[b],' they have on this ground the strongest claims upon our attentive and reverential regard.

The use of a handbook of Scripture requires **one or two cautions,** which both writer and readers need to keep before them.

2. First, we are not to contemplate this glorious fabric of Divine truth *as spectators only.* It is not our business to stand before Scripture and admire it: but to stand within, that we may believe and obey it. In the way of inward communion and obedience only shall we see the beauty of its treasures. It yields them to none but the loving and the humble. We must enter and unite ourselves with that which we would know, before we can know it more than in name[c].

[a] 2 Pet 1^{21} R. V. [b] Jn 17^{3} R. V. [c] Pr 2^{2-5} Jn 7^{17}.

3. Secondly, the study of a help to Scripture must not be confounded with *the study of Scripture itself.* Such helps may teach us to look at truth so as to see its position and proportions, but it is the entrance of truth alone which gives light. The road we are about to travel may prove attractive and pleasing, but its great attraction is its end. It leads to the 'wells of salvation.' To suppose that the journey, or the sight of the living water—perhaps, even of the place whence it springs—will quench our thirst, is to betray most mournful self-deceit or the profoundest ignorance. Our aim—'the sabbath and port of our labours'—is to make more clear and impressive the Book of God, 'the god of books,' as it has been called, the Bible itself.

4. Titles.—The names by which this volume is designated are THE BIBLE or THE SCRIPTURES: it is divided into THE OLD TESTAMENT and THE NEW TESTAMENT, while the Old Testament or parts of it are referred to in the New as THE LAW or THE LAW AND THE PROPHETS.

5. Bible.—The term BIBLE, *book*, is one which affirms two things, unity and pre-eminence. We use it as a singular, 'Book' not 'Books,' and without any distinguishing adjective. The Bible is one book, and in a sense is the only book. The appropriateness of such a title can hardly be questioned: this conception of oneness through all its parts, of unity amid diversity, has been endorsed by the Christian consciousness and has had far-reaching influence.

It is curious that this title should have been due in part to a mistake. 'Bible' is the English form of the name given to the Latin Scriptures, *Biblia*. This also is a singular, but, in turn, it is the Latin form of the Greek word *βιβλία*, which is not singular, but the plural of *βιβλίον*, *book*, a diminutive of *βίβλος*, a name given to the outer coat of the papyrus reed. This was stripped off and glued together to form writing material: thus, by transference from material to the use made of it, *βίβλος* came to mean *book* and *βιβλίον a little book*. (So in Latin 'liber' first means *bark*, then *book*; the diminutive 'libellus' is *a little book*; our English *libel* suggests the use sometimes made of little books

or pamphlets as the vehicle of abuse and calumny.) In the New Testament the terms *βίβλος* and *βιβλίον* are applied to a single book of the Old Testament or to such a group as the Pentateuch [a]. In the Old Testament we find the plural used of the Prophets [b], and once in the Apocrypha [c] the Old Testament generally is spoken of as 'the holy books.' It was this plural use that passed over into the Christian Church: from the middle of the second century the Scriptures are spoken of as 'the books,' the 'holy,' 'divine' or 'canonical books.' The same notion of plurality rather than unity is seen in another term applied to the Scriptures by certain of the Latin Fathers and later writers, Bibliotheca, 'Library' or the 'Divine Library.' But when once the Greek plural noun *βιβλία* was adopted in Latin, its original force was forgotten. Biblia in grammatical form may be either a neuter plural or a feminine singular: the growing conception of unity in the sacred writings helped to its interpretation as a singular and so, by error, out of biblia, *books*, came biblia, *book*, i. e. Bible. In our study of the Bible we may need to return to the primitive and proper significance of the term, considering first the parts rather than the whole. But we may also thankfully retain the changed significance as one that has wonderfully helped to give sharpness and fixity to the conception of one Word of God, constant and uniform amid all the separateness and diversity of His words to men. The Bible is at once a Library and a Book.

6. Scriptures.—The name applied in the New Testament to the books of the Old Testament collectively is *αἱ γραφαί*, *the writings*, or in Latin The Scriptures [d]. Once we find the phrase 'holy scriptures [e],' and once, with a different form of the Greek word, 'sacred writings [f].'

When the singular occurs, it is with reference not to the whole but to some particular passage, e. g. 'To-day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears [g],' following a quotation from Is 61. The collective use of 'Scripture,' familiar to us and embodying the sense of oneness already referred to, was still in the making. The earlier usage is *writings*, *books*: the later, though not the less true, is Scripture, Bible.

7. Testament.—The application of the term Testament carries us beyond the simple fact of books or writings to some indication of their main theme. Woven into the very

[a] Mk 12^{26} Lu 4^{17} 20^{42}. [b] Dn 9^{6}. [c] 1 Mac 12^{9}.
[d] Mt 21^{42} 22^{29} Jn 5^{39}. [e] Ro 1^{2}. [f] 2 Tim 3^{15} R. V.
[g] Lu 4^{21}: see also Mk 12^{10} Jn $7^{38.42}$.

texture of the Old Testament is the idea of a COVENANT between God and man. First made with Noah, repeated with Abraham, renewed with Israel on the deliverance from Egypt, symbolized in the Ark of the Covenant, it recurs again and again throughout history, psalm, and prophecy, as the relation into which God entered with His chosen people. In Jeremiah, prophecy reaches its height in the sublime prediction of the new covenant, a prediction declared by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews to be fulfilled in Jesus Christ[a]. The phrase, New Covenant, was appropriated by Christ at the Last Supper, and is claimed by Paul as the substance of the ministry to which he was called[b]. This distinction of a new covenant involved a contrast with the old, and it was but a step to speak of the Jewish Scriptures as pertaining to the old covenant. Thus Paul refers to the Pentateuch in the words, 'at the reading of the old covenant[c].' As the Gospels and other apostolic writings gradually took their place as Scripture they were distinguished by the name of 'the new covenant,' a usage established by the beginning of the third century, when Origen can speak of 'the Divine Scriptures, the so-called Old and New Covenants.'

The Hebrew term for covenant, *bĕrīth*, is rendered in the Greek Old Testament by *διαθήκη*, and this is the word used in the New Testament writings and afterwards applied to the collection of the New Testament books, *ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη*, 'the New Covenant.' The Latin Vulgate renders this by *Novum Testamentum*, whence our title, New Testament. If the Latin *testamentum* were the equivalent of *διαθήκη*, *covenant*, no more would need to be said. But, properly, it is not; nor is it certain that centuries of usage have quite succeeded in fixing this alien meaning upon the title. The Greek *διαθήκη* has a double meaning, (1) disposition, will, testament, (2) covenant: the student may note how in Heb 9^{15-17} the writer avails himself of this double force to illustrate a twofold significance of the death of Christ, as ratifying a covenant and as securing an inheritance[d]. The Latin *testamentum*

[a] Jer 31^{31-34} Heb 8^{6-13} 10^{15-17}. [b] Lu 22^{20} 1 Cor 11^{25} 2 Cor 3^{6}.
[c] 2 Cor 3^{14} R. V. [d] R. V. mg.

has only the former of these meanings : it is the proper rendering of διαθήκη, *will*, not of διαθήκη, *covenant*. In the Latin New Testament, however, perhaps because of this passage in Hebrews, it is employed in this second sense in place of the more correct Old Testament rendering of *bĕrīth* by *fœdus* or *pactum*, and so came to be the title of the completed book.

8. The Law and the Prophets.—The books of the Old Testament fall into several divisions, the grouping of the English version differing from that of the original.

The Hebrew Scriptures are divided into—The Law (*Tōrāh*), The Prophets (*Nēbhīim*), The Writings (*Kĕthūbhīm*). This last division was, by a pardonable paraphrase, rendered by the Greek translators *Hagiographa*, sacred writings.

Among the Prophets are reckoned in a separate class certain of the historical books. It will be noticed that the number of books in the Hebrew Bible is considerably less than in the English Old Testament, twenty-four against thirty-nine. This is because the following are reckoned as one book each—1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, the twelve Minor Prophets.

Thus the grouping of the Hebrew Scriptures is as follows :—

Law.

1 Genesis 2 Exodus 3 Leviticus
4 Numbers 5 Deuteronomy

Prophets.

Former. 6 Joshua 7 Judges 8 Samuel 9 Kings
Latter. 10 Isaiah 11 Jeremiah 12 Ezekiel 13 The Twelve

Writings (*Hagiographa*).

14 Psalms 15 Proverbs 16 Job

17 Song of Songs
18 Ruth
19 Lamentations
20 Ecclesiastes
21 Esther
} The five Rolls (Megillōth)

22 Daniel 23 Ezra and Nehemiah 24 Chronicles

The five *Megilloth* are so called because each was written on a roll for reading at Jewish festivals, the Song of Songs at Passover, Ruth at the Feast of Weeks or Pentecost, Ecclesiastes at the Feast of Tabernacles, Esther at the Feast of Purim, while Lamentations was recited on the anniversary of the destruction of Jerusalem.

There was also current a grouping into twenty-two books, given by Josephus and adopted by Jerome. It joins Ruth to Judges and Lamentations to Jeremiah, and is probably intended to correspond to the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet.

The grouping of the English version follows that of the Latin Vulgate, which in turn is based upon that of the Septuagint (LXX) or Greek version, which receives its name from the tradition of its seventy (septuaginta) translators. The division is obviously according to subject-matter, viz. Law (five books), History (twelve books), Poetry (five books), and Prophecy (seventeen books). A glance at the grouping of the Hebrew books will show that its principle is not so obvious. Probably the three divisions mark three stages in the process of collecting the sacred writings—in other words, in the history of the Canon. The earliest Jewish Bible was the Law, the five books of Moses or Pentateuch. Later on, this expanded into the 'Law and the Prophets': later still, a final group was recognized as of Divine authority, its general title suggesting the miscellaneous character of its contents; and the Canon was complete—Law, Prophets, and Writings.

The New Testament references to this ancient grouping of the Jewish Scriptures are interesting. The first division is referred to as 'The Law' in places where there is clearly an allusion to or a quotation from the Pentateuch[a]. But in accordance with the peculiar reverence attached by the Jews to this portion of the sacred writings, the term *Law* becomes a designation of Old Testament Scripture generally, and is so used in reference to citations from the Psalms[b] and from Isaiah[c].

A fuller title for the Old Testament combines the first two of its

[a] Mt 12^5 22^{36} Lu 10^{26}. [b] Jn 10^{34} 12^{34} 15^{25}. [c] 1 Cor 14^{21}.

three divisions, 'The Law and the Prophets[a].' Only once is there a distinct reference to the threefold grouping: 'that all things must needs be fulfilled which are written in the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms concerning me[b].' Here either 'the Psalms,' as the first book of the Hagiographa, stands for the whole of the third division, or our Lord adds to the Law and the Prophets the one other Old Testament book which is most familiar and precious, as well as clearest in its Messianic prediction.

9. Canon.—The twenty-four books of the Hebrew Scriptures, or the thirty-nine of the English version, constitute what is termed the *Canon* of the Old Testament. Each book is spoken of as *Canonical* (in distinction, as will be explained, from books that are regarded as *Apocryphal*): the terms are similarly applied to the New Testament. Thus the *Canon* of Scripture means the complete collection of the books which are regarded as of Divine authority.

The word *Canon* is Greek (*κανών*) and means literally a straight rod, rule or measure: this essential idea of *straightness* is easily discernible in other words from the same root, e. g. cane, canal, cannon. The term came into metaphorical use, and by a transference of meaning common in the history of words was applied not only to that which measures, but to that which is so measured. Thus we speak of the canons of art, of taste, of grammar, and so forth. A canon of the Church is so called, not because the lesser clergy are expected to mould their lives on the pattern and measure of his, but because he was originally a member of a clergy house, a community of which all the members were bound to conform to a certain rule of faith and conduct: the word was transferred from the rule to the man who was subject to the rule.

In its primary metaphorical sense of a standard rule of faith, the word occurs in the New Testament: 'as many as shall walk by this rule (*κανών*), peace be upon them[c].' It may have been in this most appropriate sense that in the fourth century the word came to be applied to Scripture, as containing the authoritative *Rule* by which human thought and life are to be moulded. But it was the Church that under Divine guidance formed the Canon, determining only after ages of doubt and debate what books should be received as Scripture and what rejected. Hence it is probable that we must

[a] Mt 5^{17} 7^{12} 22^{40} Lu 16^{29} 24^{27} Ro 3^{21}. [b] Lu 24^{44} P.V.
[c] Gal 6^{16}: see also 2 Cor $10^{13,15,16}$.

rather look to the secondary sense of the word, and suppose that the books were first termed Canonical, not as *ruling*, but as *ruled*, i. e. declared by authority of the Church to be of Divine inspiration. To *canonize* a book was to include it by ecclesiastical sanction among the books of Holy Scripture.

10. Apocrypha.—The Latin Vulgate, the Bible of the Roman Church, contains the following books in addition to those of the Hebrew Canon: Tobit; Judith; Esther 10^4–16^{24}; The Wisdom of Solomon; The Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach or Ecclesiasticus; Baruch; The Song of the Three Holy Children, The History of Susanna, Bel and the Dragon (these three are additions to the Book of Daniel); The Prayer of Manasses, 3 and 4 Esdras (these three are placed at the end of the New Testament; 1 and 2 Esdras of the Vulgate are the canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah); 1 and 2 Maccabees.

These additions are derived from the Greek (Septuagint) Version, though with some differences in detail both as to amount and arrangement. Broadly speaking, the Apocrypha is the excess of the Latin Vulgate over the Hebrew Old Testament. The sixth Article of the Church of England, after enumerating the canonical books (Ezra and Nehemiah being cited as 1 and 2 Esdras), prefaces a list of these additional books with these words, 'And the other books (as Hierome saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine.'

This limitation of the use of the word Apocrypha is convenient, but does some violence both to the original meaning of the word and to the character of certain of the writings to which it is applied. It means literally *hidden away* (ἀπόκρυφα), and properly designates books dealing with what is secret, mysterious, occult. The remains of later Jewish and of early Christian literature afford examples of works of an apocalyptic character, dealing with the mysteries of the spirit world and revealing in symbol and allegory the future of Israel. Instances are the Book of Enoch[a], the Assumption of Moses, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Ascension of Isaiah. It was, indeed, from

[a] Ju ^{14}.

very early times a common practice of religious and philosophical sects to have their secret literature, books for the initiated, literally hidden away from all but the elect. In sharp distinction from all such esoteric teaching, Christianity claimed to be for all men. There are traces in the New Testament of this antithesis, in the studied association of the word *mystery* (*μυστήριον*) with the opposite idea of revelation or knowledge[a], in Paul's contention with those at Corinth who loved a hidden wisdom[b], and especially in the declaration to the Colossians that in Christ are all the treasures of knowledge and wisdom hidden away (*ἀπόκρυφοι*)[c]. There is no knowledge hidden away except in Him, and He may be known by all.

Now, since publicity and accessibility to all are obvious marks of truth, while what is false and fraudulent loves the darkness, *apocryphal* easily passed from its sense of *hidden away* to that of *spurious*, and so came to be applied to books whose claim to a place in the Christian Bible was disallowed. In Reformation times it was definitely so applied to the books contained in the Vulgate but excluded from the Hebrew Canon, and to this opposition to *canonical* it lent the disparagement which attached to its use in connexion with the Jewish and Jewish-Christian occult apocalyptic literature already referred to, and with the apocryphal Gospels. But the Reformed Church regarded the uncanonical books as valuable 'for example of life and instruction of manners,' though not of authority in matters of faith. Some of them are of high value, literary, historical, and ethical; notably 1 Maccabees and Ecclesiasticus. The Apocrypha is to be regarded as holding an intermediate place, in parts higher, in parts lower, between inspired Scripture and that secret apocalyptic literature to which the name originally attached. See further, Part II, Ch. XVII.

[a] Mt 13^{11} Col 1^{26}. [b] 1 Cor 1, 2. [c] Col 2^{3}.

CHAPTER II

THE OLD TESTAMENT: LANGUAGE, CANON, TRANSMISSION, VERSIONS

11. External features of the Old Testament.—Before dealing with the Old Testament as Scripture it is necessary to inquire what it is as a book, and how on the human side it came to be. What is the language in which it was written? It consists of many books widely separated in date: when and how were these brought together? How may we be assured that the books have come down to us as they were written? These questions of Language, Canon, and Text are prior to that deeper study suggested by the inspired declaration that God of old time spake 'unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners,' and that 'men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost.'

The Language of the Old Testament

12. The English versions of the Old Testament, the A. V. of 1611 and the R. V. of 1885, are of course translations from the **Hebrew**. There are other earlier versions which are of great importance, especially the Septuagint (begun in the third century B.C.) and the later Greek versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, as well as the Old Latin, and Jerome's Vulgate (*c.* A.D. 400), partly a revision of this, and partly a new translation. But the actual Old Testament is the twenty-four books as they are preserved in the original Hebrew, and to them a first-hand study must always direct itself.

13. The Hebrew language was the language of the Hebrews or Israelites during their independence. The people themselves were known among other nations by the name of Hebrews and Jews, not by the name of Israelites. The epithet of Hebrew, however, applied to their language, occurs first in the Prologue to the apocryphal Book of Ecclesiasticus (*c.* B.C. 130). Josephus also uses the term Hebrew language (Γλῶσσα τῶν Ἑβραίων) of the old Hebrew, and this is the uniform meaning of the phrase in his writings. The Targums call the Hebrew 'the sacred tongue,' and in the Old Testament it is called the 'lip of Canaan[a],' or the 'Jews' language[b].'

14. Canaanitish.—That the Hebrew language was the common tongue of Canaan and Phœnicia is indicated by such monuments of the Canaanitish dialects as we possess, especially the glosses on the Tel el-Amarna tablets (fifteenth century B.C.), borrowed Semitic words found in Egyptian papyri of a still earlier date, and a few Phœnician inscriptions.

The silence of Scripture as to any difference between the language of Canaanites and of Hebrews is also noteworthy. They both dwelt in the land, and yet no difference of speech is noticed, though the difference between the language of Hebrew and Egyptian (Ps 81^5 114^1) is recognized, and even between the Hebrew and cognate languages; as in the case of the Aramaic used by the Assyrians (Is 36^{11}), and of the Eastern Aramaic used by the Chaldees (Jer 5^{15}).

15. Aramaic admixture.—Hebrew, then, may be regarded as the Israelitish dialect of the Canaanitish language. But Israel was surrounded by peoples speaking the cognate Aramaic, the language of Aram, a district including northern Mesopotamia, Syria, and a large portion of Arabia Petræa. The pressure of these Semitic tribes was increased after the fall of Samaria and disappearance of the Northern Kingdom (B.C. 722), and Hebrew began to suffer a process of decay

[a] Is 19^{18} mg. [b] Is 36^{13} 2 Ki 18^{26-28}.

which ended in its extinction as a spoken language. It was still the language of Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah (13^{24}), about B.C. 430, but long before the time of Christ it had been entirely superseded by Aramaic, and its literature was intelligible only to scholars.

16. This Aramæan or Aramaic, like Hebrew, is of Semitic origin. From a very early date it was probably spoken in the vernacular in Babylon and Assyria, even while Assyrian was the official language. Some few inscriptions in this old Aramaic still remain. The language spread widely, ultimately dispossessing Hebrew in Palestine itself. It was the language commonly spoken by Christ and His Apostles. Its most important literary remains are, portions of the Old Testament (Ezr 4^{8}–6^{18}, 7^{12-26}; Dn 2^{4}–7^{28}) and the Jewish Targums or Paraphrases of the Old Testament books. The term SYRIAC is properly applied to the Aramaic of Edessa in Western Mesopotamia, where the language received a literary form. But by usage the term came to cover other Aramaic dialects, including the vernacular of Palestine. The important Syriac versions of the New Testament will be dealt with later.

The term **Chaldee** is sometimes applied to the Aramaic portions of the Old Testament, and is so used by Jerome, but incorrectly. The Chaldæans pursued for ages a hostile immigration into Babylonia from the south, and finally won the kingdom, Chaldæa becoming by the sixth century B.C. identical with Babylonia. The Chaldee language was the Babylonian cuneiform, almost the same as that of Assyria. The only correct term for these Old Testament passages is Aramaic.

17. Of all Semitic languages the **Arabic** has by far the richest modern literature: and next to the Hebrew it is the most important. It is still spoken in a large portion of Asia, and in part of Africa. The two chief dialects of it are the Himyaritic, formerly spoken in Yemen, and now extinct, and the Coreitic, spoken in the north-west of Arabia, and especially at Mecca. This was a spoken language long

before the time of Mohammed, and is still the popular dialect. The old Arabic differs from this language in its forms, which are more various, and in its matter, which is more copious.

18. A colony of Arabians, speaking the Himyaritic, early settled on the opposite side of the Red Sea in Ethiopia, and introduced their language into that country. This language, modified by time and circumstances, is the ancient **Ethiopic,** which is closely related to the Arabic. The district where it was spoken is the modern Abyssinia, and Amharic, or Giz, is the present language of the people.

19. All these Semitic languages are of value in guiding the student of the Old Testament to an accurate knowledge of the original tongue, and no Hebrew Lexicon can be regarded as a satisfactory authority unless compiled with a constant reference to the meaning of the roots of Hebrew words in the cognate tongues. It is upon the knowledge and use of these tongues that the superiority of modern lexicographers chiefly depends.

20. History of the Hebrew.—The Hebrew language undoubtedly underwent modifications in the period covered by the Old Testament writings. Attempts have been made to mark off successive stages in this development and to assign certain books to certain periods on linguistic grounds. The data, however, are too scanty and too uncertain for this to be done with any confidence. Some books contain Persian and Aramaic words which suggest a late date, as well as other common elements which may be regarded as characteristic of 'New Hebrew.' To this post-classical period are generally assigned the Books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Ecclesiastes, and Daniel. The golden age, or classical period, is best exhibited in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Deuteronomy. Of the ante-classical or early Hebrew too little is known to warrant confident statements as to the date of Old Testament writings.

The Canon of the Old Testament

21. History of the Old Testament Canon.—The meaning of the term *Canon* and the actual contents of the Old Testament Canon have already been dealt with[a]. The question now arises, how did the books come together? What evidence have we as to the age in which the Canon was formed and as to the authority by which the inclusion or exclusion of individual writings was determined? Is the Canon in its completeness due to a single epoch and a single decision of the Church, or may we distinguish the different stages of its beginnings, its extension, and its close?

It is important to keep this inquiry within its proper historical limits. It does not ignore the Divine control; indeed, its issue is to bring this element in the case into sharp relief; but its immediate concern is with the human facts. It recognizes that each of the canonical books possesses a quality which determined its acceptance. A book is not raised to the dignity and authority of Scripture by the Church's acceptance of it: it was accepted because first perceived to be of Divine origin, and, theoretically at least, the same insight may yet lead to the widening or the narrowing of the Canon. Questions of authenticity and inspiration lie in the background, but for the present they must be kept there. An historical fact lies before us in a completed Old Testament Canon: our business is, if we can, to date that fact and to trace the earlier historical facts in which it has its explanation. It will be seen that the evidence is of a fragmentary nature. A few outstanding facts must be pieced together into a consistent narrative by the help of scattered indications; even the probabilities of the case must be relied on where direct testimony is wanting.

[a] See §§ 8, 9.

22. General Considerations.—There are certain general considerations which may help us to interpret the evidences for the formation of the Canon.

1. The Canon is the result of *a gradual growth*. Ecclesiastical authority did not create it: all it could do was to give formal sanction and fixity to that collection of writings which had gradually won recognition as Divine.

Several indications converge upon this natural probability of gradual formation.

a. It is suggested, as already pointed out, by the threefold division of the Canon. The Law stands first, not only because it deals with the beginnings of Jewish history, but because the Pentateuch formed the first collection of books recognized as of Divine authority. The group known as the Writings, or Hagiographa, owes its general title and the varied character of its contents to the fact that it represents the final stage in the canonization of the Jewish sacred books.

b. It is certain that Ezra had some part in the formation of the Canon. But as the Canon includes the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah he must have left it incomplete.

c. Ezra gave the people 'the Book of the Law of Moses[a]'. The title and other indications in the narrative make it probable that this was the Pentateuch only.

d. This priority of the Law in a gradual process of canonization is confirmed by the exceptional reverence which the Jews have always attached to this portion of their sacred writings. This appears in the later parts of the Old Testament itself, Psalm 119 being a conspicuous example. The last of the Prophets admonishes the people almost in his final words, 'Remember ye the law of Moses My servant.' When we turn to the New Testament we find the Old Testament generally quoted as the Law[b]. The perplexity of the Sadducees as to the resurrection and our Lord's choice of a proof-text[c] are more easily understood, if we may suppose that this sect not only rejected the authority of oral tradition, but exalted the Law in their estimate of the Old Testament writings.

e. The Samaritan Temple on Mount Gerizim was founded by Manasseh, grandson of Eliashib, a renegade Jewish priest expelled by Nehemiah. To this day the Samaritan Bible consists of the Pentateuch only. An explanation of this fact would be that at the time of the rupture the only Jewish Scriptures which had been formally

[a] Ne 8^{1}. [b] See § 8. [c] Mt 22^{23-33}.

'canonized' were the five books of the Law. This is confirmed by the archaic characters in which the Samaritan Pentateuch is written (see § 28, 2, *Versions*).

2. The beginnings of the Canon are not to be confounded with *the beginnings of Hebrew sacred literature*. The writings must first be there before that process of selection could begin which would issue in a Canon of Scripture having religious authority. To *canonize* a book—the word belongs to Christian times, but the fact is pertinent to the Old Testament Canon—meant (1) the recognition that its teaching was in a unique sense Divine ; (2) the consequent ascription to it of a religious authority by a community or its leaders. See § 9. It is quite possible that writings of this sort might exist for ages in a community overlooked, or even forgotten, until some national crisis might awaken the people to discern anew their value, and bring home the need of separating them, and of putting upon them this seal of Divine authority.

3. A book may have had *a long literary history* before its admission into the Canon. This is perhaps most obvious in regard to the Book of Psalms. Many of those inspired songs were certainly held to be of Divine authority before all were written, and therefore before the Psalter as a whole was 'canonized.' In other books we may clearly discern the inclusion of fragmentary material, venerable for its antiquity.

In the Pentateuch are imbedded separate codes of Law which in all probability are older than the books in which they appear. A store of national religious poetry is indicated by the Song of Deborah, the Song of Moses and the Children of Israel after the crossing of the Red Sea, the Dirge of David over Saul. The titles of two such collections are preserved in 'The Book of the Wars of the Lord' Num 21^{14} and 'The Book of Jasher' (the Upright) Jos 10^{13}, 2 Sa 1^{18}. History was preserved in the same way : the historical books contain references to such earlier chronicles as 'The history of Samuel the seer and the history of Nathan the prophet and the history of Gad the seer' 1 Ch 29^{29} R. V. : 'The Book of the Acts of Solomon' 1 Ki 11^{41}, 'The histories

of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the seer' 2 Ch 12[15], and others. The prophetical books, again, are obviously collections of utterances separately spoken and separately preserved. Behind the books of the Old Testament we may frequently discern an earlier literature, the primitive records in song, law, history, prophecy, of the nation's life and the nation's faith. And we may recognize in the making of an Old Testament book the three stages—the primitive material, the editing into present literary form, and the canonization or final acceptance as Scripture. It need hardly be added that to acknowledge this principle of literary growth neither impairs the Divine authority of the books nor involves the extravagant analysis of some modern imaginative criticism.

23. The Canon in Christian times.—The Jewish literature of the second century A. D. shows clearly that the Canon was then complete, though the right of some few books to a place in it was not free from criticism.

The earliest decisive witness is that of the Jewish historian **Josephus,** who about A. D. 90 writes[a]: 'For we have not (i. e. as the Greeks have) myriads of books disagreeing and contradicting one another, but only twenty-two . . . justly believed in. And of these, five are the books of Moses which comprise the laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind till his death. . . . The prophets who were after Moses wrote down what was done in their times in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life.' The 'twenty-two' is probably reached as explained in § 8. In the context Josephus gives emphatic expression to the reverence with which his countrymen regard their collections of sacred writings, no one venturing 'to add or to remove or to alter a syllable.' By this time, then, the Canon was virtually settled. The testimony of Josephus is the more striking because he is writing in Greek to Greeks. Both he and they were familiar with the LXX version, which, as we have seen, contains the apocryphal books. But writing as the spokesman of his nation he expressly limits the Old Testament Canon to the writings contained in the Hebrew Scriptures. And his evidence leads us to look for the mark of canonicity, rather in long recognition of these books as ancient and as divinely inspired than in some formal ecclesiastical decision. At the same time, it is probable that such a decision, endorsing received opinion, was pronounced at the Council of Jamnia, near Jaffa, the chief centre of Palestinian Judaism after the fall of Jerusalem. The scattering of the nation and destruction of the Temple might well lead to increased care for the sacred writings.

[a] *Against Apion*, I. 8.

It is certain that about A.D. 90 there were debates at Jamnia, of which the outcome was to give greater fixity to the Canon.

Of its virtual completion long before this date of A.D. 90 we have decisive evidence in the New Testament. There is no need, and this is not the place, to speak of the reverence accorded by Christ and His Apostles to the Old Testament Scriptures, or of the extent to which, both in direct quotation and in allusion, they pervade the whole of the New Testament. This recognition of inspired 'oracles of God' is indubitable: the question is whether it enables us to determine the limits of the Canon in New Testament times. It has been held on various grounds that the apostolic writings do not give satisfactory evidence of a closed Canon identical with the Hebrew Scriptures, and the matter is of sufficient importance to call for some examination.

1. It is pointed out that the Apostles' Bible, from which they habitually quote, was the LXX, and that this version contains the apocryphal books. That they used the LXX is true, and, *unless they quote its Apocrypha as Scripture*, is also irrelevant. Whether they do will be considered below (see 3 infra). Josephus used the LXX, but distinguishes with precision between its canonical books and 'those which have not been accounted equally worthy of credit.'

2. It is further noted that some books of the Jewish Canon have no direct quotation in the New Testament. The fact is as stated: the wonder is that these books are so few in number—Obadiah and Nahum among the Prophets, Ezra and Nehemiah, Esther, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes. But no question can arise as to the canonicity of Obadiah and Nahum, for they form part only of a single book of which there is ample recognition, the Book of the Twelve Prophets. As to the rest we have only to consider whether, assuming them to be in the Canon, they contain matter likely to have been quoted, to see how futile this argument from silence is. Moreover, Esther, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes belong to a single group of five (the *Megillōth*), of which the remaining two do receive a recognition which, it may fairly be argued, applies to the whole group. Ezra (including Nehemiah) again stands in a final group of three, with Daniel and Chronicles. The Book of Daniel has specific mention[a]. There are also words of our Lord referring to 2 Chronicles, which gain new point if we suppose that He is passing

[a] Mt 24^{15}.

in review not so much the range of Jewish history as the range of the Canon from its first book to its last, Genesis to 2 Chronicles: 'from the blood of Abel the righteous unto the blood of Zachariah son of Barachiah, whom ye slew between the sanctuary and the altar[a].'

3. The apostolic writers are said to show an acquaintance with and even to cite as Scripture certain of the apocryphal books. The *acquaintance* is undoubted: the writer to the Hebrews makes use of 1 and 2 Maccabees[b]: the *citation* cannot be maintained. The alleged instances[c] cannot be assigned to any passages of the Apocrypha, and may, with one exception, be explained as presenting the substance of several Old Testament utterances as a single quotation. The exception is Jude $^{14-16}$; but as the Book of Enoch there cited is not in the Apocrypha, and never had any pretensions to canonicity, Jude's use of it has no bearing upon this question of the New Testament evidence to the Old Testament Canon.

The attempt, therefore, to show that the New Testament writers are not clear in their witness to the limits of Old Testament Scripture breaks down. The facts are all the other way. Though there is only one distinct reference to the threefold division[d], the evidence is decisive that not only the Law and the Prophets, but the Writings also, had full recognition as long-established Scripture from Christ and His Apostles, and that the Word of God, which fed the springs of their life, fashioned their thought, and inspired their message to the world, was that Old Testament which is in our hands to-day.

24. The Canon in pre-Christian times.—Tracing back still farther the history of the Canon, we come upon two important pieces of evidence in the apocryphal Book of Ecclesiasticus or 'the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach.' The prologue to the book is by the author's grandson, who, *c.* B.C. 130, translated his grandfather's Hebrew work into Greek. It contains three distinct references to the Hebrew Scriptures under the threefold division of the Jewish Canon—'the Law and the Prophets and the others that have

[a] Mt 23^{35} R. V. 2 Ch 24^{21}. [b] Heb 11^{31-38}.
[c] Mt 27^{9} Lu 11^{49} Jn $7^{38,42}$ 1 Cor 2^{9} Eph 5^{14} Ju $^{14-16}$. [d] See § 8.

followed in their steps,' 'the Law and the Prophets and the other books of our fathers,' 'the Law itself, and the prophecies and the rest of the books' R. V.

Further, Jesus ben Sirach wrote his book soon after B. C. 200. In chapters 44–50 he has a long eulogy of the great men of Israel, beginning, 'Let us now praise famous men, and our fathers that begat us.' His descriptions are mostly taken from the canonical books, to the reading of which his grandson tells us he had 'much given himself.' There is specific reference to every book of the Law and the Prophets and to most of the Hagiographa. The order of their narrative is followed, while an express mention of 'the Twelve Prophets' shows that in his time this collection as it appears in the Hebrew Canon had long been formed.

Here then is proof that two centuries before the Christian era the Law and the Prophets and, at least, the greater part of the Hagiographa had taken their place as Scripture. The 250 years which lie between ben Sirach and Ezra yield no evidence, yet it is almost certain that within this period the Canon was gradually formed. Ages before Ezra the Jews had had their sacred writings. Law, Prophecy, History, Psalms were treasured and revered, as many Old Testament passages plainly show[a]. But the peculiar task of Ezra was to lead the people to accept a written and sacred code of law as the absolute rule of faith and life[b]. This is to establish a Canon, and, by common consent, the beginning of the Old Testament Canon is to be found in Ezra's promulgation of the Law (B. C. 444). So far as the evidence goes this is the extent of Ezra's connexion with the Canon. To him and his coadjutors is due the first division of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Law (cp. § 22, 1).

The fantastic Jewish legend found in the Fourth[c] Book of Esdras (C. A. D. 100), and repeated by many Christian Fathers and divines

[a] e. g. Ex 31^{18} 40^{20} Dt 31^{26} 1 Sa 10^{25} Is 34^{16} 2 Ki 22^{8-13}.
[b] See Ne 8–10. [c] 'Second' of A. V.

down to Reformation times, how that all the books of Scripture perished by fire when Jerusalem was destroyed, and that Ezra was inspired to recall them to memory and commit them to writing, is not worthy of further notice. Its place was taken, from the sixteenth century, by a tradition of the 'Men of the Great Synagogue,' a Council of which Ezra was President, and which included among its 120 members Nehemiah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Daniel, and Simon the Just. To this Council is attributed the work of separating out the inspired Scriptures from spurious writings, of rectifying the sacred text, and of fixing once for all the Canon with its triple division. But the evidence for this tradition will not bear examination: by a consensus of modern scholars the very existence of the Great Synagogue is regarded as a Rabbinic fiction[a]; and Ezra's work, so far as it can be known, was limited to the canonizing of the Pentateuch.

How soon the Law was supplemented by the second division—the Prophets (including the historical Books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings), cannot be determined. A tradition, which may be based on truth, is preserved in 2 Maccabees[b], asserting of Nehemiah that 'he, founding a library, gathered together the books about the kings and prophets, and the books of David, and letters of kings about sacred gifts.' This would be at any rate the preparation for the enlargement of the Canon, but when the second division was formally canonized we cannot say. What is certain is that in the 250 years from Ezra to ben Sirach (B.C. 444—*c.* 200) a Canon of sacred books was formed practically identical with that of the Hebrew Scriptures.

It should be added that nearly two centuries before Ezra, there is mention of an authoritative book. In the eighteenth year of King Josiah (B.C. 621) repairs were being made in the Temple, and 'Hilkiah the high priest said to Shaphan the scribe, I have found the book of the Law in the house of the Lord[c].' Shaphan read it himself, and again before the king, who rent his clothes in consternation. After appeal to Huldah the prophetess, the king, undaunted by

[a] See Ryle, *Canon of the Old Testament*, Excursus A.
[b] 2 Mac 2^{13}. [c] 2 Ki 22^{8}.

the threatened woes, read in the ears of all the people 'the words of the book of the covenant which was found in the house of the Lord.' Vigorous religious reforms followed, 'to confirm the words of this covenant that were written in this book.'

There can hardly be a doubt that this book, so strangely recovered and recognized at once as of Divine authority, was among the writings afterwards canonized by Ezra. The narrative of 2 Kings 22 and 23 would seem to point to something considerably briefer than the Pentateuch, clear and emphatic in its teaching concerning national duty. Many indications suggest that what Hilkiah found, and the king used to correct religious abuse and neglect, was the Book of **Deuteronomy.**

The Transmission of the Text of the Old Testament

25. Transmission of the Text.—We pass from the question of the formation of the Canon to that of the transmission of its contents to modern times. In A.D. 1477, twenty-seven years after the invention of printing, the first portion of a printed Hebrew Bible appeared—the Book of Psalms. In 1488 came the first complete Hebrew Bible. For the purposes of our inquiry we must of course pass beyond the printed text to the MSS. which preceded it, and trace back as far as we may the history of the sacred text transmitted from age to age by the labour of the copyists.

At once we encounter two striking facts: (1) The earliest MS. which has been preserved is that of the latter prophets dated A.D. 916, while the oldest MS. of the entire Old Testament is 100 years later, A.D. 1010. Both these are preserved in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg. (2) The existing MSS. show no divergence of text. That is, from the tenth

century onwards we possess a fixed text of the Old Testament, but a gap of 1,500 years separates this from the days of Ezra.

The difference between the textual history of the Old Testament and that of the New is very marked. The two oldest MSS. of the Greek Testament may be dated about A. D. 350, i. e. nearly 300 years after the books were written. Moreover, while the bulk of the available MSS. present a certain uniformity of text, among the minority there are considerable divergences. All textual critics are agreed that the true text is to be reached by an elaborate process of comparison between the existing materials. A good critical edition of the New Testament contains in all probability a much purer text than would be gained by printing any single manuscript, even the most ancient, as it stands.

Now this fixity of the Old Testament text declares to us the fidelity with which the copyists have done their work, guarding the trust committed to them from those perils of corruption which inevitably attend the process of copying, and handing down through the ages the text, letter for letter, as they received it. Even the strange disappearance of more ancient MSS. has been ascribed to the same fidelity; it is said that when too much worn for use they were destroyed, lest they should suffer any profanation.

The question remains: when, and under what conditions did the text receive its fixity? Has it been so from the first, so that we may believe that the sacred autographs have come down to us practically without change? Or must we rather suppose that at some period one form of the text was declared by authority to be the true one, deviations from it being suppressed and rapidly becoming extinct? It is important to determine what it is that the scribes have passed on through the ages with such reverent care.

We have seen that we can trace back the stream of manuscript copies to the opening of the tenth century A. D.: there it is lost, but we know it must have flowed down continuously from the time of Ezra. Are there indications which enable us to say anything about it beyond mere speculation?

In reply, it is important to note, in the first place, that

the work of transmitting the text was **entrusted to a guild of specially trained scholars.**

We shall better realize the necessity of this when we remember that already at the time of Christ Hebrew had ceased to be a spoken language. The 'holy tongue,' as it was called, in which the sacred books were written, was handed down by oral tradition. The scribe had his MS. to copy, but apart from the interpretation the text was practically in an unknown tongue. Hence his work was not simply to copy, but to transmit what his teacher communicated to him of the meaning.

1. Apart from the unfamiliarity of what was now only a written literary language, not the spoken dialect of ordinary life, there was a special source of ambiguity common to Hebrew with other Semitic languages. As originally written, it consisted of consonants only, the vowel sounds being supplied by the reader. But it is obvious that there might be words of widely different meaning consisting of the same consonants variously vocalized. The word as written is in fact ambiguous; its interpretation depends upon the accuracy of tradition. An actual instance may be quoted by way of illustration. In Heb 11^{21} it is said of Jacob that he 'worshipped *leaning* upon the top of his staff,' whereas in Gen 47^{31} the words run, 'He bowed himself upon the bed's head' R.V., A.V. The Hebrew for both *bed* and *staff* consists of the three consonants MTH, which in the Hebrew text are thus vocalized, $M^{i}TT^{a}H$, *bed*; the author of Hebrews quotes from the Septuagint, which reads the word thus, $M^{a}TT^{e}H$, *staff*.

2. Again, the connexion of words is often ambiguous. Take an illustration from the New Testament in Ro 9^{5} 'of whom is the Christ as concerning the flesh, He Who is over all, God blessed for ever.' The words as they stand are a unique assertion of the deity of Christ. But if a full stop be put at 'flesh'—'of whom is the Christ as concerning the flesh. He Who is over all, God, blessed for ever'—the whole sense of the passage is altered. Again, in Is 40^{3}, are we to read 'the voice of one that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord,' or 'the voice of one that crieth, In the wilderness prepare ye the way of the Lord'?

3. All such matters of interpretation of individual words and the general sense of the passage were handed down by tradition. They were not discussed or altered, but simply passed on with absolute unchanging authority. In our printed Hebrew Bibles they are settled for us, for there an elaborate system of accents fixes the meaning of each word, its pronunciation, its exact cadence in the synagogic recitation and the connexion of the words. But this was not invented and worked out till about A. D. 800. It reduces to written form a body

of tradition—**Massorā**—collected and handed down by the *Massorctes*; and the text thus interpreted is called the **Massoretic Text**.

26. Fidelity in copying.—There are in Hebrew MSS. and our printed Bibles curious indications of the exact fidelity with which the original MS. we have spoken of was reproduced. Some words have odd marks over them not understood, perhaps originating in an accidental splutter of the pen, but faithfully repeated in every copy.

Sometimes we find a letter almost double the ordinary size and sometimes one unusually small—again, possibly, a perpetuation of mere accident. Sometimes a letter is placed above the line. The books have notes appended, stating such points as the number of words and the middle word. In addition to what appears in our Bibles, there are huge collections of Massoretic notes, dealing with such matters as how often each letter of the Hebrew alphabet occurs in the Old Testament, and how many verses contain all the letters of the alphabet. All this fills us with amazement, and with thankfulness for the microscopic accuracy with which these men did their work of *preserving* the sacred text. To a small extent also they hand down authoritative criticism of the text. They make us aware that the text perpetuated is not faultless; here and there a word ought to be inserted or changed, or left out. But all such traditional criticism—it does not amount to much—is in the margin: the text is too sacred to be tampered with even when declared to be wrong. But we have seen that the consonants were the real text, the vowels a human device of interpretation. Accordingly, if a word in the text was judged to be superfluous, it was left, but was not provided with any vowels; if a word was to be inserted, its vowels were written without consonants; if a word was to be changed, its consonants were left, but were provided with the vowels of the word to be substituted. The consonants of the correct word are given in the margin with a note to the effect that so-and-so is *written* (**Kĕthîbh**), but so-and-so is to be *read* (**Qĕrî**).

Versions of the Old Testament

27. The Text in pre-Massoretic times.—By the work of the Massoretes, then, and their predecessors from the close of the first century onwards, the stream of the transmitted Hebrew text was made to run in a clear-cut channel and guarded from the possibility of defilement. They have given us with extraordinary fidelity what they received. It only remains to consider whether the same process of faithful preservation and reproduction can be traced back from apostolic times to the days of Ezra and beyond. It must be frankly admitted that it cannot, and that we are dependent for the purity of the Hebrew text on the skill with which the Massoretic text was determined and the scrupulous care with which it has been transmitted. Important evidence is here afforded by the **Versions,** which indicate more or less precisely the Hebrew text of the age in which they were made.

28. Semitic Versions.—1. Among these versions, the first place must be given to the **Targums,** as the nearest in language to the Hebrew original.

When the Jews returned from Babylonian exile they had to a great extent lost the use of their own language. It was needful, therefore, not only to read the Scriptures to them in the original, but to 'give the meaning' (see Ne 8^8). This was done orally, paraphrastically. After a while, the paraphrased translation was written down in a series of targums ('interpretations') in the 'Chaldee,' or more correctly, the Eastern Aramaic dialect. These targums were no doubt numerous; those which have descended to us are all dated after the Christian era. The oldest are that on the Law, by Onkelos, a friend of Gamaliel, and that on the Prophets, by Jonathan ben Uzziel, said to have been a disciple of Hillel. Two others on the Pentateuch are

earlier than the seventh century: one wrongly attributed to this same Jonathan, the other (now existing only in fragments) known as the Jerusalem Targum. All of these, with others of less importance on the Hagiographa, contain vapid paraphrases and fabulous additions, but are useful, with due caution, in the examination of the Hebrew text [a].

2. **The Samaritan Pentateuch.** — This, in a dialect kindred with the Hebrew, and written in the old Hebrew characters, is rather a recension than a translation of the Hebrew text. Copies are referred to by Eusebius and Cyril, but it was long thought that the whole had perished. In the early part of the seventeenth century, however, a copy was transmitted from Constantinople to Paris. Ussher afterwards procured six copies, and Kennicott collated sixteen. The account of this recension, regarded as most probable by Kennicott and many subsequent critics, is that it was carried into the northern kingdom at the time of the secession of the Ten Tribes. Could this view be substantiated, it would form important evidence for the antiquity of the Pentateuch. National animosity, it was contended, would prevent this reception, in the Israelite kingdom, of the Prophets and Hagiographa. The ancient form of the letters, it was also maintained, would prove an early date — at the latest, some time before the Babylonian captivity.

It is now, however, held by most scholars that this copy of the Pentateuch was carried to Samaria by Manasseh, at the establishment of rival worship on Mount Gerizim. The question, which has given rise to much controversy, cannot yet be regarded as fully settled.

The critical value of the readings of this recension was at first over-estimated, but now they are held to be not at all superior to the Hebrew. The LXX seems to have followed it more frequently than

[a] The Targums on the Pentateuch, by Onkelos and the Pseudo-Jonathan, have been translated into English by J. W. Etheridge (Longmans, 1862, 1865).

the present Hebrew text, from which, however, it does not materially differ. Gesenius deems its readings preferable to the Hebrew in Gen 4^{8}, where it supplies the words 'Let us go into the field'; in Gen 14^{14}, where it reads 'he numbered,' instead of 'he armed'; in Gen 22^{13}, where it omits the words 'behind *him*'; and in Gen 49^{14}, where the difference is in expression only and not in sense. The Samaritan copy is of great value in determining the history of the Hebrew vowels, and in confirming the general accuracy of the present text, but it is not a source of valuable independent emendation.

The ancient Samaritan Pentateuch must not be confounded with the more modern Samaritan version, which is printed with the other in the Polyglots. This is a very literal translation into modern Samaritan.

29. Greek Versions: the Septuagint.—The version by 'the seventy' was made in Egypt by Alexandrian Jews. The story of Aristeas, a writer who pretended to be a Gentile and favourite at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus, is that this version was made by seventy-two Jews (six from each tribe) sent to Alexandria (B.C. 285) by Eleazar at the request of Demetrius Phalareus, the king's librarian, and that the whole was completed in seventy-two days. To this story various additions were made, claiming miraculous interposition for the work, and infallibility for the translators. Dr. Hody conclusively proved that the narrative could not be authentic: though nothing has been discovered that materially affects either the value or the date of the version, which was probably made at different times after the date assigned. When it was completed, there is no evidence to show. Regarding the work critically, it may be observed that it contains many Græco-Egyptian words, and that the Pentateuch is translated with much more accuracy than the other books. The Book of Job, the Psalms, and the Prophets, are all inferior, and especially Isaiah and Daniel. The historical books are often inaccurately translated.

In the early Christian Church this version was deemed of great value, though writers often appealed against it to the Hebrew. With the view of correcting it, Origen formed

his *Hexapla*, or six-columned version (A.D. 228), containing, besides the LXX, Greek translations of the Old Testament by Aquila of Pontus (about A.D. 130), Theodotion of Ephesus (about A.D. 160), and Symmachus, a Samaritan (A.D. 218). The other two columns contained (1) the Hebrew text, and (2) the same in Greek characters. This work, which made altogether fifty volumes, perished probably at the sacking of Cæsarea by the Saracens, A.D. 653; but happily the text of the LXX (which formed one of the columns) had been copied by Eusebius, together with the corrections or additions which Origen had inserted from the other translators. This Hexaplarian text, as it is called, was published by Montfaucon at Paris, in 1714. The principal MSS. of the LXX are the Vatican (B), the Sinaitic (ℵ), the Alexandrian (A), together with fragments of Codex Ephraemi (C).

Among printed editions of the LXX are—the Complutensian (1517), which often follows the Massoretic Hebrew and Origen's *Hexapla*; the Aldine (1518), exhibiting many of the readings of B; the Roman or Vatican (1587), based on B; the Grabian (1707–1720), which is taken chiefly from A; and the Cambridge critical edition of H. B. Swete (1887–1894).

The version is rather free than literal, and frequently misses the sense of the original. It is to a great extent useful in settling the original text, but is more valuable in interpretation, although it often fails in difficult passages, from the freeness of its renderings, the carelessness and ignorance of the translators, and the absence of fixed rules of translation. Allowing for these sources of error, it must be added that the LXX often indicates an underlying text different from the Massoretic.

'At some time,' writes Dr. Swete, 'between the age of the LXX and that of Aquila, a thorough revision of the Hebrew Bible must have taken place, probably under official direction.' Again, 'It is sufficient to warn the beginner that in the LXX he has before him the version of an

early text which often differed materially from the text of the printed Hebrew Bible and of all existing Hebrew MSS.' Again, 'We are driven to the conclusion that the transition from a fluctuating to a relatively fixed text took effect during the interval between the fall of Jerusalem and the completion of Aquila's version.'

30. Old Latin.—Among the earliest versions founded on the LXX was the Latin, made in Africa, and often transcribed in whole or part in various districts of the empire. Some have thought, from the differences in the copies, that several distinct versions were made; but the more probable opinion is that they were all recensions of the same original. Of these recensions, the most important was made in Italy, partly with a view to correct the provincialisms and other defects in the African translation. Augustine[a] refers to this version as the *Itala*. Jerome bears testimony to its general excellence. Its prevailing type of text, as may be gathered from fragments which still remain[b], accords with the Alexandrian MS., and the version may be traced back, by quotations in Tertullian, at least to the latter part of the second century.

The diversities and imperfections of the Latin copies induced Jerome (A. D. 382) to revise the text, as Origen had previously revised that of the LXX. He employed for this purpose the *Hexapla*, by which he carefully corrected the whole of the Old Testament; though portions only of his revision remain. But as his labours were drawing to a close, the LXX, long favourably received by the Jews, began to fall into disrepute, on the ground, probably, that it was appealed to by Christians. To meet this feeling, Jerome undertook to prepare a translation into Latin direct from the Hebrew. He devoted the larger portion of twenty years to this work, which was completed in A. D. 405. A superstitious reverence for the LXX led many to oppose this version, but it gradually gained influence, and in the time of

[a] *De Doctrina Christiana*, ii. 15.

[b] Job, Psalms, some of the Apocrypha, and parts of other books.

Gregory the Great (A. D. 604) it had at least a co-ordinate authority, and was dignified with the name of the **Vulgate** ('versio vulgata,' the *current* version). The text was made up in part from the old Latin, in part from Jerome's improved edition of that version, and is in part a new version formed immediately from the Hebrew. Jerome was acquainted with Hebrew expositors, and many of their interpretations are embodied in the Vulgate; but generally it follows the LXX, even when that version differs from the Hebrew. It is more useful for interpretation than for criticism of the text, though for both it is of value. The version of the Psalms was made from the *Hexapla*, and is called the *Psalterium Gallicanum*. The text was early corrupted, and various learned men undertook to revise it, among whom were Alcuin and Lanfranc. An authorized edition was issued in 1590 by Sixtus V, only, however, to be immediately withdrawn, and superseded by that of Clement VIII (1592). Critical editions are those of Vercellone (1861) and Tischendorf (1864)[a].

31. The Syriac or Western Aramaic Versions.—The Peshitta ('correct' or 'simple') version of the Scriptures was made direct from the Hebrew, and agrees closely with the Massoretic Text. Neither time nor place of this translation is known, but it is in the highest degree probable that Syrian Christians would, at a very early period, obtain the Scriptures in their own tongue. From internal evidence it is believed that the translators were Jewish Christians, and that they translated the Old Testament from the original Hebrew. This version contains all the canonical books of the Old Testament, and all those of the New, except 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and Revelation. The text differs from all the chief families of MSS., and each in succession has

[a] Of the Vulgate as prepared by Jerome, the most important MS. is the *Codex Amiatinus* now at Florence. It was written in Northumberland about the close of the seventh century A.D.

claimed it. It was first printed in the Paris and London Polyglots, and is of great critical value. Its important place in New Testament criticism will be shown in the next chapter, when other Syriac versions, of the New Testament alone, will also be described.

32. Other ancient Versions. Ecclesiastical history places the conversion of Ethiopia about A. D. 330, and to the same or following century belongs the translation of the Scriptures into *Gîz* or **Ethiopic**; see § 18. Its author is not known. Perfect copies of the Old Testament are not common, though Bruce states that he found several; and there are MSS. of this version in some of the libraries of Europe. Only fragments have been printed. The text is founded entirely on the LXX, and follows the readings of A.

The greater part of the Old Testament is also extant in the **Coptic** dialects of Egypt (*Memphitic* in the N., *Thebaic* in the S.), though only a portion has been printed. The most probable date of their origin is the third and fourth century, though some suppose them to have been made as early as the first and second. Both are founded on the LXX, and generally follow the readings of A. The translators are not known.

The **Gothic** version of the Bible was made by Ulphilas, a bishop of the Mœso-Goths, who assisted at the Synod of Constantinople in A. D. 360. The version was made from the LXX, and is of considerable critical value, though unhappily only fragments of it remain.

Of the **Armenian** version little more is known than that it was made about the beginning of the fifth century, and based upon the Syriac, though afterwards revised from the LXX. The translator was the patriarch Mesrob. The **Georgian** version was made in the following century, from copies of the Armenian translation. The Armenian version has been repeatedly printed (the best edition being that by Zohrab, Venice, 1805); and the whole Bible, in Georgian, was printed at Moscow in 1743, parts of it having been previously printed at Tiflis.

To the ninth century belongs the *Slavic* or **Slavonic** version, made by the brothers Cyril and Methodius of Thessalonica, missionaries to Bulgaria and Moravia, who rendered this great work possible by first reducing the Slavonic language to writing. It is generally regarded as a descendant of the LXX, though ancient testimony states that it was made, in great part, from the Latin, a statement which recent collation has confirmed. The text was early corrected from Greek MSS., and it is hence deemed of considerable critical value. The whole was printed in 1576, and several editions have since been issued from Moscow.

The **Arabic** versions of several of the books of Scripture, as given in the Paris and London Polyglots, were made from the LXX, by different authors between the eighth and twelfth centuries; and of Job, Chronicles, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and parts of other books, from the Peshitta Syriac.

From these facts it is clear that the Targums, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the LXX, part of the Vulgate, and the Peshitta Syriac, are all more or less valuable for ascertaining the text of the original Hebrew; but that other versions of the Old Testament, being made from these and not from the original, are of little or no critical value, except for ascertaining the text of those versions from which they were made.

33. And, on the whole, though we may be sure that we have the books substantially as they were written, not a promise dimmed or a truth distorted, and though at least from the close of the first century the purity of the letter has been almost miraculously preserved, we must rest content with something short of the sacred autographs. The imperfections of the letter may well lead us to look to the spirit, from the words to the Word, that abides unshaken and grows in meaning through the ages.

CHAPTER III

THE NEW TESTAMENT

The Canon

34. General view.—The remarks on Canonicity in Chapter II apply also to the New Testament. The facts which prove the several books to belong to the accredited catalogue of sacred writings are accessible, simple, and decisive. To take the literary ground alone—there is the same *kind* of evidence that the books of the New Testament are of apostolic origin as that the works of Xenophon, Cicero, or Plutarch proceeded from the authors whose names they bear. Added to this, the great religious interest and importance of these books would prevent their reception on insufficient grounds, while watchful adversaries would be alert to mark any inadequacy in the evidence. *Apostolicity* was the great test; and this being established, there was no longer any question as to recognition.

The Christian Consciousness.—Nor was this all. The appeal of the writings was to the Christian consciousness. The Holy Spirit, given to the Church, quickened holy instincts, aided discernment between the genuine and the spurious, and thus led to gradual, harmonious, and in the end unanimous conclusions. There was in the Church what a modern divine has happily termed an 'inspiration of selection.'

The appeal, it should be especially noted, was to the **Church universal**. The phrase 'Church authority,' as sometimes used, is misleading. It is very remarkable that no General Council from the earliest times undertook

to define the Canon. The Scriptures of the New Testament were their own attestation. Certain books which claimed apostolic authority, and were, in some quarters, accepted for a time, gradually disappeared from the list, and survive only as 'apocryphal'; in contrast, which every reader can now discern, with those that are Divine.

For, in addition to the external evidence, the intrinsic grounds on which the recognition of the Church was either granted or refused are open to ourselves. Between the canonical books and even the best of the uncanonical, there is a distinction which impressively reveals the limits of the unaided Christian intellect and imagination[a]. The difference has been aptly illustrated by the contrast of modern and ancient cities. The New Testament is not like the modern towns, with wide suburbs reaching out into the open country, so that the exact boundaries are indiscernible; but rather resembles some city of ancient times, surrounded by walls and bulwarks, well defined and separate from the waste beyond.

35. Gradual formation of the Canon.—How long a time elapsed before the formation of a Canon is quite unknown. The books at first appeared separately, in different localities, and at intervals of time; were treasured by individual churches as apostolic; and read, probably with other writings, in the Christian assemblies. The next step was to classify them in groups—the Gospels forming one division, the Pauline Epistles another; while the Acts and General Epistles were a section by themselves. To these the Apocalypse was added; and by the end of the second century the collection was practically complete; the genuine-

[a] See the *New Testament Apocrypha*, edited by B. H. Cowper. The once well-known William Hone, in his sceptical days, produced a selection from these works to exhibit their parallel with the New Testament writings. He succeeded only in proving the wonderful contrast between the two.

ness of some books, however, remaining an open question until a later period.

We begin with the **Gospels.**

In the early Church many writings were extant professing to give an account of the life and character of our Lord. From Lu $1^{1.2}$ we learn that the task had been taken in hand by writers who set themselves to transcribe the primitive oral gospel. But at an early period the Four Gospels absorbed and superseded these several accounts, being universally recognized by the Church as authoritative on the ground of their apostolicity; the Gospels of Mark and Luke being respectively penned under the influence of Peter and Paul. The consideration of their origin belongs to another part of this work. Suffice it here to say that the chain of testimony is complete. The Apostolic Fathers quote them, although without mentioning their authorship, in such a way as to show that their authority in the Church was fully recognized[a]. Tatian the Assyrian, pupil of Justin Martyr, combined the Four Gospels into one 'Harmony.' Irenæus, who in his early days had known Polycarp, disciple of the Apostle John, distinctly recognizes the 'holy quaternion' of writers, giving mystic explanations of the number Four, which in their very absurdity testify to the reception of these books as Divine. Subsequent attestations come from every part of the Church: Tertullian in Africa, Athanasius in Alexandria, Cyril in Jerusalem, and many others, with one voice witnessing to these Four and to no others, as the accepted evangelic narratives. And to these the Book of Acts was added, by general consent, as the second part of Luke. These books then, we conclude, were written by Apostles, to whom our Saviour specially promised

[a] *The Apostolic Fathers*: Clement of Rome, 'Barnabas,' Polycarp, Ignatius, Hermas (*The Shepherd*), the *Didaché*. 'Barnabas' was the first to use the formula 'it is written' (γέγραπται) in citing the words of our Lord (Mt 22^{14}).

His Spirit that He might guide them into all truth, bring to their remembrance whatever He Himself had told them, and qualify them to give His gospel to the world[a].

36. So of the **Epistles of Paul.** There are thirteen of them which bear his name. Generally he wrote by an amanuensis, who would become a witness of the genuineness of his writings[b]: in these instances he added his subscription and salutation[c]. His Epistles were sent by private messengers[d]. Nine were addressed to public bodies. The earliest of them he commanded to be read in the public assembly; the second, and indeed all the rest, were read in public too[e]; and we know from Ignatius, Polycarp, and Clement, that his Epistles were regarded as inspired Scripture, and read with the Law and Prophets of the Old Testament and the Gospels of the New[f]. A yet earlier testimony is given in 2 Pet $3^{15,16}$, where a name is applied to them ('Scriptures') which, though occurring fifty times in the New Testament, is in no other instance applied to any other than the canonical books of the Old Testament.

37. The remaining Books.—All the parts of the New Testament mentioned thus far were recognized as apostolic at latest by the close of the second century; as were also 1 Peter and 1 John. The remaining books of the New Testament were called *Antilegomena*, or, from their forming a part of the Canon only after a second revision, the Deutero-Canonical. That position in the Canon they gained gradually; at the beginning of the fourth century they were received by *most* of the churches, and at the end of that century they were received by *all*.

[a] See further *The Early Witness to the Four Gospels* ('Present Day Tracts,' R.T.S., No. 78), by S. Walter Green, M.A.

[b] Ro 16^{22}. [c] 1 Cor 16^{21} Col 4^{18}.

[d] Ro 16^{1} Eph 6^{21} Phil 2^{25} Col $4^{7,8}$.

[e] 2 Cor 1^{13} 1 Th 5^{27} 2 Th 2^{15} $3^{6,14}$ Col 4^{16}.

[f] Ign. *To Eph* ch. 12; Polyc. *To Phil* $3^{11,12}$ Clem. *To Cor* ch. 47.

The special evidence of each book will be given later. The point to be noticed is that the doubts which existed had reference not to the canonicity of the writings of James, Cephas, John, and Jude, but to the question whether the writings bearing their names were really written by them. Nor can these doubts excite surprise. The subject was one of deep interest. Many spurious compositions were abroad under the names of these very Apostles [a]. Apostolic teaching might be quoted in defence of caution [b]. The internal evidence of the authorship of these Epistles is peculiar; the Epistle to the Hebrews, for example, is without the author's name, and differs in style from the Epistles of Paul: the style of 2 Peter differs in the same way from the style of the first Epistle. In James and Jude the authors are described not as Apostles but as 'servants' of Christ, while in 2 and 3 John the writer describes himself as a presbyter or elder, not as an Apostle. Jude also refers to stories which are contained in apocryphal writings. All these Epistles moreover were addressed either to Christians generally or to private persons, not to specified churches. No body of men, therefore, was interested in preserving them, and external evidence in their favour was necessarily scanty. All these causes of doubt did operate, as we know. In the end there was universal conviction; and the very doubts which deferred the reception of a small portion of Scripture in certain parts of the early Church now serve to confirm our faith in the rest.

38. Early Catalogues.—Between the years A.D. 200 and A.D. 400 fifteen or sixteen catalogues of the New Testament books were published. Their importance, as well as their variety and independence, is shown in the following brief enumeration [c]:—

[a] Westcott *On the Canon* 512–520. [b] 2 Th $2^{1,2}$ 1 Jn 4^{1}.

[c] For further details, see Charteris, *Canonicity* (Kirchhofer's *Quellensammlung*), Westcott *On the Canon of the New Testament*, and the older

1. The **Muratorian Fragment,** the earliest: Latin MS., discovered by Muratori in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, 1740. Date, near the close of the second century (speaks of Pope Pius I [d. 157] as very recent). Formerly attributed to Caius the Presbyter, brother to Pius ('likely,' *Salmon*; 'fictitiously,' *Harnack*); Bishop Lightfoot conjectures Hippolytus. The fragment, evidently translated from the Greek, begins with *Luke*, as the 'third Gospel,' implying the other two, and includes all the New Testament books excepting *Hebrews*, *James*, 1 and 2 *Peter*, and 2 and 3 *John*.

2. **Clement of Alexandria** (in Eusebius), beginning of the third century: first uses the distinction 'the Gospel' and 'the Apostle,' recognizes fourteen Epistles of Paul (including *Hebrews*), omits *James*, 2 *Peter*, 3 *John*: includes some extra-canonical books.

3. **Origen** (in Eusebius), d. 253, *all*, excepting *James* and *Jude*, to which, however, he refers elsewhere.

4. **Eusebius Pamphilus,** 315, *all*; only that he specifies *James*, *Jude*, 2 *Peter*, 2 and 3 *John*, with the *Apocalypse*, as 'disputed' by some.

5. **Athanasius,** 315, *all*. He speaks of the *Shepherd* of Hermas as useful, but not canonical; of others as spurious.

6. **Cyril of Jerusalem,** 340, *all* but the *Apocalypse*. The 'disputed' books mentioned by Eusebius are now generally received.

7. **Laodicene Council,** 364, *all*, excepting *Apocalypse*.

8. **Epiphanius of Salamis,** 370, *all*.

9. **Gregory Nazianzen,** 375, *all* but the *Apocalypse*. His list is in metrical form, as an aid to memory.

10. **Amphilochius of Iconium,** *c.* 380, includes *all*, but says that the majority exclude the *Apocalypse*. Also in metrical form.

11. **Philastrius of Brescia,** *c.* 380, *all*. He mentions thirteen Epistles of Paul, and the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, of which some, he says, doubt if it is his, while others deny the Johannine authorship of the *Gospel* and *Apocalypse*.

12. **The Synod of Carthage,** 397, at which Augustine was present, includes *all*, mentioning the books specifically. The Acts of this Synod are of great value by way of testimony.

13. **Jerome,** *c.* 382, includes *all*: only says that *Hebrews* is placed by many outside the Pauline circle.

14. **Rufinus of Aquileia,** *c.* 390, includes *all*.

15. **Augustine,** d. 430, includes and mentions *all*, referring to *Hebrews* as Pauline.

16. **Chrysostom,** d. 407, in a 'Synopsis' attributed to him, but on

work by Jeremiah Jones, 1726, *A New and Full Method of Settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament.*

doubtful authority, enumerates fourteen *Epistles of Paul*, four *Gospels*, the *Acts*, and three *Catholic Epistles*, omitting the remainder.

The wide diffusion of the above testimony is worthy of note:—

Palestine, Syria, and Cyprus, Nos. 4, 7, 8, 16	Greek.
Asia Minor, 6, 9, 10	
Alexandria, 2, 3, 5	
N. Africa, 12, 15	Latin.
Italy, 1, 11, 13, 14	

After A.D. 400 there is no longer any room for doubt respecting the New Testament Canon.

The Language of the New Testament

39. Hellenistic Greek.—The sixteenth century witnessed a singular discussion. Erasmus, after Laurentius Valla, having affirmed that the Greek of the New Testament was corrupted with Hebraisms, both of words and idioms, was opposed with great vehemence by H. Stephens, who, in his Preface to the New Testament (A. D. 1546), undertook to prove that the Greek of the inspired writers was pure and idiomatic. A long controversy springing out of these assertions, the respective parties were called Purists and Hellenists, or Hebraists. The topic was deemed important on several grounds. Inspired writers, it was argued, must employ pure and 'perfect' diction. It was replied that a Hebraistic tincture in the language was an evidence of genuineness. Facts also were conclusive on that side, and the controversy is now practically forgotten.

The 'perfection' of inspired composition is clearly not so much classic purity as intelligibleness and adaptation to its proper end. The Greek of Scripture was written by Hellenists, i.e. by Jews who spoke Greek, whose modes of thought were formed on Hebrew originals, and whose minds were steeped in the language of the Septuagint Version of the Jewish Scriptures. Hence an instructive rule of interpretation. A prime source of New Testament interpretation is the Greek Old Testament; and we must

gather thence, as far as possible, the meaning and illustrations of its terms.

40. The Greek tongue is itself **a mixture of dialects.** The Hellenes, or Greeks, consisted originally of several tribes, of whom two, the Dorians and Ionians, became chief.

The Doric dialect was first in time and in influence: it is rough and broad-sounding. Among its chief writers are Pindar, Sappho, Theocritus, and Bion. The Ionic was second in time. It is soft and smooth, was spoken at first in Attica, and then, as the Ionians migrated to Asia Minor, in that district. Among its authors are Herodotus and Anacreon.

The Attic dialect was formed after the Ionians left Attica, and occupies in quality a middle place between the Ionic and Doric. The chief Greek authors wrote in this dialect: Thucydides, Plato, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes.

After the freedom of Greece was destroyed by Philip of Macedon, these dialects became gradually blended, and the Hellenic or 'common dialect' was formed, of which the base was Attic. The conquests of Alexander, and the resulting fusion of different peoples, led to further modifications in dialect. Macedonian and Alexandrian idioms became common in Greece, and especially in Egypt and the East.

At Alexandria many Jews resided. There the Septuagint was written, and as the writers were Jews, the Alexandrian Greek which they spoke was modified so as to embody the thoughts and idioms of the Hebrew. And this is the language of the New Testament. It is Hellenistic, or more properly, Hebrew-Greek: the common dialect (ἡ κοινή), with a mixture of others, and the whole modified by Jews of Alexandria and Palestine. Hence words and phrases from foreign sources, Aramaic, Latin, Persian, Egyptian: hence words peculiar in their orthography or form, in their

inflexion or gender: hence words common to the ancient dialects, but not usual in the Hellenic, and hence also words and phrases in senses peculiarly Jewish or Christian.

Aramaic expressions may be seen, Mk 14^{36} (abba), Ac 1^{19} (field of blood), Mk 3^{17} (sons of thunder), Mt 5^{22} (vain, foolish). *Latin* words, Mt 5^{26} 10^{29} 17^{25} 18^{28} 26^{53} $27^{27.65}$ Mk 15^{39} Lu 19^{20} Jn 2^{15} Ac 19^{12}; and phrases, Mt 12^{14} Mk 15^{15} Lu 12^{58} Ac 17^{9}; Persian expressions, Mt 2^{1} 5^{41} 27^{32} Mk 15^{21} Lu 23^{43} Ac 8^{27} (paradise, a garden of beautiful trees); Egyptian expressions, Mt 27^{53} Lu 16^{19}.

The lesson taught by these facts is that while we need a knowledge of Greek generally in order to read the New Testament, we need, in order to understand it, **a knowledge of New Testament Greek**, and of the Septuagint Version. So essential is this knowledge, that a merely English reader, with only his English Bible, especially in the Revised Version, may perhaps understand the New Testament better than the scholar who brings to the investigation of a particular passage only classical acquisitions.

Among aids to the study of New Testament Greek special mention may be made of the Grammars by Winer (ed. Moulton) and Blass; the Lexicons of Grimm (ed. Thayer) and of Cremer; and of the Concordances, to the Septuagint by Hatch and Redpath, to the New Testament by Moulton and Geden. To these may be added Hatch's *Essays in Biblical Greek*; while the less advanced student may use the *Handbook to the Grammar of the Greek Testament* by S. G. Green, the *Language of the New Testament* and the *Writers of the New Testament* by W. H. Simcox.

Manuscripts

41. The earliest MSS. of the New Testament books were no doubt **written on papyrus**, a fragile material, soon ruined by handling, and preserved only under exceptional conditions in a dry climate, like that of Egypt.

Recent excavations in Egypt have been extraordinarily fruitful in the discovery of papyrus fragments. Professor Weissmann, of Heidelberg, writes: 'The contents of these non-literary writings (i.e. leases, contracts, letters, school-exercises, &c.) are as manifold in their variety as life itself. Those in Greek, numbering many thousands, cover a period of about a thousand years. The oldest go back to the early Ptolemies, and thus to the third century B.C.; there are others that bring us far down into Byzantine times. The whole shifting scene of

Greek and Roman history in Egypt during this long interval passes in these leaves before our eyes[a].'

Other MSS. on papyrus, belonging to the first century A.D., have been discovered in the course of Egyptian exploration. Among these Dr. Kenyon mentions a beautiful copy of the third book of the Odyssey, three orations of Hyperides, an oration of Isocrates, and the famous copy of Aristotle's *Polity of the Athenians*. These are all in the British Museum, and in their different styles of penmanship, varying from that of a professional scribe to that of common everyday writing, well illustrate what the lost autographs of the Evangelists and Apostles must have been.

A few scraps from papyrus copies of the Gospels and Epistles have been found in the vast store of MSS. brought from Egypt. None of these fragments are earlier than the third century. A leaf from Matthew, $1^{1-9.12.14-20}$, and a somewhat larger transcript from John, $1^{23-31.33-41}$ $20^{11-17.19-25}$, were found by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus, 120 miles south of Cairo. The former is now in the Library of the Pennsylvania University, the latter in the British Museum. To the same explorers we owe also the discoveries in 1897 and 1903 of the *Logia*, or *Sayings of our Lord*, written probably about A. D. 200[b]. Dr. Kenyon gives a list of five further extracts from the Gospels and four from the Epistles, among the papyri from Egypt, belonging to the fourth and fifth centuries. It is very probable that other fragments may yet be brought to light. Those already discovered confirm the New Testament text, especially that of the earliest MSS.

In the fourth century the use of **vellum** instead of papyrus for important MSS. gave to them for the first time a permanent form; while the conversion of Constantine led to the careful and even sumptuous production of the Christian writings. The *codex*[c] instead of the *roll* form

[a] *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. iii, art. Papyri.

[b] See transcript, facsimile and rendering of both, published for the Egypt Exploration Fund (Oxford University Press, 1897 and 1904).

[c] *Codex*, originally *caudex*, a tablet of wood, generally covered with

was also now adopted, so that the New Testament Scriptures could for the first time be conveniently united in a single volume. Eusebius states in his *Life of Constantine* that the Emperor ordered fifty copies of the Scriptures on vellum for the churches in his new capital. Two of these have perhaps survived in Codices B and ℵ.

When new vellum was too costly for the transcriber, the writing was often washed or scraped away so as to admit the substitution of another work, hence called a 'codex rescriptus' or 'palimpsest' (from the Greek παλίμψηστος, 'scraped again'). It sometimes happened that the erasure was incomplete, or the ink of the original proved unexpectedly durable, so that the old writing reappeared. See Codex C, below.

The MSS. of the New Testament are divided into two classes, **uncial**, or written in capital (*majuscule*) letters, and **cursive**, or written in small running-hand (*minuscule*) letters. Generally speaking, the former are the earlier, although, as some uncials are as late as the tenth century, while some cursives are as early as the ninth, the two to some extent overlap in date.

A question of much interest is how to ascertain the age of a MS. In reply, the following points may be especially noted.

42. In the earliest times the New Testament was **divided into three parts**: the Gospels (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον), the Epistles and Acts (τὸ ἀποστολικόν), and the Revelation (ἡ ἀποκάλυψις). In the third century the Gospels were divided into two

wax and written on with an iron needle called a *stylus* (hence the word *style* applied to literary composition). See Is 8^{1} 30^{8} Hab 2^{2} Lu 1^{63}. The codices, strung together by a cord passed through holes in the upper left-hand corner, were in the form of a modern book, in contrast with the *volumina* or rolls. Hence the name was given to MSS. of any material in book form. As the tablets were much used for legal purposes, a system of laws was called a *code*.

kinds of chapters, the longer called τίτλοι, or breves; the shorter κεφάλαια, or capitals. The latter were originally introduced by Ammonius, and were thence called Ammonian sections. In the fourth century they were in common use in the Gospels, and to these sections Eusebius adapted his tables of references, called from him the Eusebian Canons (A. D. 315–340).

Further notes of date.—In the year 458 Euthalius published an edition of the Epistles of Paul, in which he gave, for the first time, the contents of the chapters. In 490 he divided the Acts and the Epistles into sections. He himself states also that he introduced accents into MSS. copied under his supervision—a custom, however, which did not become common till the eighth century. He also added to the books of the New Testament the subscriptions (several of them erroneous) which are still found in the English version. To make MSS. more legible, Euthalius further divided them into lines, called στίχοι, consisting in some instances of as many letters as could be placed in the width of a page, and in others of as many words as could be read uninterruptedly. This style of writing soon became common. In the eighth century, however, the lines ceased to be written separately, and were indicated only by dots. In the same century other marks of punctuation were introduced, and later still the stichometrical dots were omitted.

About the same time the letters began to be compressed and slightly inclined. In the eighth century these changes were still more marked; in the ninth the note of interrogation and the comma were introduced; and in the tenth the uncial style of writing had been nearly superseded by the cursive. It may be added that our modern division into *chapters* is attributed to Stephen Langton (d. 1228), and that the *verses* are due to Robert Stephens, 1551.

From these facts various rules are deduced:—

A MS. in cursive character is not older than the tenth century, or in some rare instances, the ninth.

A MS. with compressed or inclined uncials, or with notes of interrogation or commas, is not older than the ninth century.

A MS. systematically punctuated, or marking the στίχοι, is not older than the eighth century.

A MS. in uncial letters, divided into lines or accented, or with the Euthalian divisions or titles or subscriptions, is not older than the fifth century.

A MS. with Eusebian canons is not older than the fourth century.

These rules lead (it will be observed) to negative conclusions only.

When the facts are applied to ascertain positive results, much minute inquiry and criticism is necessary, demanding the trained skill of the palæographist. Only results can now be given, but the dates assigned are accepted by the great body of scholars.

43. The more important MSS. of each class are the following, enumerated here because all readers of the New Testament ought to be familiar with at least the names, dates, and comparative value of the chief examples of the sacred text. Detailed lists will be found in Prebendary Scrivener's *Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*; and, in a more succinct form, in the English translation of Dr. Eberhard Nestle's *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament*. Dr. Nestle writes: 'For no literary production of antiquity is there such a wealth of manuscripts as for the New Testament. Our classical scholars would rejoice were they as fortunate with Homer or Sophocles, Plato or Aristotle, Cicero or Tacitus, as Bible students are with their New Testament. The oldest complete manuscripts of Homer that we have date from the thirteenth century A. D., and only separate papyrus fragments go back to the Alexandrian age. All that is extant of Sophocles we owe to a single MS., dating from the eighth or ninth century, in the Laurentian Library at Florence. But of the New Testament 3,829 MSS. have been catalogued to the present time.'

It will be noted, however, that only a very few of the MSS. as here enumerated contain the whole of the New Testament. Every fragment is counted as a MS.

The Chief Uncial Manuscripts.

Fourth to the Tenth Century.

ℵ *Aleph*, **Sinaiticus.**—Discovered by Tischendorf in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, 1859. Fourth century. Contains Old Testament (Greek) and the whole New Testament; also the *Epistle* of Barnabas and the *Shepherd* of Hermas (part). Now at St. Petersburg.

Published in 1862 in four vols., fol., in facsimile type ; also at Leipsic, 1863, 4to, 1864, 8vo, in ordinary type.

A, Alexandrinus.—Presented to King Charles I of England by Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople, 1627. Middle or end of the fifth century. Contains the New and Old Testament (Greek) from Mt 25^{6} with omissions (Jn 6^{50}—8^{52} 2 Cor 4^{13}—12^{6}), also the First Epistle of Clement of Rome and a small portion of the Second (a homily). In the British Museum. Published by Woide, 1786 ; by the Trustees of the British Museum, photographic facsimile, 1879 ; and in ordinary type, 1860 (Cowper), 1864 (Hansell).

B, Vaticanus.—Placed in the Vatican Library, Rome, by Pope Nicolas V (1447-55). Fourth century. Contains the Old Testament in Greek (with omissions), and the New complete down to Heb 9^{14} : includes the General Epistles, but wants the Pastoral Epistles, Philemon, and the Apocalypse. Published by Cardinal Mai, in five folio vols., 1857 ; in facsimile type by order of Pius IX, 1872 ; and photographed in 1889. An edition was published in ordinary type by Tischendorf (1867) which follows the MS. line by line.

C, Ephraemi.—A palimpsest, several works of Ephraem the Syrian having been copied in the twelfth century over the original text. Happily, the ink of the later scribe proved less durable than that of the earlier. Written in the fifth century, probably in Egypt. Contains fragments of the Old Testament, and all the books of the New Testament (with large omissions), excepting 2 Thessalonians and 2 John. In the National Library at Paris. Published, so far as decipherable, by Tischendorf, 1843.

D, Bezæ.—Greek and Latin, in parallel columns. Discovered in the Monastery of Irenæus at Lyons, and presented to the University of Cambridge, 1581, by Theodore Beza. Written, probably, near the beginning of the sixth century. Contains (with omissions) the Gospels and Acts. Remarkable for its deviations from the ordinary text, and for additions. In the Cambridge University Library. Published in facsimile type by Kipling, 1793, and in photographic facsimile in 1899 ; also by Dr. Scrivener, in ordinary type, 1864.

D_2, Claromontanus.—Discovered at Clermont, near Beauvais, whence its name. Written in the sixth century. Like the Codex Bezæ, it is in Greek and Latin, and supplements that MS. also by containing the Pauline Epistles (with omissions) and Epistle to Hebrews. It has no other New Testament books. The work of several later scribes is discernible in the MS. In the National Library at Paris. Published by Tischendorf, 1852.

These six MSS. exhaust the list of first-class uncials. Some others, however, though partial and incomplete, are of great value, and afford

suggestive readings. To give a complete list would be beyond the scope of the present work. Mention should, however, be made of the Codex Basiliensis (E), seventh or eighth century, brought to Basel in 1431 by Cardinal J. B. Ragusio, probably from Constantinople. It contains nearly the whole of the Gospels. The Codex Regius (L), eighth century; in the National Library at Paris. It also contains the Gospels, with omissions, and is valuable as containing the double conclusion of Mark's Gospel. Another MS. of the eighth century, Codex Zacynthius (Ξ), is a palimpsest from Zante, presented by General Macaulay to the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1821 and now in the Society's Library in London. It contains the greater part of Luke's Gospel, and is remarkable as the earliest MS. with a Commentary. A MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Γ), of the year 844, containing the greater part of the Gospels, and one in the Vatican Library, Rome (S), of 949, are noteworthy as the earliest *dated* MSS. in existence. Finally, the Codex Augiensis in Trinity College, Cambridge (F), of the ninth century, from the Monastery of Augia Dives (now Reichenau) on Lake Constance, contains the greater part of the Pauline Epistles, accompanied by a Latin Version. It was published under the editorship of Dr. Scrivener at Cambridge, 1859.

In all, the number of Uncial Manuscripts, of the whole or part of the Greek Testament now known, is given[a] as follows:—

Gospels	101
Acts and Catholic Epistles .	22
Pauline Epistles	27
Apocalypse	6
	156

44. The Chief Cursive Manuscripts.—A later style of writing, 'smaller and more manageable,' was required as the demand for New Testament MSS. became more exacting. The need was met by the introduction into the *scriptorium* of the running or 'cursive' handwriting already prevalent in commercial and other correspondence. In this, 'minuscule' forms of the letters were employed in contrast with the

[a] Kenyon's *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament.* Dr. Scrivener and Dr. Nestle give 127 as the total. 'The difference,' says Dr. Kenyon, 'is due mainly to an increase in the smaller fragments.

'majuscule' or capitals of the older manuscripts. Strictly speaking, the word 'minuscule' applies to the smaller form of the letters, 'cursive' to their being joined together; but, as the two generally concurred, the terms are often employed interchangeably. For about two centuries the uncial and the cursive styles were both used, but by degrees the latter prevailed; and it is in this form that the great majority of New Testament MSS. have come down to modern times, beginning with the ninth century and ending about the time of the invention of printing. Paper was employed as well as vellum, and these greatly vary in style and durability. The cursives are noted by Arabic numerals, in separate lists for the Gospels (Evv.), the Acts and General Epistles (Acts), the Pauline Epistles (Paul.), and the Revelation (Apoc.). Manuscripts containing more than one division, after a certain point, have a separate number for each section (e. g. a MS. of the entire New Testament in the British Museum is 'Evan. 584, Acts 228, Paul. 269, Apoc. 97[a]'), an inconvenient method of enumeration, which modern editors are striving as far as possible to simplify. In all, the latest list of known cursives gives:—

Gospels	1420
Acts and Catholic Epistles	450
Pauline Epistles . . .	520
Apocalypse	194
	2584

But, since many MSS. contain more than one section, the list of separate copies is reduced to 1,825. The first accurate list, that of Griesbach, gives 236. Scholtz enumerates 469 of the Gospels, 192 of the Acts and Catholic Epistles, 246 of the Pauline Epistles, and 88 of the Apocalypse, a grand total of 995. The difference between this and the foregoing number shows the progress in research which has been made during the past three-quarters of a century.

[a] Kenyon, after Dr. Gregory.

For a detailed list of the cursives the student is referred to Dr. Scrivener's *Introduction*. Their testimony to the text is naturally less valuable than that of the uncials; and as in many cases they are but copies of the same examples, or of one another, they cannot always be regarded as independent authorities. But on the other hand it must be remembered that, in the words of Dr. Nestle, 'the text of a late manuscript may be derived from a very early and good source through comparatively few intermediaries,' and that 'it is possible to reconstruct a lost original by means of a comparison of several witnesses.' This principle renders the collation of the minuscules an important part of the textual critic's labours, while adding not a little to the difficulty of the task.

45. Lectionaries.—Another source of evidence is in the **Lectionaries**, or collections of the **Gospels** and **Epistles** for reading in the Greek Church. These are naturally executed with special care, and in large clear characters. For the passages contained in them no more valuable testimony of a similar date exists. Of the *Evangelistaria*, or Lessons from the Gospels, more than a thousand copies are known to exist, and of the *Praxapostoli*, or Lessons from the Acts and Epistles, about three hundred. Until after a further examination of these authorities, as well as of the hitherto uncollated minuscules, it can hardly be said that finality in determining the original text of the New Testament has been reached [a].

Ancient Versions

46. The **Peshitta Syriac** version has already been described in connexion with the Old Testament [b]. Of the New, it contains the whole, excepting 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and Apocalypse. Considerable addition has been made in recent years to our knowledge of the Syriac New Testament. In the year 1842, among the MSS. brought to

[a] There is an interesting Table of these Lessons in Scrivener, pp. 78–86.

[b] See § 31.

the British Museum from the Syrian monastery in the Nitrian Desert, was an incomplete version of the Gospels in a MS. of the fifth century, subsequently edited and published by the Rev. Dr. W. Cureton, then Assistant Keeper of MSS. in the Museum. The 'Curetonian Syriac,' as it is called, differs in many respects from the Peshitta, and is believed by the most competent scholars to contain a yet earlier form of the text. Another Syriac MS. of the Gospels, also incomplete, a palimpsest, was discovered in 1892, at the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, by the sisters Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson, of Cambridge. In 1894 it was edited by the discoverers and Professor Rendel Harris. This 'Sinaitic' text closely resembles the Curetonian, and is believed to be prior in date. Both are of much interest and critical value. Together they form the 'Old Syriac' text.

Among Syriac versions may also be placed the **Diatessaron**[a] of Tatian, a pupil of Justin Martyr—a Harmony of the Gospels, with the texts interwoven into one narrative, dating from about A. D. 170, and 'the earliest Life of Christ ever compiled from the original narratives.' Tatian's own work is lost, but an Arabic translation has been preserved, two copies of which are in the Vatican Library. There is also a *Commentary* upon the Diatessaron by Ephraem the renowned Syrian Father, which has survived in an Armenian translation, rendered into Latin and published by Moesinger at Venice, 1876. This Commentary contains large extracts from Tatian's compilation, quoted *verbatim*, and, together with the Arabic, has rendered the work accessible to scholars. It is of unique value, not only in attesting the early origin and reception of the Four Gospels, but in throwing light upon the original text.

Another translation of the New Testament into Syriac was made by Philoxenus of Hierapolis (Mabug) in Eastern

[a] διὰ τεσσάρων, 'by (means of) four,' i. e. the Four Evangelists.

Syria, 508 A. D., a century after which date it was edited by Thomas of Harkel, a successor of Philoxenus in the see. This **Philoxenian-Harclean** version, as it is called, contains the whole of the New Testament excepting the Apocalypse. A MS. of this version, preserved in New College, Oxford, belonged to the martyr Ridley. The extreme literalness of the translation, often following the Greek to the violation of the Syriac idiom, renders it especially useful to textual critics.

Yet another version, which has come down to us chiefly in the form of Lectionaries, or selected passages for public reading, is called the **Palestinian** or the 'Jerusalem' copy. Fragments have been discovered in various places, one of the most important by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson in the Sinaitic monastery. Its date is still under discussion.

An **Armenian** version, closely connected with the older Syriac, and belonging probably to the end of the fourth century, contains some interesting features, but as yet has been imperfectly examined. A copy of the tenth century contains the last twelve verses of Mark's Gospel, with a heading to the effect that they are by 'Ariston the elder.'

In the **Egyptian** or Coptic family of dialects the versions in *Memphitic*, sometimes called Bohairic (Lower Egypt), and the *Thebaic* or Sahidic (Upper Egypt) are the principal. In Abyssinia, the Ethiopic translation was made when Christianity became the national religion, about the end of the fifth century, and is still current. This version is included in Walton's Polyglot, but is too little known to have become as yet of critical service.

47. For the **Old Latin** and the **Vulgate** versions, see § 30. The *Passion of the Scillitan Martyrs*[a], known (by the mention

[a] *Scilla*, a place in that part of Numidia which belonged to Proconsular Africa. The translation is by Dean Armitage Robinson. See *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Clark) : additional volume, 1897.

of Roman Consuls) to belong to the year A. D. 180, is an evidence of the value already attached to the old Latin Scriptures. 'What,' said the proconsul, 'are the things in your chest?' Speratus replied, 'Books and Epistles of Paul, a just man.' Existing MSS. of this version go back to the fourth century A. D. Among these, the *C. Bobiensis* at Turin, formerly at the Irish monastery at Bobbio, founded by Columban, is especially interesting, as having, according to probable tradition, belonged to the founder himself. It contains about half of Mark's Gospel and fifteen chapters of Matthew's. Of the Vulgate New Testament, the whole or part, manuscripts are exceedingly numerous, dating from the sixth century to the invention of printing. One of the earliest and most important copies (*C. Fuldensis*, 541–6 A. D.) contains the Four Gospels in a continuous narrative, on Tatian's plan. It is noteworthy that the first printed book (by Gutenberg and Schoeffer, about 1452) was the superb folio edition of the Old and New Testaments in the Vulgate version, the first example of a complete book printed with movable types.

Of the **Gothic** version by Ulphilas, noted § 32, the most celebrated MS. is the *C. Argenteus* of the Four Gospels, written in silver letters, but unfortunately imperfect. It is the choicest treasure in the library of Upsal, Sweden.

The above list comprises all the important versions quoted in critical editions of the New Testament, and will enable the English reader to follow the references in such a work, e. g., as the *Variorum Bible*.

Early Quotations

48. A third help to the student of the New Testament text is afforded by the **quotations in early Christian writers**, including also the 'heretical.' Reference has

already been made (§§ 34–36) to such citations as testimony to the Canon. They are of further signal importance in rectifying the text. From this importance, however, two circumstances somewhat detract. One is, that in quoting Scripture, then as now, the text is often given *without verbal accuracy*. Preachers, and even writers, in citing texts from memory, often fall into extraordinary mistakes. 'Dr. Salmon produces a remarkable instance of this in Jeremy Taylor, who quotes the text "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God" nine times, yet only twice in the same form, and never once correctly[a].' How much likelier such mistakes when the copies of Holy Scripture were far less accessible than at present! Very strikingly do the quotations from the Old Testament in the New show that verbal precision was not regarded as essential. The other consideration is that copyists of patristic writings were prone to *mistake*, or to *intentional alteration*—substituting, for instance, a familiar for an unfamiliar reading. Hence this particular kind of testimony must be taken with certain limitations: it is nevertheless valuable, as often showing the state of the text at the time of the writer.

Such quotations occur especially in Clement of Rome, Tatian (the *Diatessaron*), Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen; and as witnesses to the Latin text, in Tertullian and Cyprian of Carthage, Ambrose and Augustine. In another part of the present work, under the head of Evidence, a summary of this early witness to the New Testament is given[b]. The late Dean Burgon, with prodigious industry, collected and indexed the patristic quotations, Greek and Latin, his MS. being now in the British Museum. To take four names alone, the Dean discovered quotations as follows, besides many less certain references:—

[a] F. G. Kenyon, *Handbook*, p. 207. [b] See § 67.

	Gospels	*Acts*	*Cath. Epp.*	*Paul's Epp.*	*Apoc.*	Total.
Justin Martyr	268	10	63	43	3	387
Irenæus	1038	194	23	499	65	1819
Clement of Alex.	1017	44	207	1127	11	2406
Origen	9231	349	399	7778	165	17922

49. Ecclesiastical Witnesses.—The following Table presents at one view the principal ecclesiastical and other writers of the first four centuries who show, directly or indirectly, that they themselves, and the churches which they represent, accept the existing New Testament Canon as a whole, or in its several parts.

The date given is in most cases that of the writer's death (†); but sometimes it is impossible to do more than indicate the time about which he flourished (*fl.*). Sects are dated at the time of their greatest activity. A star (*) denotes the author of a Catalogue. (See list, § 38.)

First Century.

New Testament quoted as genuine and authentic, and as a distinct collection.	*Quoted as of peculiar authority, or as Divine; expounded and commented upon.*	*Appealed to by various sects, and by adversaries.*
'Barnabas,' Epistle, or second century (?)	'Barnabas.'	
Hermas, *Shepherd*, or second century (?)	Hermas.	
Clement of Rome †100	Clement.	
Ignatius . . . †115	Ignatius.	
Polycarp. . . †167	Polycarp.	

Second Century.

Quadratus . . *fl.*130		Basilides, Alex.. 122
Papias . . . † 163		Valentinus, Rome 140
Dionysius of Corinth . . † 163	Dionysius.	Sethites, Egypt . 140
Justin Martyr . † 167	Justin Martyr.	Carpocratians, Alex. . . . 145
Melito[a] . . . *c.* 180		Marcion . . . 150
Hegesippus . . † 175		Montanists . . 157
Athenagoras . *fl.* 176	Tatian 176	Eucratites. . . 165
Theophilus(Ant.)† 180	Theophilus.	Celsus 178
**Muratorian* . . *c.* 196		Theodotus } . . 193
Irenæus . . . † 202	Irenæus.	Artemon }

[a] Fragment. Books of 'Old Testament' enumerated; implying a New.

Third Century.

	Ammonius, Alex. . . *fl.* 200–35	Hermogenes, Carthage . . † 203
Cyprian . . . † 258	Cyprian.	
*Origen . . . † 253	Origen.	
*Clement, Alex. † 217	Clement.	
Tertullian . . † 220	Tertullian.	
Minucius Felix *fl.* 220		
Dionysius, Alex. † 265	Dionysius.	
	Hippolytus . . † 250	
		Novatian, Rome † 251
		Sabellians, Egypt 258
		Paul of Samosata, Antioch . . 265
Commodian . . *fl.* 270		
		Manichæans, Persia . . . 274
Victorinus Petavensis . . *fl.* 290	Victorinus.	
		Porphyry, Rome 305
		Lucian . . † *c.* 312
Lactantius . . † 325		
*Eusebius . . † 340		

Fourth Century.

Eusebius, Nico. *fl.* 335		Arians . . . 318
Apollinaris, Laodicea . . *fl.* 362		Donatists . . 328
Laodicean Council 363		Julian, Emp. . † 365
Damasus, Rome † 366		
Hilary, Poictiers † 367		
	Athanasius . . † 373	
	Ephraem Syrus † 378	Priscillianists . 378
Athanasius . . † 373	Basil, Cæsarea . † 379	Apollinarians . 378
*Amphilochius, Iconium . . *c.* 380		
*Cyril, Jerus. . † 386	Cyril, Jerus.	
*Philastrius . † *c.* 387		
*Gregory Nazianzen . . . † 391	Gregory Nazianzen.	
Didymus, Alex. † 396		
Ambrose of Milan † 397	Ambrose.	
**Synod of Carthage* 397		
*Epiphanius, Cyprus. . † *c.* 403	Epiphanius.	
*Chrysostom . † 407	Palladius . . *fl.* 407	Pelagians . . 410
*Jerome . . . † 420	Jerome.	
*Augustine . . † 430		
*Rufinus . . . *c.* 410		

This evidence is sometimes called the historical. If its truth be acknowledged, it places an inquirer in the position of a contemporary of our Lord, leaving the claims of His religion to be established by other evidence.

Printed Editions of the Text

50. These editions, for all practical purposes, date from the **invention of printing.** In preparing the Greek Testament for the press it was necessary to consult all accessible MSS., as well as the other sources mentioned above. Hence a succession of editions down to the present time. The value of each obviously depends, first on the extent and accuracy of the editor's knowledge, and secondly on his ability and sagacity in deciding between various readings, as well as on other doubtful points. Great learning, industry, and critical acumen have been brought to the task by scholars who have undertaken it, and whose names and work are noted below. The result of their labours alone is given; but in a succeeding chapter will be noted, as a sequel to the enumeration, the lines on which they proceed, with a selection of illustrative examples.

It is remarkable that the Greek Testament did not appear in print until nearly seventy years after the invention of the art about 1450. The Hebrew Scriptures were printed by the Jews in 1488 (the Psalter in 1477), the Latin Vulgate by Gutenberg and Schoeffer about 1452, but the Greek Testament was first printed by Cardinal Ximenes in the Complutensian Polyglot in 1514 and published in 1521, and by Erasmus in 1516.

51. The '**Received Text**' of the Greek Testament is founded on the texts of Erasmus and of the Complutensian editors, as re-edited by R. Stephens (1550) and printed by the Elzevirs at Leyden[a], 1624, 1633. These texts were printed from a very imperfect collation of MSS., most of

[a] The phrase 'Received Text' is probably due to the Elzevirs: *Textum* ergo habes nunc ab omnibus *receptum*.' *Preface to* 1633 *ed.*

them modern; and there remained for future editors the need of a much more extensive examination of authorities.

52. Critical Editions.—This important task has been the work of nearly two centuries and a half. It was initiated by Brian Walton, afterwards Bishop of Chester, who examined for his great Polyglot (1657) some sixteen MSS. in addition to those previously collated, including especially the *Codex Alexandrinus* and the *Codex Bezæ*, comparing also the renderings of the ancient versions. John Fell, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, about twenty years afterwards, prepared an edition with various readings from about a hundred MSS.; but his labours were valuable chiefly as assisting Dr. John Mill, also of Oxford, in preparing his edition of 1707, which had occupied him for thirty years, and was based not only upon MSS. and versions, but upon quotations from the early Fathers; containing also *Prolegomena*, in which his method was fully described and vindicated. Mill's edition having been assailed, among others by Dr. Whitby, on account of its departure from the traditional text, the erudite Richard Bentley took up the challenge and vindicated the true principles of textual criticism; at the same time employing competent scholars still further to collate the MSS. and versions in foreign libraries. Bentley never completed his proposed edition of the New Testament, but among his assistants was J. J. Wetstein of Basle, who published his great work in 1751, still valuable, not only for its marginal various readings and its *Prolegomena*, but for its collection of passages from classical Greek authors, illustrating the words and phrases of the New Testament. Meanwhile a critical edition had been published (1734) by J. A. Bengel, of Tübingen, based chiefly upon Mill, and remarkable chiefly for the attempt to discriminate between the 'African' and 'Asiatic' authorities—a suggestion which bore much fruit in succeeding researches.

The way was now prepared for an important advance, and in 1774 and following years J. J. Griesbach of Jena carried on the work of his predecessors, achieving new and larger results. His principal edition, with critical apparatus and *Prolegomena*, appeared in Halle and London, 1796, 1806. Like Bengel, Griesbach classified his authorities, but introduced a third division, designating them respectively as 'Alexandrian,' 'Constantinopolitan,' and 'Western'; and estimating the value of any particular reading not by the number of individual MSS., but by the 'families' which contained it. Griesbach also introduced, much more largely than before, the best attested variants into the text itself, placing others in the margin, with a system of marks by which he indicated his estimate of their comparative probability. In the meantime other important additions to the knowledge of the subject had been made. In 1782–8 Matthæi, of Moscow, published an edition, remarkable chiefly for containing the readings sanctioned by what was afterwards called the Constantinopolitan recension; while Alter at Vienna (1786–7), Birch and Adler in Italy, Moldenhauer and Tychsen in Spain, and others elsewhere, were busy completing inquiries which were to supply Griesbach with materials for his critical apparatus. The results were embodied in the edition of the New Testament published by Birch, at Copenhagen, 1788–1801.

The edition (1830–6) of John M. A. Scholz, Roman Catholic Dean of Theology in the University of Bonn, is specially remarkable for its large number of MSS. collated and catalogued. He thus prepared the way for his successors, while his own conclusions are of little critical value. He adhered, for the most part, to the 'Constantinopolitan' readings. Dr. Carl Lachmann, of Berlin, on the other hand, mostly prefers the 'Constantinopolitan,' but the great characteristic of his epoch-making New Testament (1842–50) is the value which he attached to the *earliest*

authorities, disregarding in great measure the division into families. His great aim was as far as possible to restore the text of the fourth century, wholly ignoring the Textus Receptus as an authority; and where his authorities differed he had recourse, more than any of his predecessors, to the old Latin versions. Dr. S. P. Tregelles, of Plymouth, to a great extent follows Lachmann, his critical edition of the Greek Testament being avowedly founded on the authority of 'the oldest Greek manuscripts, the ancient versions down to the seventh century, and the citations of early ecclesiastical writers, including Eusebius. No account is made of the Received Text, or of the great mass of cursive MSS.' His beautiful edition appeared in parts from 1857 to 1872, and an appendix, containing *Prolegomena*, was published in 1879, four years after his death, under the editorship of Dr. Hort and A. W. Streane.

But by far the most important name of the period is that of Constantine von Tischendorf, whose completed work (eighth edition[a]) was published at Leipsic 1869–72, followed after his death in 1874 by Dr. C. R. Gregory's *Prolegomena*. Dr. Tischendorf's great discovery (1859) of the MS., denominated from the monastery where it was found the *Codex Sinaiticus* (ℵ), constituted an era in New Testament criticism, and naturally affected his latest edition, the preceding seven being superseded. His critical apparatus is wonderfully complete, and the full citation of authorities enables the student to form his own judgement as to the conclusions. The Textus Receptus is again ignored, the classification of authorities into families is disregarded, and the editor's judgement is held by many succeeding critics to be often at fault. Tischendorf was greater in the collection and arrangement of materials, where indeed he is unrivalled, than in the forming of conclusions. Not the least important part of

[a] The date of the earlier editions were 1841, 1842, 1842, 1849, 1850, 1854, 1859.

his life's work was in the editing of ancient MSS. Besides the Sinaitic MS., the Vatican (B), and the Codex Ephraemi (D), many manuscripts containing valuable portions of the New Testament were edited by him, so that he accomplished more than any other scholar had done in making the uncial evidence for the text accessible to all readers.

The work of Dr. Henry Alford, Dean of Canterbury, should here be noticed. His New Testament (1849–61, with a revised and enlarged edition 1868), besides an exegetical commentary, contains a revised text with a full critical apparatus. He generally follows Tischendorf, but by no means slavishly, and his work may often be usefully consulted by the New Testament student.

The Greek Testament edited by B. F. Westcott, late Bishop of Durham, and Dr. F. J. A. Hort appeared in 1881—the outcome of thirty years' friendship and co-operation between these two distinguished Cambridge scholars. An elaborate Introduction by Hort sets forth in detail the principles and method of the work. The classification of authorities into 'families' is revived, but with much greater elaboration, and the probable history of growth and change in the text is traced with much skill. The work has been prepared in all respects with the greatest care; and although the editors have not given a critical apparatus, which in fact could have added little or nothing to that of Tischendorf, there are special notes on controverted and difficult readings which greatly enhance the value of the book.

53. Pleas for the 'Traditional Text.'—Such a work was not likely, any more than the earlier critical editions, to pass without opposition, and the learned Dean of Chichester, Dr. J. B. Burgon, with his follower and survivor, Prebendary Miller, very vigorously maintained the superior claims of the 'Traditional Text'—in other words, of the Textus Receptus cleared from certain minor blemishes. Besides evidence adduced, largely from patristic quotations,

the ground taken was chiefly the assumption that the Church would not have been permitted by its Divine Head to accept through many generations a corrupted Scripture. In pursuance of this theory, the design was formed of publishing this Traditional Text in its genuine form. The death, however, of the promoters of the scheme put a stop to the execution of the plan ; it is doubtful whether it could now be carried out, and in face of the accumulated mass of adverse evidence and the general concurrence of critics of every school, it could scarcely hope for much acceptance.

Mention should be made of the latest critical edition that has been published up to the date of the present work, that by the venerable Bernhard Weiss, of Maulbronn in Würtemburg (completed 1901). Its chief characteristic is a careful estimation of *internal* evidence. He balances conclusions as a practised exegete, and accordingly demurs to many readings which Westcott and Hort have accepted on the weight of external authority, differing also from these scholars on the 'genealogical' theory. But he agrees with them in assigning the supreme place to the Vatican MS.

54. For the general reader, many editions of the Greek Testament have appeared, which summarize the conclusions of editors, without detailing the documentary or other data. Dr. Scrivener's *Greek New Testament* has the Textus Receptus (or rather Stephens' 1550 edition) with the altered words and phrases printed in special type, referring to the readings of the Elzevirs (where differing from Stephens), Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Westcott and Hort, and the Revised English Version. Dr. Weymouth's *Resultant Greek Testament* (1886)[a] constructed a text from the foregoing authorities, with Alford, the Basel edition, and, in certain books, Lightfoot, Ellicott, and Weiss. The verdict of the majority is *generally* taken, but the chief variants are given in the margin.

[a] An English translation by Dr. Weymouth has been published (1903) since his death : *The New Testament in Modern Speech.*

Dr. E. Nestle published through the Stuttgart Bible Society a similar work in convenient pocket form (second edition 1901), which had the advantage of Dr. Weiss's readings [a]. And lastly, one of the results of the New Testament Revision, 1881, was the publication of the text followed by the Revisers, constructed by Archdeacon Palmer, not from an examination of original authorities, but from a comparison of editions. In general, it followed the Received Text of Stephens, introducing only those alterations which affect the English version. It is thus convenient to the English student, but to others is of little value. The chief variations from the Received Text are noted in the margin. Every student of the Greek Testament is thus provided with ample means for comparing, if not for testing, the latest results of Textual Criticism.

[a] A new edition of this most useful work was issued, in a slightly altered form, as one of the Centenary publications of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in 1904.

CHAPTER IV

ON THE TEXT OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS

Textual Criticism: General Method

55. Biblical Criticism is twofold.—First, the exact *Text* of Scripture, as it existed in the original MSS., has, so far as possible, to be ascertained; and then the *Contents* of Scripture have to be examined, with reference to their composition, authorship, date, and historical value, as judged from internal evidence. The former process is generally described as **Textual Criticism**; the latter is frequently termed **the Higher Criticism**, a phrase first applied to Biblical studies by Eichhorn a century ago [a]. This word 'higher' is perhaps open to objection, as it may seem to suggest some *superiority*. Since it really implies nothing more than that the consideration of the contents naturally follows the determination of the text, a better designation would be 'the Further Criticism'; or, better still, 'Historical Criticism,' to indicate its chief aim and result [b]. The *Horæ Paulinæ* of Paley illustrates the

[a] See *Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament*, Jena, 1787; second edition, Göttingen, 1803. English translation (in part) by G. T. Gollop, 1888.

[b] '*Higher* criticism concerns itself with questions as to the composition, authorship, date, and historical value of an ancient document, as these may be judged from internal evidence. The term is used in contrast to *lower* (more frequently called *textual*) criticism, which is confined simply to the state of the text, and seeks to ascertain its original form, freed from the errors which are incidental to the trans-

method. That many who have employed such criticism have been led to conflicting and erroneous conclusions, is an argument against the critics, not against the process, which, if legitimately conducted, must enlarge our knowledge of Scripture, and so be of lasting service to the cause of truth.

56. External Testimony to the original text. The **main sources** have been indicated in Chs. II and III.

1. *The Greek MSS. themselves:* the object of their collation is to discover with all attainable accuracy the precise words of the originals.

2. In this endeavour the *most ancient Versions* are of great service, since they give us access, though at second-hand, to a text of considerably earlier date than that of the oldest extant MSS.

3. *Quotations* of the New Testament in early Christian and other writers are useful, with all allowance for looseness in citation, in showing the text which they employed.

4. It may be added that in numberless cases *Internal Evidence* must be resorted to for decision between readings of equal or nearly-balanced external authority.

Textual Variations Illustrated

57. The following illustrations will aid the reader in apprehending the principles and general results of textual criticism, and will confirm belief in the close conformity of the existing Scriptures, in letter as in spirit, with the inspired word.

Mistakes in Copying, unintentional. The written words, having descended to us through a series of transcrip-

mission of ancient manuscripts. Thus the adjective *higher* defines nothing more than the relation of this class of criticism to the other; and the best descriptive antithesis to *textual* is *historical*.' C. F. Burney, in *Contentio Veritatis*, p. 169.

tions, have been inevitably exposed to such errors as are found in the work of all copyists. Even *printed* books often contain numerous inaccuracies, in spite of the most careful reading of proof-sheets ; and in writing the risk is much greater than in printing, revision and correction of each copy being necessary and laborious. The slowness of the process increases the probability that letters, syllables, and words will be added, omitted, changed, or transposed. Sometimes the writer transcribes from a MS. before him, sometimes from dictation. In the latter case, his ear is liable to deceive him ; in the former, his eye. The same word or final syllable may recur at a short interval: and when the pen has written the former, the eye slips on to the latter, causing the intervening words to be dropped [a]. Long vowels are also put for short, and vice versa [b]. Misunderstandings of the MS. from which the transcriber writes will sometimes lead to error. He may either misinterpret its abbreviations, or inaccurately divide the words, where written, as in most ancient MSS., without pause-marks ; or the MS. may in places be wholly or partially effaced. Independently, therefore, of design, these causes of error would be always at work—similar to the mistakes produced in any English book by such *errata* as escape the eye of even a careful reader.

Illustrations may be given from both Old and New Testaments ; the latter affording the wider field ; thus :—

1. There are many cases in which, from **the similarity of two words** in sound, the transcriber has fallen into error.

1. Interchange of letters (Old Testament).—In Judg 8^{16} the Hebrew text and English read 'he *taught* the men of Succoth.' The change of one letter, ת to ר, would make the meaning 'he *tore* the men' as in verse 7. So the LXX, Syriac, Vulgate, &c. See R. V., margin.

[a] The technical name for this source of error is *homœoteleuton* (similar ending).

[b] This mistake is technically termed *itacism*, from the discussion as to the correct pronunciation of the Greek vowel ēta, and others.

In Num 22^5 'the children of *his people*' would become, by the addition of one letter (the final ן). 'the children of *Ammon*.' So the Vulgate.

A remarkable series of passages will convey opposite meanings, according as we read the same sound *lō*, 'not' or 'to him' (לֹא or לוֹ). 'Not' is *written* (kĕthībh), but *to him*, or its equivalents, are directed by the Massoretes to be *read* (qĕrî). Thus Ps 100^3 '*not* we ourselves' is variously read 'we (are) to or for Him' = '*His* we are' (R. V.). Is 9^3 'and *not* increased the joy' reads 'Thou hast increased *their* joy.' Is 49^5 'though Israel be *not* gathered' becomes 'that Israel may be gathered *to Him*.' On the other hand, in 2 Ki 8^{10} the right reading seems to be 'thou shalt *not* recover [a].'

Ps 59^{10} '(Because of) His strength I will wait upon Thee' by a very slight change in one letter (ו to י) becomes, with the LXX and Vulgate, 'O my Strength, I will wait upon Thee.' See Delitzsch's note.

As the Divine Name JEHOVAH (prop. *Yahveh*) was not pronounced by the Jews, copyists were apt to substitute for it *Adonai*, 'Lord,' or *Elohim*, 'God.' Hence many variations.

(New Testament.)—In Ac 13^{18} instead of 'suffered He their manners' many MSS. and editors read 'bare them as a nursing-father'; the difference only of one letter (*ph* for *p* (ἐτροποφόρησεν or ἐτροφοφόρησεν)).

Ro 7^6 for rec. 'that being dead' we should read '*we being dead*,' a difference of one letter (*e* for *o* (ἀποθανόντες for ἀποθανόντος)).

In a few cases, the insertion, omission, or change of a single letter greatly affects the meaning of a passage.

Mk 6^{20}, Herod 'did many things' or 'was much perplexed,' a difference of two letters only.

Lu 2^{14} 'good will among men' or 'among men of good will.' The difference depends on the omission or insertion of the letter *s*.

Lu 21^{19} 'In your patience ye shall win your souls' or 'possess ye'; again the difference of a single letter (*e* or *a* (κτήσεσθε or κτήσασθε)).

1 Tim 3^{16} 'God was manifested' or 'He Who was manifested,' dependent on a *single stroke* in the uncial MSS. (ΘC abbreviation for *God*, OC *who*).

Rev 1^5 'washed us from our sins' or 'loosed us from our sins,' the difference being in the insertion or omission of the vowel *o* (λούσαντι or λύσαντι).

The above examples may suffice to illustrate the facility with which errors in copying may be made. The discrimination between the original and the mistaken form requires the careful application of critical principles, as hereafter stated.

[a] Other instances are Ex 21^8 1 Sa 2^3 Ezr 4^2 Job 13^{15} Is 63^9 (all doubtful; see R. V. margin); and Job 41^{12} (*Heb.* ^{4}) Ps 139^{16} Pr 19^7 26^2 ('not' obviously right).

2. **Similarity of ending** (*homœoteleuton*) of words or sentences sometimes occasioned mistakes. Thus, in 1 Jn 2^{23} the A. V. prints in *italics* the clause 'but he that acknowledgeth the Son, hath the Father also.' The words, however, are overwhelmingly attested (ℵ A B C), and were doubtless dropped in some MSS. by confusion of the repeated phrase 'hath the Father' (*τὸν πατέρα ἔχει*). So in Lu $18^{38.39}$: both verses end with 'have mercy on me' (*ἐλέησόν με*), with the result that some copies omit the whole of verse 39.

3. A large class of various readings owe their origin to the **use of synonymous expressions**: as 'he spoke' for 'he said,' in 2 Ki 1^{10}; 'this very world' for 'this present world,' Mt 12^{32}; 'the messengers of John' for 'the disciples of John,' in Lu 7^{24}; 'to follow after' for 'follow,' Mk 8^{34}.

4. Many copyists were acquainted with other Oriental languages, and, in the case of the New Testament, with other dialects; and thence arose great diversity in **orthography** even where the readings are substantially the same.

5. Ancient MSS. are often **without stops**, and without even the division of the words: hence occasional mistakes, though fewer than might be supposed.

In Ps 48^{14}, for 'unto death' some MSS. and the LXX read, by connecting the two words, 'for ever.' And Ps 25^{17} may be read, through a similar mistake, 'Enlarge the troubles of my heart, and bring,' &c.; compare also LXX, and Heb. of Ps 4^{3}. In the New Testament examples of a similar kind occur in Col 2^{18} 2 Pet 1^{3}.

6. Sometimes **abbreviations** are wrongly interpreted. Thus, ″י (J) is the Hebrew abbreviation for 'Jehovah'; and it means also MY: hence an occasional mistake. In the LXX of Jer 6^{11}, 'the fury of J' is translated 'My fury.'

7. In Old Testament MSS. the copyists never left any vacant space at the end of a line, nor did they divide words (by hyphen); and hence they often **filled up the line** with some favourite letter, or with the initial of the

next word, which of course was repeated in the following line. 'For them,' in Is 35^{1}, is an example, see R.V. And, on the other hand, ignorant copyists have mistaken final letters for mere *custodes linearum*, as they are called, and have omitted them.

8. Sometimes **marginal readings** have been inserted in the body of the MSS., corrective or explanatory of the original text.

The repetition 'Surely the people is grass' (Is 40^{7}) may be due to this cause, and is not found in the LXX. The number 50,000, in 1 Sa 6^{19}, is supposed by Jahn to be another instance.

Such additions are more frequent in New Testament MSS.

In Lu 7^{16}, 'God has visited His people *for good*' (*εἰς ἀγαθόν*), an addition in some MSS. and Versions in explanation of a phrase which seemed scarcely clear.

Jn $5^{3,4}$. The account of the angel at Bethesda seems to have been originally a marginal explanation of the healing efficacy of the waters.

Ro 8^{1}. The words 'who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit' are probably from the margin, to define those who are 'in Christ Jesus.'

Ro 11^{6}. The latter half of the verse appears to have been added by a copyist from the margin to complete the antithesis.

1 Cor 6^{20}. The words 'and in your spirit which are God's,' originally a marginal note, added to make the injunction more comprehensive.

Gal 4^{26}. The word *all* is no doubt from the margin.

Rev 21^{24}. For the true reading 'the nations shall walk in the light of it,' indicating the universal influence of Christ's kingdom, some annotator has added to *nations* the explanation 'of them that are saved,' so misapprehending and limiting the passage.

In Lu 6^{1}, to the words 'And it came to pass on a Sabbath' the Received Text (A. V. 'the second after the first') adds 'the second-first' (*δευτεροπρώτῳ*). The word occurs nowhere else, and has been a *crux interpretum*. The best MSS. (ℵ B L) omit the word, and their authority might be unhesitatingly accepted but for the suspicion that the word may have been dropped just because of its obscurity: the principle of *Transcriptional Probability* (§ 62, 2) makes it necessary to account for its insertion if not genuine. An ingenious suggestion was made by Meyer, and adopted by WH and others, that the word is simply the fusion of two marginal notes. In distinction from the 'on another (*ἑτέρῳ*) Sabbath' of verse 6, some scribe has annotated verse 1 'on a first' (*πρώτῳ*). But the recollection of previous Sabbath incidents (4^{31} *sqq.*) has moved yet another scribe to insert a corrective 'on a second' (*δευτέρῳ*) above the

other margin. Hence the anomalous δευτεροπρώτῳ, which finds its way from margin into text, to the bewilderment of expositors. Whether the conjecture be received or not, it at least illustrates a not unusual source of corruption.

See further, Mt 20^{7} Mk 8^{26} 9^{49} (as from a marginal reference to Lev 2^{13}) Jn 8^{59} Ac 15^{34} 18^{20} 20^{15} (completing the narrative of the voyage) $28^{16.20}$ Ro 14^{6} 1 Cor 11^{24} ('broken') Gal 3^{1} 1 Pet 4^{14} 1 Jn 4^{3} Rev 5^{14}.

All the above instances are specimens of many readings in MSS. as well as in patristic and other quotations[a], but not included in the best texts. It will be seen that the removal of the clauses cited neither adds nor takes away anything material, in either history or doctrine.

58. Intentional Alterations.—The sources of various readings noticed thus far may be regarded as accidental. Other readings, however, were intentionally made, either from good motives or from bad. A Greek copyist, for example, would correct a Hebraism as a violation of grammar. He would sometimes substitute for the original Greek words which he deemed more clear and easy. Sometimes he would correct one Evangelist by another, or fill up the shorter account from the longer one, or adapt the quotations from the Old Testament to the text of his own copy, whether it were Hebrew, or Greek, or Latin. Or again, some theological or sectarian bias may have influenced the copyist.

9. Thus, orthographic anomalies are sometimes perpetuated through a whole book or section.

[a] The tendency to amplify Scripture texts in citing them is continually exemplified. Who has not heard from the pulpit, or read in popular literature, such quotations as 'whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with *all* thy might'; 'look upon *us in* the face of Thine anointed'; 'we roll sin *as a sweet morsel under our* tongue'; 'Thou . . canst not look upon iniquity *but with abhorrence*'; 'the light of Thy *reconciled* countenance'; '*diligent* in business, fervent in spirit' 'where two or three are gathered in My name, there am I in the midst of them, *and that to bless them.*'

The Hebrew for *boy* is put 22 times in the Pentateuch for *girl* (*naʿar* for *naʿarah*). The explanation probably is that one form was originally used for both genders; the feminine termination *-ah* being later introduced, but the word being unaltered in the Pentateuch owing to the peculiar reverence with which the Law of Moses was regarded. See Dr. Ginsburg's *Massora*, vol. iv, § 113, p. 294. Once only, the later orthography penetrated into the written text, Deut 22^{19}. The feminine form, however, is given in the *qᵉri*. Some Hebraists, with less probability, regard the case as one of a scribal error perpetuated. Thus in Eze 40, the ordinary sign of the plural *ĕ* (י before suffix ו) is omitted in the text 34 times, but is restored in the *qᵉri*.

10. Sometimes attempts were made to improve MSS., by making the language **more clear and easy.**

Many passages of the Chronicles, when compared with Samuel, will be found to give more modern words, in place of the obsolete ones of the earlier writer. These passages, when compared by copyists, gave rise to various readings. See Hebrew of 1 Sa 31^{12} and 1 Ch 10^{12} 2 Sa 7^{23} and 1 Ch 17^{21}: 2 Sa 6^{16} and 1 Ch 15^{29}.

In Mt 6^{1} the word *righteousness* is thought to have been changed by a copyist to 'alms'; the fact being overlooked that the precept includes prayer and fasting as well as alms. In Mt 9^{8} a transcriber appears to have altered 'were afraid' to 'marvelled,' supposing the former expression unsuitable. In Jn 3^{26} the 'Jew' who argued with the disciples of the Baptist is multiplied into 'Jews.' In Mk 10^{50} the vivid 'sprang up' (describing the act of Bartimæus) is altered to 'rose'; and in Jn 4^{15} the transcriber's omission of 'all the way hither' obscures the suggestion of the long journey to the well. Many graphic touches of a similar kind are restored to the New Testament text by criticism.

Difficulties, again, seem to have been felt by transcribers in regard to the negative. Thus in Mk 5^{36} the correct text is 'not heeding' (our Lord disregards the objection); and in Col 2^{18} for 'which he hath not seen' read 'which he hath seen' (the standpoint being faith, not sight).

A singular class of alterations has either changed assertions to exhortations, or the reverse. The principal instance is Ro 5^{1} 'let us have peace with God.' But there are several others in MSS., as Ro 6^{8} 'let us believe,' 6^{17} 'let us obey'; 1 Cor 14^{15} 'let me pray,' 15^{49} 'let us bear'; 2 Tim $2^{11.12}$ 'let us live,' 'let us reign.' But the weight of authority is decisively against the hortatory sense in all these passages, excepting Ro 5^{1} and perhaps 1 Cor 15^{49}, on which (especially on the former) critics are still divided. Several of these passages may be instances of *itacism*. (See p. 68, note [b].)

Slighter amendments have been made by copyists in the supposed

interest of accuracy. Mk 1^2, original text, 'in the prophet Isaiah'; Eph 5^9 'the fruit of the light'; Mk 3^{29} 'an eternal sin'; Jn 14^4 'whither I go, ye know the way': the disciples did not know the *end*, but they did know the way to it.

Sometimes it is difficult to tell which is the original, which the correction. Lu 4^{44} 'Galilee' or 'Judæa.' Should the latter reading be authenticated, it may be an interesting reference to our Lord's ministry in southern Palestine.

In the Pentateuch the word for *God* is plural (Elohim), and is sometimes joined with a singular verb and sometimes with a plural verb. In all the latter cases there is a variety of readings: most of them (as in the *Sam.*) in favour of a singular *noun* (as 'the Holy One'), retaining, however, the plural *verb*: the object being, probably, to prevent a supposition that the Scriptures favoured polytheism. See Gen 20^{13} 35^7.

11. Sometimes alterations were made **to suit a parallel passage**, or to make the text agree with the passage from which it is quoted. This is frequently the case in New Testament quotations from the LXX.

Lu 4^{18} 'to heal the broken-hearted' is wanting in several MSS. It is probably taken from the LXX of Is 61^1. Mt 12^{35} 'of the heart' is omitted in many MSS., and in the *Vulg.*, *Syr.*, *Copt.*, *Pers.*, *Arab.* It is probably from Lu 6^{45}. Mt $20^{22.23}$ 'the baptism I am baptized with, can ye be baptized with?' is wanting in several MSS., and in the *Vulg.*, *Ethiop.*, and *Copt.*; probably from Mk $10^{38.39}$. Mt 27^{35} 'That it might be fulfilled,' &c., is wanting in very many MSS., the *Syr.*, *Copt.*, *Ethiop.*, and *Arab.* It is, probably, from Jn 19^{24}. In Lu 11^{2-4} the Lord's Prayer has been assimilated to the form in Mt 6. In Mt 9^{13} the words 'to repentance' have been added from Lu 5^{32}. In Mt 15^8 'draweth nigh unto Me with their mouth, and' is an insertion from Is 29^{13}; and in Ro 13^9 'thou shalt not bear false witness' is an addition to the commandments quoted.

In Mt 19^{17} the remarkable reading (approved by most critics) 'why askest thou Me concerning the good?' has been assimilated by copyists to Mk 10^{18} Lu 18^{19}.

In Mt 11^{19} the true reading seems to be 'by her works,' altered to 'children' from Lu 7^{35}. In Lu 9^{35} 'My Son, My chosen' has been changed to 'My beloved Son,' according to Mt 17^5 Mk 9^7.

The repetition (WH doubtfully) of the 'prodigal's' words to his father, Lu 15^{21} from verse 19, seems against the weight of evidence. The son was not permitted, in his father's eager welcome, to finish his appeal.

For further instances of the insertion by copyists of parallel passages see Mt 18^{11} (Lu 19^{10}) 20^{16} (22^{14}) Lu 1^{28} (the salutation of Elisabeth, verse 42, also attributed to the angel).

Quotations from the Old Testament, noted by transcribers, Mt 27^{35} (Ps 22^{18}) Mk 15^{28} (Is 53^{12}). Ac 9, 22, 26, and Ac 10, 11 have been peculiarly liable to various readings. 1 Cor 15^{5} 'the twelve' being not strictly accurate (for Thomas was absent), some MSS. read 'the eleven.' So, in Mk 8^{31}, some MSS. read 'after three days,' and others 'on the third day.'

12. Sometimes a passage has been altered wilfully, **to serve the purposes of a party**, or to favour what was deemed the cause of truth.

In Dt 27^{2} the *Heb.* reads 'Ebal,' and the *Sam.* 'Gerizim,' which was in the Samaritan territory; and the passage was used as a reason for erecting there a Samaritan temple. In Judg 18^{30} 'Manasseh' is written in many MSS. for Moses, to save the honour of his family. Is 64^{4} has been altered, and is now unintelligible. It is quoted in 1 Cor 2^{9}. Is 52^{14}, for 'at *thee*' some MSS., the *Chald.*, *Syr.*, and *Vulg.* read 'at *him*.' Such intentional alterations, however, are very rare in the Old Testament; nor are there many in the Greek New Testament. In Mt 1^{18} 'before they came together,' and the word 'first-born,' are omitted in some MSS. and versions, in favour of the perpetual virginity. In Mk 13^{32} 'neither the Son' is omitted in several MSS. and Fathers, as seeming to favour Arianism. Lu 2^{22} the genuine reading 'their' is changed in a few later MSS. to 'her' so as to exempt the Holy Child. Jn 7^{8} 'yet' is probably an addition, to avoid offence. Lu $22^{43.44}$ are omitted in A B and some other MSS., but the evidence for the genuineness of the passage apparently preponderates. Still less reason is there for omitting Lu 23^{34}, although the verse is absent from many MSS. Some passages seem to have been tampered with to favour ascetic practices. Thus the references to fasting, Mk 9^{29} Ac 10^{30}, have no place in the best critical texts. Ac 8^{37} appears to have been added to connect baptism with the profession of faith. See Ro 10^{9}.

13. There are also various readings, which can be explained only on the supposition of **carelessness** on the part of transcribers, and which are not referable to any of the causes just enumerated.

In 1 Ch 6^{23} there is an omission of the name Joel (see verse 33: 1 Sa 8^{2}). The verse really reads 'And the sons of Samuel, the first-born Joel, *and the second* (Heb. *vashni*) Abiah.' A singular instance

may be seen in 2 Sa 21^{19}; the words 'the brother of' being apparently omitted; see 1 Ch 20^{5}. But the Hebrew of the verse in 2 Samuel is evidently in some confusion. The name *Jair* 1 Ch 20^{5} becomes *Jaare-oregim* 2 Sa 21^{19}, 'oregim' meaning 'weavers,' as if from the latter part of the verse. The 430 years mentioned in Ex 12^{40}, as the time of the sojourning of the children of Israel in Egypt, is inconsistent with Gal 3^{17} Gen 12^{4} $17^{1.21}$ 25^{26}. The *Samaritan* and LXX insert after 'Egypt' 'and in Canaan.'

Among phrases in the New Testament dropped in transcription, but now restored from the MSS., are 'in Hebrew' (Jn 20^{16}); 'not being myself under the law' (1 Cor 9^{20}); 'even as ye do walk' (1 Th 4^{1}); 'according unto God' (1 Pet 5^{2}); 'and *such* we are' (1 Jn 3^{1}); 'having His name and' (Rev 14^{1}). Other accidental changes occur in Mt 17^{4} 'I will make' (Peter speaking); Mk 6^{20}; Ac 3^{20} 'appointed for you' instead of 'preached unto you'; 1 Tim 1^{4} 'a dispensation of God' instead of 'godly edifying'; Heb 10^{34} 'on them that were in bonds' instead of 'on me in my bonds.'

59. The readings which have originated in these and similar causes amount to many thousands; but in nearly all the various readings may be adopted **without materially affecting the sense.** Bishop Westcott forcibly remarks, 'It cannot be repeated too often that the text of the New Testament surpasses all other Greek texts in the antiquity, variety, and fullness of the evidence by which it is attested. About seven-eighths of the words are raised above all doubt by a unique combination of authorities; and of the questions which affect the remaining one-eighth, a great part are simply questions of order and form, and such that serious doubt does not appear to touch more than one-sixtieth part of the whole text[a].' So, again, to quote an authority which will not be suspected of a conservative bias, the article on 'Text and Versions' in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* remarks at the close: 'In concluding an article of any length on the textual criticism of the Bible it is always wholesome to remind oneself of the comparative soundness of the text[b].'

[a] *Some Lessons of the Revised Version*, pp. 209, 210.

[b] *Encyc. Bib.* vol. 4, p. 5031, art. by F. C. Burkitt.

Principles and Rules of Criticism

60. It becomes then a question of much interest, how the comparative value of various readings is to be decided. The answers to this question constitute the **Science of Textual Criticism**. Its general principles demand for their application the knowledge and skill of experts; while it is yet possible so to state them that every student of Scripture can apprehend their truth and value, with their bearing upon each individual case.

From the preceding illustrations, it will have appeared that textual criticism of the Old Testament materially differs in many particulars from that of the New. The text of the former has been fixed by long tradition, all MSS. varying from the one standard being destroyed. Hence there is practically but one recension—the Massoretic; variations being noted in the marginal *qĕrî*, and the limits of critical decision lying—apart from conjectural emendation, with or without the support of the versions—between this and the *kĕthībh* (written text). In general the former is to be preferred, but by no means always, as already illustrated (§ 57, 1) in the passages that vary between *not* and *to him*.

The original text of the New Testament, on the other hand, is without any authoritative revision. The collation of MSS., with the examination of collateral evidence of ancient versions, of quotations by early writers, and of the intrinsic character of different readings, has been the work of critics whose lives have been devoted to the anxious task. The following principles are recognized by all scholars:

1. When MSS., versions, and quotations agree in a reading, the EXTERNAL evidence in its favour is complete; and, when the reading thus fixed agrees with the nature of the language, the sense, the connexion of historical facts, and parallel passages, the INTERNAL evidence is complete. Where these concur, the reading is undoubtedly genuine; and this is the

evidence found in the case of the great bulk of the Scriptures, as contained in the common editions.

2. When the documents present conflicting readings, the determination of the text is a matter of adjustment of *External* and *Internal* evidence.

External Evidence.

61. If witnesses could be simply *counted*, the task would be simple. They must be *weighed*, a process of great intricacy and difficulty. Some of the more obvious conditions on which the value of a New Testament MS. depends may be noted.

1. **Its age.** There is at least a presumption that the older the document the older the text, and one less vitiated by successive copyings. But it is both a possibility and a fact that some late MSS. may preserve transcripts of very early ones which have since perished.

2. The **age of the text** it contains, ascertained by comparison with early patristic citations and early versions.

3. The **family** to which it belongs. In their support of readings, the MSS. and versions are found to fall into groups; the same set of documents are continually together on the one side or the other. This fact has been *genealogically* interpreted.

By careful comparison of Greek MSS. with the texts used by the Fathers of East and West, and with those underlying the Latin, Syriac, and Egyptian versions, three main types of text have been determined, each represented by certain MSS., versions, and Fathers.

1. Syrian, Antiochian, Byzantine, or Constantinopolitan. This is the text of the great bulk of uncials and cursives, and is virtually identical with the 'Received Text' underlying the English A.V.

2. Western, so called because represented by the Græco-Latin Codex Bezæ (D) and the Old Latin version. It was, however, more or less current throughout Christendom, and often agrees with the Syriac versions.

3. Alexandrian, the text of the oldest codices and the ancient

Egyptian version. It is on witnesses of this third type that modern critical editors mainly rely. WH distinguished among them a yet more select group, which had escaped the refining process of the critical school of Alexandria, and to which they gave the name NEUTRAL: for practical purposes the group consists of B ℵ. More recent criticism, however, hardly endorses this distinction, and, especially, questions the wholesale rejection of Western authorities to which W H committed themselves. A further study of these in the Gospels and the Acts has already done much to vindicate their value, and to suggest that the textual criticism of the future must build on a broader foundation than that adopted by Dr. Hort in his invaluable *Introduction*.

When we come to consider readings which are **but probable**, being equally, or more or less nearly equally, supported by external evidence, the rules of criticism become more difficult, and the application of them must be made with less rigidity.

Internal Evidence.

62. Internal evidence is directed to the answer of two questions: (1) What is the author likely to have written? (**Intrinsic** probability), (2) Which of the competing readings are more likely to be due to error, unconscious or conscious, of the copyists? (**Transcriptional** probability.)

The general principle is, that out of conflicting readings, the reading is to be preferred **which best explains the origin of the rest.** The principle, however, needs much critical knowledge and sagacity in its application. The usual proclivities of the copyists, carefully observed and tabulated, form the basis of the so-called CANONS OF CRITICISM, rules which are serviceable if used as rough generalizations only, and always liable to exception. The following, which sometimes overlap, may be mentioned :—

1. Of two readings, equally supported by external evidence, that is the most probable **which best suits the sense**; or else which could not, so easily as the other, have been **written by mistake.**

These are the general principles of Intrinsic and Transcriptional Probability. In application, they often conflict,

because the reading which is intrinsically preferable is, on that account, likely to have been substituted for one more difficult. See 2.

Ac 11^{20}. The reading of many MSS. is 'unto the *Grecians*'; but probably it ought to be, as many others read, 'unto the *Greeks*.' The fact seems noticed because of its remarkableness, and justly so, if it was the second case of the success of the gospel among Gentiles; see $10^{44.45}$ for the first. 'Grecians' or 'Hellenists' were *Jews* who resided out of Palestine, and many of whom had already received the gospel. The R. V. reads 'Greeks,' but W H retain 'Grecians.'

Some editors have adopted the practical rule that, where the external testimony is equally balanced, readings not decidedly better than the Received Text should not be placed in it: but if as good, or nearly so, they may be placed in the **margin.** This rule must be specially borne in mind in the study of the R. V. Only, as the Revisers required a two-thirds majority before altering the Received Text, many readings were consigned to the margin which had received an actual plurality of votes, and which are distinctly preferable to those adopted in their text. This remark applies also to translations.

2. Of the readings, the **one easy** and **the other difficult**, the *latter* is generally to be preferred: a rule thus formulated by Bengel: 'Proclivi scriptioni praestat ardua.' Evidently, a copyist was more likely to smooth away a difficulty than to introduce one.

Thus, 'the first-fruits of *Asia*,' Ro 16^{5}, is preferred, as a more difficult reading, to 'the first-fruits of *Achaia*,' seeing that the Epistle was written from Corinth. In Rev 8^{13} *eagle* is decidedly more difficult than *angel*. In the genealogy Mt 1 *Asaph* and *Amos* are more difficult than *Asa* and *Amon*. But in some places the reading is not only difficult but impossible, as Mt 21^{31} 'the *latter*'; obviously inadmissible (unless the reference to the two servants be reversed in the parable); and Ro 8^{2} 'set *thee* free'; contrary to the whole scope of the passage.

3. Of two readings, equally supported, the **shorter** is probably the genuine one, as copyists were more likely from *intention* to add than to omit, although more likely from *accident* to omit than to add; and the rule therefore must not be pressed in every case.

For a list of transcribers' omissions see § 58, and for their additions,

§ 57, 8. The comparison of the two lists well illustrates the application of the rule.

4. Of two readings, the **one classical** and **the other Oriental**, the *latter* is the more probable.

There was a natural tendency to prune away provincialisms and solecisms in orthography, grammar, and syntax. See especially Dr. Hort's *Introduction*, pp. 148–80, 'Notes on Orthography.' On the other hand, allowance has to be made for the provincialisms of the scribes of individual documents.

5. Of two readings equally supported, that is to be preferred which best agrees with the **style** of the writer, or with his **design**, or with the **context**.

6. **Conjectural readings**, supported by the sense, or by versions, may be probable; but must not be received as indubitable, unless they are confirmed by evidence.

In Gen 1^{8} 'God saw that it was good' is wanting at the end of the second day's creation, but is found in verse 10, in the middle of the third day's work. There has, therefore, probably been a transposition of the clause, especially as the LXX reads the phrase in verse 8. In Gen 4^{8} the Hebrew means '*said unto* Abel,' hardly '*talked* with' (A. V.) or '*told*' (R. V.). Probably the words preserved in the LXX, 'Let us go into the field,' have dropped out of the text. (See R. V. margin.)

In the New Testament (as MSS. and other authorities are numerous and varied) conjectural emendation is less admissible. Some modern critics have carried the practice to an utterly unjustifiable extent. It is a sound maxim that 'the only test of a successful conjecture is that it shall approve itself as inevitable. Lacking inevitableness, it remains doubtful[a].'

If conjecture were ever to be admitted, it might be in Ac 20^{28}, where the readings 'God' and 'Lord' present almost equal difficulty. The sentence would be in harmony with New Testament usage if read, as

[a] Professor B. B. Warfield, *Introduction to Textual Criticism of New Testament*, p. 209.

Westcott suggests, with the addition of one word: 'which He hath purchased by the blood of His own Son.' See also Lightfoot on Col 2^{18}.

Application of Critical Canons

63. To aid the reader to apply these rules, we take as an instance 1 Jn 5^{7}, the 'Three Heavenly Witnesses.'

The passage is printed in the Clementine editions of the Vulgate, in the Complutensian of the Greek, in the third edition of Erasmus; and thence found its way into the common texts of Stephens, Beza, and Elzevir.

Against its genuineness it may be said,

1. That no Greek MS. of certainly earlier date than the fifteenth century contains it. It is omitted in many cursive MSS., and in ℵ A B G K.

2. It is wanting in all the ancient versions, except the Latin, nor is it found in the most ancient MSS. of the Vulgate, the Codd. *Amiatinus*, *Fuldensis*, *Harleian*, or in any earlier than the ninth century. It is wanting, for example, in the two *Syr.*, *Arab.*, *Copt.*, *Ethiop.*, *Armen.*, *Slavonic*; though some printed editions of the two latter and of the *Peshitta* insert it.

3. Ancient Greek Fathers have never quoted it in any of their arguments for the doctrine of the Trinity. Verses 6, 8, 9 are quoted more than once, but verse 7 never.

In favour of its genuineness it may be said,

1. That it is inserted in some Greek (cursive) MSS., in the *Codex Ravianus* at Berlin, the *Codex Ottobianus* in the Vatican, the *C. Regius* at Naples, and the *C. Montfortianus* at Dublin, concerning which, however, it is remarked, that the first is a copy from the Complutensian; that the second is simply a translation from the Vulgate; and that the third has the passage written, not in the text, but in the margin. The fourth belongs to the fifteenth century, or later, and is therefore modern, being evidently taken from the Latin [a].

2. It is found in a MS. of extracts from the Old Latin ('Speculum') belonging to the sixth or seventh century; also in most MSS. of the Latin Vulgate after the ninth century.

[a] Erasmus, when reproached for omitting the text from his edition, rashly promised to insert it if a single Greek MS. containing it could be produced. In reply to his challenge a 'codex Britannicus' was brought to light: and accordingly in his next edition (the third) he included the passage. The MS. is identified as the *Montfortianus*.

3. It is cited by Vigilius of Thapsus towards the end of the fifth century, as well as (apparently) by Tertullian and Cyprian, whose citations, however, are really of other passages. A recently discovered treatise by Priscillian (near the end of the fourth century) also contains the passage.

4. It is quoted in a Confession of Faith, given in the history of the Vandalic persecution in Africa, and said to have been presented by a body of Christians in the year 484. This alleged fact, however, is not sufficient to weaken the positive evidence; and is, moreover, itself doubtful.

5. It is said to be required by the construction and connexion of the passage: an argument of which the English reader can himself judge.

The general judgement of Biblical scholars is expressed by Dr. Scrivener: 'We need not hesitate to declare our conviction that the disputed words were not written by St. John; that they were originally brought into Latin copies in Africa from the margin, where they had been placed as a pious and orthodox gloss on verse 8; that from the Latin they crept into two or three late Greek codices, and thence into the primitive Greek text, a place to which they had no rightful claim.'

64. For full discussion of other disputed passages it must suffice to refer the student to such treatises on Textual Criticism as those by Scrivener, Hort, Kenyon, and Nestle. A few of peculiar interest may be named, for which the conflicting evidence will be found presented in a manner accessible to the general reader, in the smaller manuals by Warfield and Hammond.

1. Passages bearing on the **Deity of our Lord.**

Jn 1^{18}. The Received Text has 'the only begotten Son': but the evidence is probably decisive for the striking reading of R. V. margin, 'God only-begotten' (*μονογενὴς θεός*).

Ac 20^{28} 'to feed the Church of God, which He purchased with His own blood' (R. V.). Here the many variants resolve themselves into a doubt as between 'the Church of God' (*τοῦ θεοῦ*) and 'the Church of the Lord' (*τοῦ κυρίου*). See § 62, 6.

1 Tim 3^{16} 'God (*θεός*) was manifested in the flesh' must probably

give way to 'who (ὃς)' or 'which (ὅ)' was manifested in the flesh.' If ὃς is the true reading the difference is simply between Θ̄C and OC. Compare § 57, 1.

2. Retention or omission of **continuous passages.**

Among the most important are the following :—

Mk 16^{9-20}, surrendered by almost all critics.

Jn 7^{53}-8^{11}, the section on the woman taken in adultery.

These passages rest on authority of various weight. Even where they must be pronounced to be no part of the apostolic text, they may embody a true apostolic tradition, as in the first of these cases. Perhaps the most noteworthy example of a similar kind is one which has found its way into one MS. only : Codex Bezæ (D), after Lu 6^{5}, 'On the same day, beholding one working on the Sabbath, He said to him : Man, if indeed thou knowest what thou art doing, blessed art thou ; but if thou knowest not, thou art accursed, and a transgressor of the law[a].'

[a] Bishop Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, Appendix C, gives an interesting list of 'traditional accounts of words or works of our Lord not noticed in the Gospels'; the chief, of course, being Ac 20^{35}. With these may be compared the *Logia* discovered in the Oxyrhynchus collection of papyri in 1896, by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt.

CHAPTER V

THE CREDENTIALS AND CLAIMS OF THE BIBLE

'This reverence have I learnt to give to those books of Scripture only which are called canonical. Others I so read that I think not anything to be true because they so thought it, but because they were able to persuade me either by those canonical authors, or by some probable reason that it did not swerve from truth.'—AUGUSTINE, *Ep.* 19.

'If those facts (on the origin, nature, and progress of the Christian religion) are not therefore established, nothing in the history of mankind can be believed.'—CHIEF JUSTICE BUSHE.

The Claims of the Scriptures themselves

In proving the genuineness of the books of Scripture, nothing has been said of their Divine authority. Their supreme claims must now be gathered from **the books themselves**; and the evidences in support of these claims must be next considered.

65. The Testimony in detail.—A little attention will easily satisfy the reader of the truth of the following statements:—

1. The books of Scripture represent **the mission of our Lord as Divine.** He professes to be a Teacher sent from God, and from the first announces that He is to give His life for the salvation of the world. Jn 8^{42} 7^{16} 17^{8} 3^{14-18}.

In proof of His mission, He performed many miraculous works, and showed supernatural acquaintance with the human heart and with future events. Mt 11^{2-6} Jn 5^{36} 6^{64} 15^{24} 16^{30} Mt 20^{17-19} Lu 19^{42-44}.

Those who knew Him best and were least favourably disposed towards Him were unable to account from natural causes for His power and wisdom. Mk 6^{1-3} Lu 4^{22} Jn 7^{15}.

His public life was self-denying and disinterested: His private life blameless and beneficent. 1 Pet $2^{22.23}$ Mt $27^{3.4}$ Ac 10^{38} Jn 4^{34} 6^{15} 7^{18}.

He was put to death (as He foretold) for making Himself 'equal with God'—a charge He did not deny; and after His death He arose from the grave. Lu 22[70] Jn 20[17] Ac 1[3].

On these grounds we conclude that His words are to be received as Divine. Jn 12[44–50] 14[10.11] Mt 17[5].

2. They represent **the commission of the Apostles as Divine.** Of the nine writers of the New Testament, three, John and Peter, with the reputed author of the first Gospel[a], were Apostles to whom Christ gave power to perform miracles and to publish His gospel to the world; while James and Jude, 'the Lord's brethren' if not themselves of the Twelve, were closely associated with them. Mt 10[1–4.7.8] Lu 9[6].

He promised to them in this character, on more than one occasion, the presence of a Divine Instructor, who should recall to their remembrance what He Himself had taught, and impart a more complete and permanent knowledge of His truth. Mt 10[19.20] Lu 12[11.12] Mk 13[11] Lu 21[14.15] Jn 14–16: see also Mt 28[18–20] (Mk 16[20]) Ac 1[4] 1 Pet 1[12].

The Apostles proved their commission by miracles, which they performed in the name and by the power of Christ, and they imparted supernatural gifts to others. Ac 3[16] Heb 2[4] Ac 5[12.16] (Mk 16[17.18]) Ac 8[6–8].

Their mission was attested by holy self-denial and integrity of purpose, and by the rapid and (humanly speaking) the unaccountable success of their ministrations. Ac 2[41] 4[16] 5[29] 12[24].

We therefore conclude that Divine authority is claimed for the teachings of Matthew, John, Peter, James, and Jude. Jn 14[12–14] 20[21] 1 Jn 4[6].

The Gospels of Mark and Luke were written by companions of the Apostles: Mark, the convert of Peter (1 Pet 5[13]), and Luke, the intimate friend of Paul (Ac 20[5.6], &c.). Papias (flourished 110), Justin (died 164), Irenæus (A. D. 180), and Origen, all speak of Mark's Gospel as commonly received, and as having been dictated or sanctioned by Peter.

Luke and Paul resided in Palestine for two years, travelled together during a large part of the Apostle's journeys, and were together during Paul's imprisonment at Rome. Ac 21[17] 27[1] 28[16] Col 4[14] 2 Tim 4[11].

Irenæus, Tertullian, and Origen speak of Luke's Gospel as universally received and as sanctioned by Paul.

[a] See Introduction to Matthew, Part II.

3. They represent **the commission of Paul as Divine.** He was called to the apostolic office, claimed apostolic authority, vindicated his claims by miracles, imparted supernatural gifts, manifested the utmost disinterestedness, submitted to the severest sufferings, was acknowledged by the rest of the Apostles, and was eminently successful. He therefore claims to speak in Christ's name, and his words have Divine authority. 1 Cor 15^{8} Ac 9^{13-17} 26^{15-18} 2 Cor 11^{5} Gal 1^{1-12} 1 Cor 2^{10-13} 7^{40} Ro $15^{18.19}$ 2 Cor 12^{12} Ac 19^{6} 2 Tim $1^{13.14}$ 2 Cor 1^{5} Gal 2^{6-9} 2 Cor 11^{4-6} 2 Cor 5^{18-20} 1 Th 2^{13}.

4. They represent **the apostolic writings generally as Divine.** The apostolic writings were composed by Divine command, and in fulfilment of the commission their writers had received. 1 Th 4^{15} 1 Tim 4^{1} Rev 1^{19} Jn 20^{31} 1 Jn 5^{13} 1 Cor 14^{37}.

The Apostles had the same object in view in their writings as in their preaching. Jude 3 Heb 13^{22} 1 Jn $2^{1.26}$.

The writings of the Apostles set forth their verbal instructions in a permanent and condensed form, and they claim for both the same authority. Eph 3^{3-5} 1 Jn 1^{1-5} 2^{12-14} 2 Pet 1^{12-15} $3^{1.2}$ 2 Th 2^{15} 3^{14} 1 Cor 15^{1} (2^{13}).

The writings of the Apostles were received by the first Christians as of equal authority with their preaching, and produced similar effects. Ac 15^{19-31} 16^{4} 2 Cor 7^{8-10} 2 Th 2^{2}. Compare 2 Pet $3^{15.16}$ 'the *other* Scriptures.'

66. Testimony of the New Testament to the Old.— 5. **The Jewish religion** and **the Jewish Scripture** are represented in the New Testament as Divine. Christ Himself and the writers of the New Testament uniformly assume that the religion of the Jews was from God. See the words of Christ in Jn 4^{22}, of Peter in Ac 3^{13}, of Paul in Ro 9^{4}.

They acknowledge the Divine origin of the revelation given to Abraham and to Moses. To *Abraham*: Christ, in Jn 8^{56}; Peter, in Ac 3^{25}; Paul, in Gal 3^{18}. To *Moses*: Christ, in Mk 12^{26}; John, in Jn 1^{17}; Paul, in 2 Cor 3^{7}.

They acknowledge the Divine authority of the moral law and the Divine origin of the Jewish ritual and of the civil enactments of the Mosaic Law. *Ritual law*: Christ, in Lu $22^{15.16}$; Peter, in 1 Pet $1^{15.16}$ (from Lev 11^{44}); Paul, in Ro 7^{22} (see verses 7, 12). *Civil law*: Christ, in Mt 15^{4}; John, in Jn 19^{36}; Paul, in 1 Cor $9^{8.9}$.

They represent Christianity as the completion of Judaism, and as foretold by the prophets. The Old Testament writers at the same time acknowledge that what they spoke or wrote was given to them from God, and published by His command. Christ, in Mt 5^{17} 26^{54-56}; Peter, in Ac 10^{43}; Paul, in Ro 3^{21} 2 Cor 3^{6-14}. See Ex $4^{12.15.16}$ Dt 18^{18} Jer 1^{7} Am 3^{7}, &c.

They maintain the Divine authority of the ancient Jewish Scriptures under the threefold division of the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, and under other equally familiar titles, ascribing all to the Holy Ghost. Mt 22^{40} Heb 13^{5} Ac 28^{25} Jn 10^{35} Gal 3^{8} Heb 3^{7} (comp. 4^{7}) 1 Pet 1^{11}.

'The Bible of the Jews in our Lord's time was practically our Old Testament. For us its supreme sanction is that which it received from Christ Himself. It was the Bible of His education and the Bible of His ministry. He took for granted its fundamental doctrines about creation, about man, and about righteousness; about God's Providence of the world, and His purposes of grace through Israel. He accepted its history as the preparation for Himself, and taught His disciples to find Him in it. He used it to justify His mission and to illuminate the mystery of His Cross. He drew from it many of the examples and most of the categories of His gospel. He re-enforced the essence of its law and restored many of its ideals. But, above all, He fed His own soul with its contents, and in the great crises of His life sustained Himself upon it as upon the living and sovereign Word of God. These are the highest external proofs—if, indeed, we can call them external—for the abiding validity of the Old Testament in the life and doctrine of Christ's Church. What was indispensable to the Redeemer must always be indispensable to the redeemed [a].'

67. Genuineness involves Authenticity. All that has been advanced thus far on the authority of Scripture is taken from Scripture itself. We have already seen that if Scripture is *genuine*, it is likewise *authentic*.

The truth of the general narrative is involved in the very proofs of the genuineness of the record. For the books are

[a] Prof. G. Adam Smith, *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament*, p. 11.

quoted and copied as *history*, and were received as such, while witnesses of most of the transactions they describe were living. That Palestine was under the Roman yoke, that during the reign of Herod Christ was born, that He professed to be a teacher sent from God, that He claimed the power of working miracles, that these miracles were always beneficent, that they sustained a morality altogether unknown to the Gentiles, and novel even to the Jews, that He had several followers, that He was put to death under Pontius Pilate, that many hundreds, believing Him to have risen from the dead, became His disciples, that in the course of a few years His disciples were scattered over the whole Roman world, that, in short, all the main statements of the Gospel history are facts, is involved in the truth of the narrative independently of that spiritual significance which is a matter of interpretation.

Testimonies.—The attestation to the genuineness of the New Testament history, already briefly noted in §§ 35–38, may be thus summarized. In the first four centuries we have upwards of fifty authors who testify to facts told or implied in the gospel narrative. The whole or fragments of the writings of these authors remain. The writings of about fifty others referred to by Jerome (A. D. 392) have perished. These authors belong to all parts of the world, from the Euphrates to the Pyrenees, from Northern Germany to the African Sahara. They speak the Syrian, the Greek, and the Latin tongues. They represent the belief of large bodies of professed Christians, and no less the admissions of multitudes who were not Christians. They agree in quoting Scripture as genuine and true. They refer to it as a distinct volume, universally received. They comment upon it and expound it. They refer to it as Divine. Versions from very early times attest the reception of the books in the various churches. Heretics who separated from the great body of the faithful received the narrative of the facts, and differed only on the doctrines which they supposed those facts to embody; and even infidels who denied the faith founded their denial upon the very facts which our present record contains. 'At a time when some have doubted whether our Gospels were born their children were already full grown.' So general had a belief of the facts of the gospel become, that we find Justin Martyr (c. *Tryph.* cxvii.) observing that in every nation prayers and

thanksgivings were offered to the Father by the name of Jesus; while only fifty years later Tertullian states that in almost every city Christians formed the majority.

Heathen and Jewish writers, without speaking of the New Testament, and without giving direct evidence therefore of its genuineness, confirm in a general way the narratives of the life of our Lord and of His disciples, or incidentally illustrate them. Josephus in his *Antiquities* (c. A. D. 93), Tacitus in his *History* (A. D. 100), Suetonius in his *Biographies* (A. D. 117), Juvenal in his *Satires* (c. A. D. 96), and Pliny in his *Letters* (A. D. 103), severally confirm historical statements of the sacred story. Indeed there is no transaction of ancient history that can exhibit more than a fraction of the evidence by which the narrative of the Gospels is sustained.

See the passages quoted in Lardner's *Credibility*.

Evidence: General View

68. The Evidence Classified.—1. PRESUMPTIVE. Admitting the existence of a Being of infinite power and goodness, there are strong probabilities that He would not leave His creatures in ignorance and misery; and probabilities no less strong that any communication from Him would contain a distinct reference to their condition, and would present analogies to other works of the Creator. These probabilities form the *presumptive* evidence of revelation.

2. POSITIVE. Evidence founded on revelation itself is called *positive*.

(1) *External*. A message from another is evidently susceptible of a twofold evidence of truth; viz. credentials supplied by the messenger, and peculiarities or marks in the message itself. The credentials are *external*, and the marks are *internal*. In the case of Scripture the miraculous and the prophetic evidences are external, the moral and spiritual are internal. Each kind of evidence abounds in directly spiritual instruction. Miracles prove at least that physical nature is not fate, nor a merely material constitution of things. Prophecy proves that the world of nature and

man is governed by a free and Almighty hand. Grave questions of *natural* religion are thus settled in the evidences of the revealed. The spiritual truth wrapped up both in prophecy and miracles, and the obviously holy tendency of the moral evidence of the Bible, will be apparent in the whole course of the argument. Contrary to what is sometimes affirmed, the devout study of the Christian evidences may become the means of spiritual improvement.

Syllabus of evidences. The different evidences, then, of the truth of Scripture may be arranged as follows:—

i. EXTERNAL Evidence: appealing to our senses.

1. DIRECT: as in the miracles of our Lord, Jn 3^{2} 5^{36} 10^{37} 14^{11}.
2. RETROSPECTIVE: as in the connexion of Christ with the miracles and prophecies of the Old Testament, Lu $24^{26.27}$ Jn 5^{47}.
3. PROSPECTIVE: as in the fulfilment of prophecy since the days of our Lord, Jn 14^{29}.

ii. INTERNAL: which is either

a. MORAL: appealing to our conscience; consisting of the

1. MORAL PRECEPTS of the Bible.
2. CHARACTER OF OUR LORD and of the inspired writers.
3. CHARACTER AND LIVES OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS, and the general influence of truth.

or *b.* SPIRITUAL: appealing to our intellectual perceptions and to our new nature generally. It includes

1. The SCRIPTURAL or LITERARY, or the wisdom and harmony of revealed truth,
   (1) In its different dispensations.

(2) In the various parts of the record.
(3) With nature.

2. The EXPERIMENTAL. The Gospel felt to be adapted to our wants.
3. The SPIRITUAL properly so called. The Bible consistent with the character and purpose of God.

External Evidence. I. Miracle

69. Miracles. The success of the gospel is connected in Scripture, and by all ancient Christian writers, with the possession, on the part of our Lord, of **miraculous power.**

Two Questions. The evidence based upon our Lord's miracles naturally divides itself into two parts: the evidence *for* Miracles; did they really happen? and the evidence *of* Miracles; what do they prove? The stress of the argument has at different times been laid upon each question in turn. Perhaps the modern tendency has been rather to consider the former. But both are important.

Exploded Objections. 1. The Miracles of Christ were well-attested facts. The proof of their occurrence has passed through many phases, to meet the ever-changing forms of scepticism. Many once familiar adverse arguments are now exploded. It is no longer possible to maintain that miracles are impossible in the nature of things [a], or that the record of miracles is due to conscious deception or imposture, or that miracle could not be proved by testimony.

The 'rationalistic [b]' and the 'mythical' theories of

[a] 'No one is entitled to say *a priori* that any given so-called miraculous event is impossible.' Prof. Huxley, *Essays upon some Controverted Topics.*

[b] The rationalist school, of whom Paulus was the type, endeavoured to explain the miracles as ordinary facts exaggerated or misconceived. Thus, the turning of the water into wine meant but a genial way of making a present to the newly-married couple; the walking on the

miracle have alike disappeared; and so far at least the ground is clear [a]. The question that remains is whether for these wonderful facts there is adequate testimony; and this witness, it may be added, is to be considered in the light of an antecedent probability, of which the Christian thinker must not lose sight—that the greatness of the purpose to be accomplished in the redemption of man was such as to warrant the expectation of a special Divine interposition. For miracle, rightly considered, is not a violation of the laws of Nature, as sometimes thoughtlessly stated, but a Divine act, by which He Who governs Nature puts forth His power in an extraordinary way, for a worthy purpose.

70. The Evangelic Testimony. The evangelic history declares that such acts were wrought by Jesus Christ. Every argument therefore by which on general grounds the history is proved to be true, so far attests the miracles. In fact, the veracity of the record stands or falls with miracle. To His works our Lord repeatedly appealed, as works which none other man did, and as an evidence of His mission.

sea was really walking on the shore, as seen by the spectators from the lake; the coin in the fish's mouth was the price of fish caught by the disciples and sold in the market!—and so on. Dean Mansel justly says of this theory that it 'breaks down under the sheer weight of its cumbrous and awkward explanations.'

[a] The mythical theory of Strauss and his followers was that metaphor and allegory were prosaically turned into fact. Thus the description of Christ's disciples as fishers of men took shape in the stories of the miraculous draught of fishes; the illumination by Christ of the darkened understanding gave rise to the narratives of the opening of blind men's eyes; as though it were possible that a mythical system should grow up unchallenged and uncontradicted in that era of the world's history! There seem some indications of the revival of the long-abandoned hypothesis. Thus, the healing of the man by the Pool of Bethesda is made out to be a transformed parable of the state of the Jewish people, crippled and restored—for had not the man been suffering for thirty-eight years, and were not the Israelites thirty-eight years in the wilderness before entering the Land of Promise? A wonderful coincidence!

He raised the dead, He healed the sick, not once only, but in many cases not individually recorded; for it is said frequently that they brought sick people unto Him, and that He healed them all. Mt 4^{24} 12^{15} 14^{14} 15^{30} 19^{2} &c., Mk 1^{34} 3^{10} Lu 6^{17} 9^{11}.

He is declared to have given similar power to His disciples, first to the Twelve, and then to the seventy. After His departure His Apostles received the power of bestowing this miraculous gift on those upon whom they laid their hands; so that many others were thus endowed. It is certain that the Apostles speak of it as a fact familiarly known. and reckon it among the signs of a Divinely appointed teacher.

The Testimony sustained.—In truth this evidence can be set aside only by supposing a miracle greater than all. If Christ were not from God, we have a Jewish peasant changing the religion of the world, weaving into the story of his life the fulfilment of ancient predictions, and a morality of the purest order, as unlike the traditional teaching of his countrymen as it was superior to the precepts of Gentile philosophy; enduring with composure the most intense suffering, and inducing his followers to submit to similar privations, and many of them to a cruel death, in support not of opinions but of the alleged fact of his miraculous resurrection.

We have then these followers, 'unlearned men,' going forth and discoursing on the sublimest themes, persuading the occupiers of Roman and Grecian cities to cast away their idols, to renounce the religion of their fathers, to reject the instructions of their philosophy, and to receive instead, as a teacher sent from heaven, a Jew of humble station who had been put to a shameful death. And all this mighty transforming influence based upon a series of delusions! To receive *this* explanation of the acknowledged facts is to admit a greater miracle than any which the Bible contains.

71. Meaning of Miracles.—What, then, do miracles prove? In a word, the presence and power of a Divine Agent. In the first ages of the Church it was common for adversaries to attribute the miraculous acts, the reality of which they could not question, to the power of evil spirits. The critics of our Lord set them the example, 'He casteth out demons by Beelzebub.' But such an allegation is no longer possible. The conclusion of the Jewish ruler is yet more cogent in the light of modern philosophy than when he gave it utterance, 'No man can do these signs that Thou doest, except God be with him.'

A revelation of the Divine.—And this argument is fortified by the consistency of these wondrous works with the character of God, and the great design of the Gospel. They were not only 'marvels' (*τέρατα*) and 'deeds of power' (*δυνάμεις*), but 'signs' (*σημεῖα*) of deep moral and spiritual meaning. It has been well said that 'every miraculous act of Christ must be conceived of as congruous to His Messianic vocation and serviceable to the interests of the Divine kingdom. None of the miracles, of whatever class, can be regarded as mere displays of power; they must all be viewed as arising naturally out of their occasions, and serving a useful purpose in connexion with Christ's work as the Herald and Founder of the kingdom of Heaven[a].' They begin with a stupendous moral miracle, greater than any physical wonder, the existence on earth of a perfectly sinless, holy being, and they harmonize with the character and purposes of such a life.

A symbol of spiritual power.—Miracles also symbolize, while they attest, the 'greater works,' the opening of the eyes of the spiritually blind, the unsealing of the ears which sin had deafened to the truth, the liberation of the paralyzed spirit to run in the way of God's commandments, and the

[a] Dr. A. B. Bruce, *The Miraculous Element in the Gospels*, p. 207.

quickening of those who were dead in trespasses and sins. The physical becomes spiritual in view of the preceding argument: 'That ye may know that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins . . . I say unto thee, Arise and walk.'

External Evidence. II. Prophecy

72. Prophecy as Evidence.—The nature and purport of Scripture prophecy in general will be shown in the sections on Interpretation; and the Introductions to the several prophetic books in the Second Part of this volume will indicate their respective character and scope. Prophecy is in this place regarded simply as *evidence*; and the following important facts must be borne in mind.

1. **Prophecy more than prediction.**—Prophecy is much more than the prediction of future events. The prophet was gifted with inspired *insight* as well as with inspired *foresight*; or in a yet deeper view we may say the latter was a consequence of the former. He was commissioned both (in Old English phrase) to 'forth-tell' and to foretell. To him it was granted to discern the truth and tendency of events around him, to look through the appearances and passions of the hour to the purposes of the Eternal Mind.

2. **Relation to the present.**—Hence, the standpoint of the prophet was in the present. So only could he be understood by those to whom his message came. He had to set forth the eternal law of righteousness, to denounce the sins of the age, declaring the just judgements of God, and calling the people to repentance. But the present was only a moment in the progress of the Divine plan. There was a purpose working steadily, though often silently and mysteriously, towards a destined end. That destination was the establishment of God's kingdom upon earth—the reign of righteousness—the achievement of redemption.

3. **The prophetic function.**—Hence the prophet was the teacher of Israel, the social reformer, the statesman, the herald of the coming time. His revelations of the future, as they came to pass from age to age, prove the Divine intent and authenticate his own mission. And at the same time, prophecy carried with it a self-attestation no less striking than that witness to its truth which the future alone could disclose.

4. **The Prophets' claim.**—With one consent they regard themselves as spokesmen of God. Their formula is, 'Thus saith Jehovah,' 'The word of Jehovah came,' 'Hear ye the word of Jehovah.' They are constrained into their ministry, often against their will. Moses protests that he is 'slow of speech and of a slow tongue.' Isaiah trembles before the vision in which he heard his call, because he is a man of unclean lips, and dwells in the midst of a people of unclean lips. Jeremiah shrinks from the task entrusted to him: 'Ah, Lord Jehovah! behold, I cannot speak; for I am a child': Ezekiel is warned that his mission will be as though briers and thorns were with him and he dwelt among scorpions. 'Yet the distinguishing characteristic of the prophets, first of their speech and actions and afterwards of their writings, was the firm and unwavering belief that they were instruments or organs of the Most High, and that the thoughts which arose in their minds about Him and His Will, and the commands and exhortations which they issued in His Name, really came at His prompting, and were really invested with His authority. There is no alternative between accepting this belief as true and regarding it as a product of mental disease or delusion[a].'

5. **Intrinsic character.**—Beyond the prophets' claim to inspiration and its acceptance by their hearers, there is the appeal their writings make to mind and heart and conscience.

[a] Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 394.

Each of them may fearlessly say to us, as Paul said to the Corinthians, 'Judge ye what I say.' Their word is its own sufficient witness to its Divine origin. Its conception of God, its interpretation of life, its promise of the Christ, all bear the stamp of revelation. It gives a view of redemption as the final goal of the world's history, which is no human invention, but attests itself as the word of the world's Redeemer. On the Hebrew prophets alone, of all religious teachers, we are compelled to pass the verdict, 'Holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Spirit.'

73. Fulfilment.—So far, prophecy has been spoken of as its own witness. But there was a further testimony to its truth in its announcement of things to come—a testimony for the most part reserved for the interpretation of Time. Yet there was sufficient of speedy—even immediate—fulfilment to authenticate their Divine calling and to justify their challenge to false prophets to declare things to come. The prophet, as preacher of righteousness, declared inevitable judgement upon the nation's sin; a prediction fulfilled in the near future in one disaster after another, and in the crowning calamity of the Exile. See Is 42^{9} 43^{9} $44^{7.8}$ 48^{5} Eze 12^{25} Am 3^{7} Hab 2^{3} This was no mere soothsaying, but the unveiling of a Divine 'increasing purpose.' And to understand aright the 'evidence from prophecy' we must survey the whole scheme; while at the same time our sense of the presence and action of the Divine Mind is deepened by individual, isolated foreshadowings of things to come, in minute detail, and sometimes startling accordance with the far-off event. The popular view fixes especially upon these last as evidence, but the main stress of the argument still rests upon the whole course of the prophetic revelation.

The Messianic hope.—There was one element in the prophet's message in which prediction does look out far into

the future, an element not of warning, but of promise. No apostasy could quench his belief in the ultimate redemption of Israel. To him the gifts and calling of God were without repentance, and with magnificent optimism he declares a future for the nation more glorious than was dreamt of in the very height of its prosperity and greatness. For God was not only the 'Holy One of Israel': He was a God of grace, pardoning iniquity, delighting in mercy. To minds thus prepared was imparted the Messianic hope, that most characteristic and vital feature of prophecy, slowly developing, taking on new aspects as it grew, becoming ever fuller and clearer. The time was not revealed, the details are not precisely given. As Peter put it, 'Concerning which salvation the prophets sought and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you: searching what time or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did point unto, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glories that should follow them[a].'

This Messianic prediction was the expression of an inspired, invincible faith in the faithfulness of God, and was slowly brought into shape under successive phases of the nation's life and the nation's need. Its fulfilment lies, not only in the accord we may trace between this or that isolated utterance and certain details of the history of the birth and life and death of our Lord, but in Jesus Christ Himself as the one Saviour of men and the Founder of the kingdom of God.

'How are we to bring together those two parallel lines of prophecy which exist side by side in the Old Testament, but nowhere meet, the ideal King, the descendant of David, and the ideal Prophet, the suffering Servant of Jehovah? What have two such different conceptions in common with each other? They seem to move in different planes, with nothing even to suggest their coalescence. We turn the page which separates the New Testament from the Old. We look at the Figure which is delineated there, and we find in it a marvellous

[a] 1 Pet $1^{10,11}$. R. V.

meeting of traits derived from the most different and distant sources, from Nathan, from Amos, from First Isaiah, from Second Isaiah, from Zechariah, from Daniel, from the second Psalm, from the twenty-second, from the sixty-ninth, from the hundred and tenth. And these traits do not meet, as we might expect them to do, in some laboured and artificial compound, but in the sweet and gracious figure of Jesus of Nazareth—King, but not as men count kingship; crowned, but with the crown of thorns; suffering for our redemption, but suffering only that He may reign [a].'

Thus may we find what gives unity amid diversity, and stamps all prophecy as inspired of God, as we read with understanding Christ's own words, 'These are they that bear witness of ME.'

Internal Evidence

A larger branch of evidence remains—the moral, the literary, and the spiritual, or (to apply one title to all) the internal.

74. Morality of the Bible.—The first peculiarity of Scripture morality is the importance which is everywhere attached to holiness. Judging from what we know of systems of human origin, a religion from man would either have spent its force on ritual observance, or have allowed active service on its behalf to make amends for the neglect of other duties. Mohammedanism gives the highest place to those who fight and fall in conflict. Hinduism rewards most the observance of ritual worship. Jewish tradition taught that all Jews were certainly saved. The Scriptures, on the contrary, bring all men into the presence of a Being of infinite holiness, before whom the most exalted human characters fall condemned [b]; and they declare plainly, that nothing we can say or do in the cause of Christ can make up for the want of practical virtue. Those who have preached in the name of Christ are to be disowned if they be workers of iniquity [c], and the reception of the true faith

[a] Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 404. [b] Job 40^4 Is 6^5 Dn 9^5 1 Tim 1^3.
[c] Mt $7^{22.23}$ Lu 6^{46}.

makes Christian holiness only the more incumbent because it is only thus possible [a].

The kind of moral duty which the Scriptures teach is not such as man **was likely to discover or to approve.** When our Lord appeared, the Romans were proud of their military glory, and the Greeks of their superior wisdom. Among the Jews a pharisaic spirit prevailed, and the whole nation was divided between opposing sects, all hating their conquerors, however, and the Gentile world at large. An enthusiast would certainly have become a partisan, and an impostor would have flattered each sect by exposing the faults of the rest, or the nation by condemning their conquerors. Our Lord came, on the contrary, as an independent teacher, rebuked all error, condemned all the sects, and yet did nothing to court the favour of the people. His precepts, bidding men to return good for evil, to love their enemies, to be humble and forgiving, to consider every race and every station as on a level before God, were acceptable to none, and were yet repeated and enforced with the utmost earnestness and consistency.

It may indeed be replied that men are always ready to commend a greater degree of purity than they are prepared to practise, and that ancient philosophers wrote treatises describing a much nobler virtue than was found among their countrymen. This is true, and if the Jewish fishermen had studied philosophy, it would not have been wonderful if they had taught a higher morality than men generally practised. But they were 'ignorant men,' and their precepts go not only beyond what men practised, but beyond what men approved. The gospel is not only better than human conduct, it is often contrary to it. The endurance of suffering, the forgiveness of injury, and the exercise of a submissive spirit were not only not practised, they were not admired; and while the gospel teaches these duties, it exhibits them in combination with a spiritual heroism of which the world knows nothing, and which has ever been supposed inconsistent with the patient virtues which the Scriptures enjoin.

The regulation of motive.—Add to these facts another, namely, that Scripture **seeks to regulate the thoughts and motives of men,** and is content with nothing less than a state of heart which refers all our actions to God's will; and it must be felt that the morality of the gospel is not of man. Bad men could not have taught such truths, and good men would not have deceived the people [b].

[a] 1 Cor $5^{11,12}$.

[b] See Paley, *Evidences.*

Sin in its relation to God.—But there is yet another peculiarity in the morality of Scripture, equally true in itself and striking. Sin is everywhere spoken of as an evil *against God*, and everywhere it is not the instrument or human agent who is exalted, but *God alone*. The first notion is inconsistent with all heathen philosophy, and the second with the natural tendency of the human heart. 'This,' says Cicero, 'is the common principle of all philosophers, that the Deity is never displeased, nor does He inflict injury on man' (*De Officiis*, iii. 28).

In Scripture, on the contrary, sin is represented as an evil and bitter thing, because it is *dishonouring to God*. This distinctly appears in the Old Testament, and indeed forms one of its most marked peculiarities. Hence the destruction of the Amalekites[a], of Sennacherib[b], and Belshazzar[c]. Hence the abandonment of the Gentile world to a reprobate mind[d]. Hence God's controversy with the Jews[e] and with Moses[f]. Hence Eli's[g] punishment and David's[h]. Hence also the calamities of Solomon, the division of his kingdom into Israel and Judah, and the captivity and destruction of both[i].

God alone is honoured. The great object of all the writers seems to be to lead men's thoughts to Him. The false teacher gives out that he himself is some great one (Ac 8^{9}), but in the Bible it is God only Who is exalted. This rule is illustrated in

Moses, Dt 1^{31} 2^{33} 3^{3} 4^{32-38} Ex 18^{8}; Joshua, Jos 23^{3}; David, 1 Ch $29^{11.14}$; Daniel, Dn $2^{20.23.30}$; Ezra, Ezr 7^{28}; Nehemiah, Ne 2^{12}; Peter and John, Ac 3^{12-16}; Paul, Ac 21^{19} 1 Cor 3^{5} 2 Cor 4^{7}.

Creation is represented, in the same way, as God in

[a] Ex 17^{16}, marg. A.V. and R.V. [b] 2 Ki 19^{22-37}. [c] Dn 5^{23}.
[d] Ro $1^{21.28}$. [e] Heb 3^{19}. [f] Num 20^{12}.
[g] 1 Sa $2^{29.30}$. [h] 2 Sa 12^{9} (Ps 51^{4}).
[i] 1 Ki 11^{3-14} 2 Ki 17^{14-20} 2 Ch $36^{16.17}$ Lu 19^{42-44} Ro 11^{20}.

nature [a]: the revolutions and progress of kingdoms, as God in history [b].

Faith the principle of spiritual life.—It is in part with the view of strengthening the feelings which these peculiarities produce, that *faith* is made the principle of obedience and success. In relation to God, faith is the confession of our weakness, and excludes all boasting; and yet in relation to success it is omnipotent; a truth as profoundly philosophical as it is spiritually important. And yet it is a truth revealed only in the Bible.

Ro 3^{27} Eph $2^{8,9}$ 1 Cor 1^{29-31} Jn 11^{40} Is 7^{9}.

Candour of Scripture.—The candour and sincerity of the inspired writers are not less remarkable than their moral precepts, and are quite incompatible with either fanaticism or imposture.

They denounce the sins of the people. 'Ye have been rebellious against the Lord from the day that I knew you,' says Moses (Dt 9^{24}), and all later writers give the same view. Judg 2^{19} 1 Sa 12^{12} Ne 9.

The inspired historian records with all fullness the sins of the Patriarchs, Gen 12^{11-13} 20, &c.; of his grandfather Levi, Gen 49^{5-7}; of his brother Aaron and of his elder sons, Ex 32 Lev 10; nor less plainly his own sins, Num 20^{12} 27^{12-14} Dt 32^{51}.

In the same spirit the Evangelists notice their own faults and the faults of the Apostles. Mt 26^{31-56} Jn 10^{6} 16^{32} Mt $8^{10.26}$ 15^{16} 16^{7-11} 18^{3} 20^{20}. Mark and Luke speak no less plainly. Mk 6^{52} 8^{18} $9^{32.34}$ 10^{14} $14^{37.47.66-72}$ 16^{14} Lu $8^{24.25}$ $9^{40.45}$ 18^{34} 22^{24} 24^{11}. With equal truthfulness the Scriptures record the humiliation of our Lord, His sufferings and dejection. Mt 27^{46} Heb 5^{7}.

The Apostle Paul records without reserve the disorders of the churches which he himself had planted, and even adds that his own apostolic authority had been questioned among them. 1 Cor 1^{11} 5^{1} 2 Cor 2^{4} 11^{5-23} 12^{20}.

It is thus that simplicity distinguishes the Bible, and forces on the mind the conviction that its authors had no other object in view than 'by manifestation of the truth to

[a] Ps 104^{10} Jer 5^{24} Joel $2^{23.24}$ Mt 10^{29}.
[b] Jer 17^{7-10} Dn 4^{35} Jer 25^{9} Is 44^{28}.

commend themselves to every man's conscience as in the sight of God.'

75. Comparison with human ethical systems.—But no analysis can give a just idea of the morality of the Bible. It must be compared in the bulk with other teaching. Men have praised *maxims of virtue*, or appealed to the *moral sentiments* of our nature, or sought to promote holiness by *systems of morals*. But all these are defective. The common maxims of virtue are mere dictates of prudence, without authority or influence. Our moral sentiments are retiring and evanescent, easily corrupted by the strong passions in whose neighbourhood they dwell, and are feeblest when most wanted; and systems of morals, like all processes of reasoning, depend on the perfection of our faculties, and are too much the subject of disputation to become powerful motives of holy action. All these plans, moreover, are defective in not taking into account our fall, and the necessity of providing for our recovery. Scripture, on the other hand, teaches the Christian to use these helps, only subordinating all to its own lessons. It begins its work with a recognition of our ruin, and an intelligent foresight of its own end; brings the soul into harmony with God and with itself, enlightens and educates the conscience, quickens and purifies the feelings, subjects instincts to reason, reason to love, and all to God; and provides an instrumentality as effective and practical as the truths it reveals and on which it rests are unearthly and sublime.

76. The Character of our Lord.—Among the most decisive moral proofs of the Divine origin of Scripture is the character of Christ. It is a proof, however, rather to be felt than to be described, and its force will be in proportion to the tone of moral sentiment in the reader. Holy and pure minds will feel it more than others; and such as are like Nathanael, the 'Israelite indeed, in whom

is no guile,' will exclaim with him, 'Rabbi, Thou art the Son of God ; Thou art the King of Israel.'

Three things are obvious in the history of our Lord. (1) The whole narrative is **free from panegyric.** (2) The character is wholly **unstudied**: the story being written by unpractised authors, without learning or eloquence ; and moreover (3) the moral character of Christ is **unimpeached** even by the opponents of the Gospel. His Apostles appeal to all men's testimony to His purity of life, as a fact admitted and notorious. His own moral teaching was an appeal of the same kind, for had He been guilty of the practices He condemns, His hearers would have been sure to detect and reproach His inconsistency.

That His holiness was admitted generally will appear from the following passages: Jn 8^{46} 10^{32} Mt $26^{59.60}$ $27^{23.24}$ Lu 23^{13-15} Ac $3^{13.14}$ 1 Pet 2^{21-23}. His benevolence and compassion are shown in Jn 4 Lu 9^{55} 10^{30-37} Mk 7^{26} &c. 10^{13-21} $45-52$ Lu 13^{16} 14^{12} $22^{50.51}$ Mt 9^{36} &c. 18^{11} &c. His kindness and affection, in Mt 14^{27-31} Lu $19^{5.41}$ 22^{61} Jn 11 19^{25-27}. His meekness and humility, in Mt 5^{1-12} 9^{28} 18^{22} &c. Lu 22^{24} Jn 13^{4}. His moral courage, firmness, and resignation, in Mt 26^{31-46} Mk 10^{32} Lu 4^{23} &c. 13^{31} &c. 18^{29} &c. Jn 11^{7} 18^{1} &c. His sincerity and abhorrence of hypocrisy and courting popularity, in Mt 6^{1-18} 10^{16-39} 22^{18} &c. Mk 12^{38-40} Lu 11^{44} &c. Jn 16^{1-6}. His moderation and the absence of enthusiastic austerity in Mt 8^{19} 23^{23} Mk 12^{17} Lu 5^{29-35} Jn 2^{1} &c.

'The character of Christ,' it has been well said, 'is a wonderful proof of the Divinity of the Bible. The Hindu cannot think of his Brahmin saint, other than as possessing the abstemiousness and austerity which he admires in his living models. The Socrates of Plato is composed of elements practically Greek, being a compound of the virtues deemed necessary to adorn the sage. A model of the Jewish teacher might easily be drawn from the writings of the Rabbis, and he would prove to be the very reflection of those Scribes and Pharisees who are reproved in the Gospel. But in the life of our Redeemer a character is represented which departs in every way from the national type of the writers, and from the character of all ancient nations, and is at variance with all the features which custom, education, religion, and patriotism seem to have consecrated as most beautiful. Four different authors have recorded different facts, but they exhibit the same conception, a conception differing from all they

had ever witnessed or heard, and necessarily copied from the same original. And more, this glorious character, while borrowing nothing from the Greek, or Indian, or Jew, having nothing in common with established laws of perfection, is yet to every believer a type of excellence. He is followed by the Greek, though a founder of none of his sects, revered by the Brahmin, though preached by one of the fishermen caste, and worshipped by the red man of Canada, though belonging to the hated pale race.'

77. The Character of Christians.—One point more remains on the morality of Scripture: the effect of its religion on the character of men.

Apart from particular facts in support of this truth, it is generally admitted that the doctrines of the Bible agree with its precepts, and that they contain, in their very substance, urgent motives to holiness.

We confine ourselves to a few facts in illustration of this general truth. The effects of the gospel in the first age are well known, and are incidentally told us in the Epistles. Paul has pointed out what occurred at Corinth and Ephesus[a], and Peter the effects which were produced in Pontus and Galatia[b]. In a dissolute age, and under the worst governments, Christians (who had been no better than their neighbours) reached an eminence in virtue which has never perhaps been surpassed.

Similar appeals may be found in the writings of the early apologists. Clement of Rome (A. D. 100), in his *Epistle to the Corinthians*, commends their virtues. 'Who,' says he, 'did ever live among you, that did not admire your sober and moderate piety, and declare the greatness of your hospitality? You are humble and not proud, content with the daily bread which God supplies, hearing diligently His word, and enlarged in charity.' Justin Martyr (A. D. 146), who had been a Platonic philosopher, says in his *Apology*, xvi, 'We who formerly delighted in licentiousness, now observe the strictest chastity: we who used the charms of magic, have devoted ourselves to the true God, and we who valued money and gain above all things, now cast what we have in common, and distribute to every man according to his necessities.' 'You (says Minucius Felix to a heathen opponent) punish wickedness

[a] 1 Cor 6^{11} Eph 4^{19} 2^{1}. [b] 1 Pet 4^{3}.

when it is committed, we think it sinful to indulge a sinful thought. It is with your party that the prisons are crowded, but not a single Christian is there, except it be as a confessor or apostate.' Tertullian, the first Latin ecclesiastical writer whose works have come down to us (A.D. 200), makes a similar appeal, and speaks of great multitudes of the Roman empire as the subjects of this change. Origen, in his *Reply to Celsus* (A. D. 246), Lactantius, the preceptor of Constantine (A. D. 325), repeat these appeals : and even the Emperor Julian holds up Christians to the imitation of Pagans, on account of their love to strangers and to enemies, and on account of the sanctity of their lives.

The unknown author of the *Letter to Diognetus* (about A. D. 150) writes to the same effect. 'Christians,' he says, 'find themselves in the flesh, yet they live not after the flesh. Their existence is on earth, but their citizenship is in heaven. They obey the established laws, and they surpass the laws in their own lives. They love all men, and they are persecuted by all. They are evil spoken of, and yet they are vindicated. They are reviled, and they bless ; they are insulted, and they respect. Doing good, they are punished as evil-doers ; being punished, they rejoice, as if they were thereby quickened by life' (Bishop Lightfoot's translation).

The influence of the gospel was early seen among ancient nations. In Greece, the grossest impurities had been encouraged by Lycurgus and Solon. At Rome they were openly practised and approved. Among nearly all ancient nations self-murder was commended. Seneca and Plutarch, the elder Pliny and Quintilian, applaud it, and Gibbon admits that heathenism presented no reason against it. Human sacrifice and the exposure of children were allowed and even enforced. But wherever the gospel came, it condemned these practices, discouraged, and finally destroyed them. That it was not civilization that suppressed them is certain, for they were kept up by nations far superior to the Christians in refinement, and the suppression of them was always found to keep pace with the progress, not of human enlightenment, but of Divine truth.

The relief of distress and the care of the poor are almost peculiar to Christian nations. In Constantinople there was not, before Christianity was introduced, a single charitable building : nor was there ever such a building in *ancient* Rome. After the introduction of Christianity, however, the former city had more than thirty buildings for the reception of orphans, of the sick, of strangers, of the aged, and of the poor. In Rome, there were twenty-five large houses set apart for the same purpose. With equal certainty, it can be established that the gospel has abolished polygamy, mitigated the horrors of war, redeemed captives, freed slaves, checked the spirit of feudal oppression, and improved the laws of barbarous nations. 'Truth and

candour,' says Gibbon, 'must acknowledge that the conversion of these nations imparted many temporal benefits both to the Old and New World, prevented the total extinction of letters, mitigated the fierceness of the times, sheltered the poor and defenceless, and preserved or revived the peace and order of civil society [a].'

As therefore the providence of God is seen in the preservation of the Bible, so also is His grace in its effects: and those effects bear strong testimony to its Divine origin, 1 Th 1^{4-10} Gal 5^{22}.

78. The Harmonies of Revelation.—On that part of the Scriptural evidence which is called the harmony of revealed truth, it is not possible to enlarge: and the subject has been fully discussed by various writers.

On the agreement between the *doctrines* and peculiarities of Scripture and the facts of *Nature*, the *Analogy* of Bishop Butler is unrivalled. And since his time, 'apologetic' literature has abounded in the discussion of the coincidences between *sacred* and *general history*, with coincidences of a minute and statistical character, with the *geography* and *natural history* of Palestine, and on coincidences between various parts of the *record* itself [b]. See also Ch. IX of the present work.

These coincidences are literally innumerable, and are interwoven with the whole texture of Scripture. Some are apparently trifling, as when it is said that our Lord went *down* from Nazareth to Capernaum, and Dr. Clarke points out the graphic consistency of the phrase with the geography of that region. Others are deeply affecting, as when it is said that blood and water issued from the side of Jesus, and medical authorities affirm that if the heart is pierced or broken, blood and water flow from the wound. Some are *critical*, as when it is remarked that at no time after the destruction of Jerusalem could any known writers have written in the *style* of the books of the Bible: and that at no *one* time could these various books have been written. They are

[a] Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, ch. 55. For a large collection of similar facts see Tholuck's Essay, *Nature and Influence of Heathenism*, with the *Apologies* of early Christian writers, Döllinger's *Jew and Gentile at the Gates of the Christian Church*, and Brace's *Gesta Christi*.

[b] See, especially, the edition of Paley's *Evidences*, with Notes by Birks, also Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, with *Horæ Apostolicæ* by Birks, published by the Religious Tract Society.

demonstrably the work of different authors and of different ages. Some are *historical*, as when it is noticed that, after the time of the Apostles, all writers applied the name Christian to designate the followers of Christ, a name never applied in the New Testament *by Christians* to designate one another : the very terms which the Apostles employ indicating that the new religion was the completion of the old—'chosen' and 'faithful.' Some are *religious*, founded, that is, on the peculiarities of the religious system revealed, as when it is stated that the religion of the New Testament is the only one in which is omitted the *one* ordinance which would have been natural and acceptable to both Jews and Pagans, namely, the offering of animals in sacrifice ; an instructive omission.

The effect of the whole is highly impressive, and is of itself a sufficient proof of the substantial credibility of the narrative and of the honesty of the authors.

Some idea of Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ* may be gathered from an examination of the following passages, it being premised that the books quoted were written either by different authors, or at different times, and with altogether different purposes.

Ro $15^{25.26}$	compared with	Ac $20^{2.3}$ 21^{17} 24^{17-19} 1 Cor 16^{1-4} 2 Cor 8^{1-4} 9^{2}.
Ro 16^{21-24}	,,	Ac 20^{4}.
Ro 1^{13} $15^{23.24}$	,,	Ac 19^{21}.
1 Cor 4^{17-19}	,,	Ac $19^{21.22}$.
1 Cor $16^{10.11}$	,,	Ac 19^{21} 1 Tim 4^{12}.
1 Cor 1^{12} 3^{6}	,,	Ac $18^{22.28}$ 19^{1}.
1 Cor 9^{20}	,,	Ac 16^{3} $21^{23.26}$.
1 Cor 1^{14-17}	,,	Ac 18^{8} Ro 16^{23} 1 Cor 16^{15}.

A single instance may be added in detail. Barnabas (we are told) was a native of Cyprus, who sold his property and laid the money at the Apostles' feet (Ac $4^{36.37}$). We are told also, quite incidentally, that Mark was his nephew (Col 4^{10}). Compare these facts with the following passages, where it is stated that John Mark went as far as Cyprus, his native country, and soon rejoined his mother at Jerusalem, greatly to the dissatisfaction of Paul ; and how remarkable the consistency of the whole : 1 Cor $9^{6.7}$ Ac $11^{20.22}$ 13^{2-4} $15^{37.39}$ and 13^{13}. 'The harmony pervading everything connected with Barnabas,' says Mr. Blunt, 'is enough in itself to stamp the *Acts of the Apostles* as a history of perfect fidelity [a].'

See Birks' *Horæ Apostolicæ*. Compare, in the same way, the abrupt termination of the history in Ac 8^{40}, with Ac $21^{8.9}$.

[a] *Undesigned Coincidences*, Part IV, § 35.

Spiritual Evidence

79. Experimental Evidence.—In addition to the moral evidence of Scripture, evidence suggested by the morality of the New Testament, the character of our Lord, the candour and sincerity and self-denial of the first Christians, and the moral beauty of Christian principles, as illustrated in the lives of consistent believers, there is evidence directly spiritual. This evidence is partly appreciated by the intellect, but still more by the heart and conscience. So far as it treats of man as the gospel *finds* him, it appeals equally to all; so far as it treats of man as the gospel *forms* him, it appeals only to the believer. To the first part of this evidence the Apostle refers in 1 Cor 14^{23-25}; and to the second, in Ro 8^{16} 1 Jn 5^{20}.

Scripture and Conscience.—This evidence consists, in part, in the agreement between what the awakened sinner feels himself, and what the Bible declares him to be. The gospel proclaims the universal corruption of human nature. It speaks not only of acts of transgression, but of a deep and inveterate habit of ungodliness in the soul, and of the necessity of a complete renewal. If this description were felt to be untrue, if man were conscious of delight in submitting his will to God's will, and in obeying commands which rebuke his selfishness and pride, he might at once discredit the truth of the gospel. But when he finds that the description answers to his own state, and that every attempt at closer examination only discovers to him the completeness of this agreement, he has in himself an evidence that this message is true.

Scripture and Human need.—The second stage of the evidence is reached when a man finds that the provisions of the gospel are adapted to his state. He is guilty, and needs pardon. He is corrupt, and needs holiness. He is

surrounded by temptation, and needs strength. He is living in a world of vexation and change, and he needs some more satisfying portion than it can supply. He is dying, and he shrinks from death, and longs for a clear revelation of another life. And the gospel meets all these wants. It is a message of pardon to the guilty, of holiness to the aspiring, of peace to the tried, and of life to them that sit in the shadow of death.

Scripture and Christian experience.—And whilst there is perfect adaptation to human want, no less striking is the agreement between the description given in the gospel of its results and the Christian's experience. The effects of the belief of the truth are repeatedly portrayed in Scripture. Each promise is a prediction, receiving daily fulfilment. Penitence and its fruits, the obedience of faith and the increasing light and peace which it supplies, the power of prayer, the influence of Christian truth on the intellect, on the heart and the character, the struggles, and victories, and defeats even of the new life, all are described and constitute an evidence in the highest degree experimental; an evidence which grows with our growth, and multiplies with every step of our progress in the knowledge and love of the truth. Such insight into our moral being, and such knowledge of the changes which religious truth is adapted to produce, could never emanate from human wisdom, and they prove that God Himself is the Author of the book in which such qualities are disclosed.

Value of this Evidence.—We repeat the caution, however, that this evidence is chiefly of value for the confirmation of the faith of a Christian, because none else will appreciate or understand it. To such, however, this evidence is so strong as often to supersede every other. To the Christian, the old controversy between Christianity and infidelity has but little interest; he already feels the truth which evidences

seek only to prove; it seems needless to discuss the reality of what he already enjoys; he has the 'witness in himself:' 'whether He be a sinner or no, I know not: one thing I know, that, whereas I was blind, now I see.'

The true method of Healing.—To the physician who is entrusted with the cure of some mortal disease, two courses are open. He may treat the symptoms, or he may treat the disease itself. If in fever he is anxious only to quench the thirst of his patient, or in apoplexy to excite the system, his treatment may be said to be adapted to the wants of the sufferer; but it is not likely to restore him. A sounder system treats the disease, and that medicine is the true specific which is adapted ultimately to remove it. The evidence of the virtue of such a specific is, not its palatableness nor its power of exhilaration, but the steady continued improvement of the health of the patient; an evidence founded on experience, and strongly confirming the proofs which had originally induced him to make the trial.

And so of the gospel. It may exhilarate, and it may please the taste; but the evidence of its truth and of its being truly received is its tendency to promote our holiness.

Summary

80. The Evidence universally accessible.—'What then is the reason of our hope?' is a question which every inquirer may ask and answer. All the answers of which the question admits no one can be expected to give, for a full investigation of Christian evidences would occupy a lifetime; but it is easy to give such an answer as shall justify our faith. Christianity and the Christian books exist, and have existed for the last eighteen hundred years. Christian and secular writers agree in this admission. The great Founder of our faith professedly wrought miracles in confirmation of His

message, and gave the same power to His Apostles. They all underwent severe suffering, and some of them died in testimony of their belief of the truths and facts they delivered. These facts, and the truths founded on them, the Apostles and first Christians embraced in spite of the opposing influences of the religious systems in which they had been trained. The character and history of the Founder of the faith were foretold many hundreds of years before in the Jewish Scriptures. He taught the purest morality. He Himself gave many predictions, and these predictions were fulfilled. His doctrines changed the character of those who received them, softened and civilized ancient nations, and have been everywhere among the mightiest influences in the history of the human race. They claim to be from God, they support their claim by innumerable evidences, and we must either admit them to be from God, or ascribe them to a spirit of most marvellous imposition. Add to all this, that he who receives them has in himself additional evidence of their origin and holiness, and can say from experience, 'We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know Him that is true, and we are in Him that is true, even in His Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God, and eternal life' (1 Jn 5^{20}).

These facts are not abstruse, but accessible to all, and intelligible to the feeblest. For the candid inquirer, *any one* department of this evidence will often prove sufficient: no other religious system being founded on miracles and prophecy, or exhibiting such holiness and love. The *whole evidence combined* is overwhelmingly conclusive.

81. Hindrances to the reception of Evidence.—And yet there is, in relation to these evidences, much unbelief both among inquirers and professed Christians. Among *inquirers* unbelief may be due to want of candour and teachableness: a fact which is itself an evidence of the truth of Scripture, and in harmony with the general dealings of God.

In common life, levity, or prejudice, or carelessness will often lead men astray, and even make them incapable of ascertaining what is really wise and true. And Scripture has expressly declared that those who will not love truth, shall not understand it. So deeply did Grotius feel this consideration, that he regarded the power of Christianity to test men's character and hearts as itself an evidence of the Divine origin of the Gospel, being divinely adapted to test men's character and hearts [a].

Among *professed Christians*, too, there is want of confidence in the fullness of the Christian evidence, and consequent want of inquiry. Baxter acknowledged that while in his younger days he was exercised chiefly about his own sincerity, in later life he was tried with doubts about the truth of Scripture. Further inquiry, however, removed them. The evidence which he found most conclusive was the internal: such as sprang from the witness of the Spirit of God with his own. 'The spirit of prophecy,' says he, 'was the first witness: the spirit of miraculous power, the second; and now,' he adds, 'we have the spirit of renovation and holiness.' 'Let Christians therefore,' he concludes, 'tell their doubts, and investigate the evidence of Divine truth, for there is ample provision for the removal of them all.'

Most of the doubts which good men feel may be thus dispelled. Others, chiefly speculative, may in some cases remain, and are not to be dispelled by the best proofs. Even for these, however, there is a cure. Philosophy cannot solve them; but prayer and healthy exercise in departments of Christian life to which doubting does not extend *can*; or, failing to solve them, these remedies will teach us to think less of their importance, and to wait patiently for stronger light. Ours is a complex nature, and the morbid excitability

[a] *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ*, ii. § 19. See also Is $29^{13.14}$ Dn 12^{10} Mt 6^{23} 11^{25} $13^{11.12}$ Jn 3^{19} 1 Cor 2^{14} 2 Cor 4^{4} 2 Tim 3^{13}.

of one part of our frame may often be cured by the increased activity of another. An irritable faith is a symptom of deficient action elsewhere, and is best cured by a more constant attention to practical duty. Difficulties which no inquiry can remove will often melt away amidst the warmth and vigour produced by active love.

CHAPTER VI

INSPIRATION AND REVELATION

'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. In the name of the holy Scripture we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.'—ARTICLE VI OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

'Are you persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ? and are you determined, out of the said Scriptures to instruct the people committed to your charge, and to teach nothing, as required of necessity to eternal salvation, but that which you shall be persuaded may be concluded and proved by the Scripture?'—FORM FOR THE ORDERING OF PRIESTS IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

'We may be moved and induced by the testimony of the Church to a high and reverent esteem of the Holy Scripture: and the heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrines, the majesty of the style, the consent of all the parts, the aspect of the whole (which is to give all glory to God), the full discovery it makes of the only way of man's salvation, the many other incomparable excellencies, and the entire perfection thereof, are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the word of God; yet, notwithstanding, our full preservation and allowance of the infallible truth and Divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the word in our hearts.'—WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY: CONFESSION OF FAITH.

The Bible as Inspired

82. The consideration of the particular evidences of the authenticity and claims of Scripture naturally leads to further and more general questions respecting the method

of its communication, and its special characteristics as the word of God. To the former part of this inquiry belongs the subject of INSPIRATION, to the latter that of REVELATION. The two terms indeed are often interchangeably employed. They express but different aspects of the same great truth. The Scriptures may be compendiously described as the record by inspired writers of a revelation, or rather of a series of revelations, from God to man.

New Testament Statements.—The declaration that Scripture is **inspired by God** is made in various forms, all leading to the same result. In reference to the Prophets of the Old Testament in particular, the statements of the New Testament are explicit: 'Men spake from God, being moved (borne onwards) by the Holy Spirit;' 'The Spirit of Christ which was in them did testify;' 'God of old time spake unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions, and in divers manners.' In referring to the 'holy writings' in which Timothy had been instructed, the Apostle adds, 'Every scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness' (2 Tim 3^{16} R. V.)[a].

Old Testament Statements.—Declarations to the same effect had been made, times without number, by the Old Testament writers. Thus the Psalmist (2 Sam 23^{2})—

> 'The Spirit of Jehovah spake by me,
> And His word was upon my tongue.'

And throughout the Prophets: 'The word of Jehovah came to me,' 'Thus saith Jehovah,' are their constant affirmations.

[a] The rendering of Jerome: 'Omnis Scriptura divinitus inspirata, utilis est,' &c., is naturally followed by Wyclif, as well as in versions influenced by the Vulgate. It is, however, also given by Tindale, Coverdale, and in the Great Bible. The first English version that contains the A. V. reading, 'All Scripture is given by inspiration of God and is profitable,' &c., is the Geneva translation, which also is that of Beza in his Latin version. Valid reasons may be assigned for returning, with the Revisers, to the older rendering.

In recognition of the same truth, the unknown author of the apocryphal Books of Esdras represents Ezra as offering the prayer, 'If I have found favour before Thee, send Thy Holy Spirit unto me, and I shall write all that hath been done in the world since the beginning[a].'

83. Method of Inspiration.—Prophetic inspiration has been variously conceived. In the Scriptures it is declared simply *as a fact*, without analysis or explanation. The heathen in general held that while inspired men were under the Divine impulse, all voluntary action was suspended. To be inspired was to be 'possessed.' A state of ecstasy was regarded as a condition of exercising the prophetic gift. But such is never the view given in Scripture. 'In true prophecy self-consciousness and self-command are never lost —"the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets"' (1 Cor 14^{32})[b].

Views of the Early Fathers.—Early Christian writers give various accounts of inspiration, but for the most part they treat the subject practically rather than speculatively, though generally maintaining that inspired persons still exercised their ordinary powers.

Bishop Westcott has a detailed summary[c], with full quotations, on the subject—leading to the conclusion that: 'the unanimity of the early Fathers in their views on Holy Scripture is the more remarkable when it is taken in connexion with the great differences of character and training and circumstances by which they were distinguished. In the midst of errors of judgement and errors of detail, they maintain firmly with one consent the great principles which invest the Bible with an interest most special and most universal, with the characteristics of the most vivid individuality and of the most varied application. They teach us that Inspiration is an operation of the Holy Spirit acting *through* men, according to the laws of their constitution, which is not neutralized by His influence, but adopted as a vehicle for the full expression of the Divine message. They teach

[a] 2 Esd 14^{22}.

[b] W. Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, Lect. 5.

[c] *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, Appendix B, 'On the Primitive Doctrine of Inspiration,' pp. 417–455.

us that it is generally combined with the moral progress and purification of the Teacher, so that there is on the whole a moral fitness in the relation of the Prophet to the doctrine. They teach us that Christ—the Word of God—speaks from first to last; that all Scripture is permanently fitted for our instruction; that a true spiritual meaning, eternal and absolute, lies beneath historical and ceremonial and moral details.'

84. Theory of the Reformers.—In such views, essentially practical, without metaphysical refinement or attempt at closer definition, the Church for many ages was content to rest, until at the Reformation the presumed necessity arose for a more precise theory. In the desire to honour Scripture above Church authority, the Swiss Reformers and their successors adopted the view that the sacred writings were dictated **word for word**—that is, in the original languages, and in a text still uncorrupted. In the Helvetic Confession of 1675 they declared that not only the matter but the very words of Scripture were divinely dictated—including consonants, vowels, and vowel-points (or at least their force). A similar view had been strongly maintained among English theologians by Dr. John Owen, to whom an effective reply was made by Brian Walton, editor of the *Polyglot*; and the theory is still occasionally advocated, although under various modifications [a].

According to this view the human writer is but an amanuensis of the Divine Author. To employ figures that have been used to express his position, he is the *pen* rather than

[a] 'The Bible is none other than the voice of Him that sitteth upon the throne. Every book of it, every chapter of it, every verse of it, every word of it, every syllable of it (where are we to stop?), every letter of it, is the direct utterance of the Most High. . . . The Bible is none other than the Word of God, not some part of it more, some part of it less, but all alike the utterance of Him Who sitteth upon the throne, faultless, unerring, supreme.'—Burgon, *Inspiration and Interpretation*,' 1861, p. 89. So Dr. Tregelles 'held the sixty-six books of the Old and New Testament to be veritably the Word of God, as absolutely as were the Ten Commandments written by the finger of God on the two Tables of stone.' See also Gaussen's *Theopneustia*.

the *penman*, the unconscious lyre from which the touch of the Divine musician awakens the melody.

Difficulties in the Verbal Inspiration Theory.—The difficulties in the way of this theory are obvious, and seem conclusive. Among them are the diversities of style in Scripture, the varying quotations, and the very professions of the writers themselves. Divine dictation, supposing it to have existed, did not supersede the necessity, on the part of the writers, of diligent and faithful research [a], of the expression of the same thought in different words, of such differences in the accounts of the same occurrences as would be likely to arise from the different standpoints of the narrators, and of the distinctive personal note in the various writings. The freedom observable in the citations of Old Testament passages in the New clearly shows that little stress is laid upon mere verbal exactness [b]; while, as the vast majority of readers must still be dependent upon *translations*, the value of such precision would to a great extent be lost by them. It is a greater act of Divine omnipotence to produce a perfect work through imperfect agents, whose personality is at the same time fully preserved, than to do so by merely dictating it. On the other hand, inspiration is, in some cases at least, as in the 'Ten Words' on Sinai, hardly distinguishable from Divine dictation. Sometimes the inspired writers were led to express themselves in language which they themselves imperfectly understood [c]; and there are intimations of their use of *words* which the Holy Spirit taught and approved [d].

Such are among the facts of Scripture. And apart from preconceived notions, it is from facts that any theory of inspiration must be formed. The phenomena of inspiration

[a] Lu 1^{1-4}.

[b] Compare Mt $26^{26,27}$ with Lu $22^{19,20}$ and 1 Cor $11^{24,25}$, also Mt 3^{17} with Mk 1^{11} and Lu 3^{22}.

[c] See 1 Pet $1^{10,11}$ Dn 12^{8}.

[d] See Heb 1^{1} 1 Cor $2^{12,13}$. Compare Mk $10^{19\ 20}$.

are those which we find in the Bible; not those which we may hold to be necessary to our belief in the doctrine[a].

85. Divine and Human Elements in Scripture.—And however such facts may be interpreted, there is one conclusion to which they together point; the coexistence of a Divine and of a human element in Scripture. There is an often-remarked analogy in this respect between the written word and the Word Incarnate. Perfect God and perfect man—two Natures (according to the language of theologians) in One Person—meet in mysterious ineffable union[b]. It may not be for us in either case to form any definite theory as to the method of this union, or its limits. The fact we thankfully accept, and on that our faith depends. The endeavour has often been made to analyse it more closely. From the evident differences between different parts of Scripture in their contents and their tone, distinctions have been drawn between 'inspiration of direction' and 'inspiration of suggestion,' between 'illumination' and 'dictation' as well as between 'dynamical' and 'mechanical' influence. Whatever truths these phrases may embody, they scarcely bring us into closer contact with the vital truth. The mystery of Being and of Thought, the action of the Divine mind upon the human spirit, and the response of the human spirit to the Divine, are still beyond our understanding. Nor, indeed, do such theories interfere with our reception of the 'living Oracles.'

86. Difficulties.—Supposed inaccuracies in the details of

[a] 'The student must not approach the inquiry with the assumption—sanctioned though it may have been by traditional use—that God must have taught His people, and us through His people, in one particular way. He must not presumptuously stake the inspiration and the Divine authority of the Old Testament on any foregone conclusion as to the method and shape in which the records have come down to us.'—Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 493.

[b] See *The Inspiration of Holy Scripture*, Eight Discourses by Archdeacon Lee, 1864, Lect. i.

Scripture will be considered in the sections on Interpretation, especially in that on Scripture Difficulties. Suffice it now to say that the Bible claims to be **a certain and infallible revelation of Divine Truth,** that in searching the Scriptures the inquirer must look beyond the letter to the spirit, and that no errors, such as are sometimes alleged, as in matters of science, chronology, and the like, invalidate the grounds of faith. With this assurance firmly fixed, we are free to investigate the record. The work has been done by many a competent expositor. The result is thus far to confirm the accuracy of the record, to clear away a host of difficulties, and to discover in the very variations of the Sacred Text new proofs of its authenticity. Scripture is a balanced whole, and even the apparent contradictions and variations may be but intentionally differing aspects of truth which, like the diverse views in the stereoscope, need only to be combined to produce the true image of solidity. And even where there still remains a hesitancy on our part as to the meaning, or an impossibility in our present state of knowledge in harmonizing different accounts, the experience of the past affords good hope of a solution. But what if that solution cannot as yet be attained? Still 'the foundation of the Lord standeth sure.'

Extreme views should be avoided, as the following quotations show:—

'In theories of inspiration, one factor has too often been brought into exclusive prominence, and the other passed over. A purely mechanical theory has practically ignored any real activity on the part of the human instrument, or an entirely subjective theory has virtually denied the reality of the Divine communication of truth which could not otherwise have been known. The proposition that "Scripture *is* the Word of God" has been hardened into the dogma of the verbal inspiration and absolute inerrancy of every word of the Bible; and the Jewish theory of the dictation of the Pentateuch to Moses has been extended to the rest of the Old Testament; or, on the other hand, the proposition that "Scripture *contains* the Word of God" has been volatilized till all distinction between Scripture and other

books is obliterated, and the inspiration of Moses or Isaiah is held to be not materially different from the inspiration of Solon or Æschylus.'—Prof. A. F. Kirkpatrick's *Divine Library of the Old Testament*, p. 91.

'It is certain,' writes Dean Burgon, '(1) That when various persons are giving true accounts of the same incident, their accounts will sometimes differ so considerably that it will seem at first sight as if they could not possibly be reconciled, and yet (2) that a single word of explanation, the discovery of one minute circumstance—perfectly natural when we hear it stated—will often suffice to remove the difficulty which before seemed insurmountable; and, further, that when this has been done, the entire consistency of the several accounts becomes apparent, while the harmony which is established is often of the most beautiful nature.'—*Sermons on Inspiration and Interpretation*, 1861, p. 63.

Bishop Ellicott writes:—'Fully convinced as we are that the Scripture is the revelation through human media of the infinite mind of God to the finite mind of man, and recognizing as we do both a human and a Divine element in the written Word, we verily believe that the Holy Ghost was so breathed into the mind of the writer, so illumined his spirit and pervaded his thoughts, that while nothing that individualized him as man was taken away, everything that was necessary to enable him to declare Divine Truth in all its fullness was bestowed and superadded.'—*Aids to Faith*, p. 411.

Dean Alford writes in the *Prolegomena* to his *Greek Testament*:—'The inspiration of the sacred writers I believe to have consisted in the fullness of the influence of the Holy Spirit specially raising them to, and enabling them for, their work—in a manner which distinguishes them from all other writers in the world, and their work from all other works.'—Vol. i. p. 21.

The Bible as Revelation

87. Christianity claims to be a revealed religion: the record of the revelation is contained in its sacred Scriptures. In these it possesses an authoritative declaration of the mind and will and purpose of God towards man, a self-disclosure of 'Him that is invisible' which transcends all manifestations of the Divine in nature or in history, and gives knowledge which the human mind could never otherwise have attained.

What then, precisely, is Revelation, and what is the method of Divine revelation disclosed in the Bible?

Natural and Revealed Religion.—Revealed religion is often set in contrast with natural religion. The distinction implied in these terms is, broadly, this. Natural religion is that in which man finds God; Revealed, is that in which God finds man. In the one process we are *separated* from God by the world and our own human nature; no truth is to be learned concerning Him but what we may slowly and painfully decipher there, and how perplexing the search and doubtful the issue the host of varying and even contradictory Theisms bear witness. See Job 38, 39.

The *possibility* of natural religion is attested by the Scriptures themselves in such passages as Ps 19^{1} 94^{9} 143^{5} Is 40^{26} 42^{5} 45^{18} Job 12^{9} 26^{14} 36^{24} sqq. Ac 17^{24-28} Ro 1^{19-22}; its *insufficiency and failure* find expression in Job 11^{7} 1 Cor 1^{21} and elsewhere.

In Revelation, on the other hand, the silence is broken [a], the sign from heaven given; the certainty and the authority craved for by man's religious needs are in the miracle, in the Prophet's 'Thus saith the Lord,' in the inspired Book, and, finally and completely, in Christ, the Incarnate Word.

88. Harmony between the two.—But though the distinction between these two ways of apprehending God is valid, a little consideration will show that it is not, and cannot be, absolute. God's revelation of Himself is conveyed through human instruments and received through modes of human thought and feeling. In a *written* revelation the human element is necessarily prominent. On the other hand, it is true to say that Nature *reveals* God; that He manifests Himself in the experience of individual and nation, and speaks through the intuitions of conscience. Man's searching after God is also, at every step, a self-revelation of God. To every upward aspiration of thought or emotion Paul's phrase might be applied, 'Knowing Him, but rather being known of Him.' Pascal, in his perplexity, seeking after

[a] This is precisely the meaning of the Greek verb 'having spoken,' 'hath spoken,' in Heb $1^{1.2}$.

God, seemed to hear a Divine voice saying to him, 'Thou wouldst not seek Me, hadst thou not already found Me.' In this Divine quest, to seek is to find.

The tendency of some modern religious thinking is to emphasize the likeness rather than the difference between natural and revealed religion. The gap is reduced from both sides: Revelation is naturalized, and the ordinary processes of thought towards God are shown to have in them elements which are supernatural. The conviction that the Bible *is* revelation has largely given place to the conception that it *contains* a revelation, unique and authoritative, but gradually unfolded in the history and literature of which the Scriptures are the records. The *authority* of this revelation is regarded as inherent rather than extraneous. The stress on miracle has shifted from its function as attesting a revelation independent of it, to its nature as part of the revelation itself. The changed point of view may perhaps be illustrated by contrast of the *immediate* effect of Christ's teaching in the synagogue at Capernaum, 'They were astonished at His teaching, for He taught them as having authority [a]'—with the *inference* drawn by Nicodemus, 'Rabbi, we know that Thou art a teacher come from God: for no man can do these signs that Thou doest, except God be with him [b].'

In view of this trend of thought, whether justified or not, it becomes more important to examine and to vindicate the peculiar claim of the Bible to be or to contain a special and unique revelation of God to men.

89. Meaning of Revelation.—The word Revelation (lit. *drawing back the veil*) is the Latin equivalent of the Greek ἀποκάλυψις (Apocalypse), *an uncovering*. In the LXX the substantive does not occur in the metaphorical sense, and the verb (ἀποκαλύπτειν) very rarely. The idea, indeed, is characteristically Christian. In the New Testament God is said to *reveal* His truth to men, sometimes through the Holy Spirit: Mt 11^{25} 16^{17} Lu 10^{21} 1 Cor 2^{10} 14^{30}; the method of disclosure and the truth disclosed are alike called *revelation*: Eph 3^{3} 1 Cor 14^{6}. The idea of supernatural communication is emphasized by the many passages which

[a] Mk 1^{22}. [b] Jn 3^{2} R. V.

speak of the *mystery* of God, hidden from the ages but now revealed or made known in Christ: Ro 16^{25} Eph 3^{9} Col 1^{26}.

Revelation, then, appears essentially as a special operation of God upon the human spirit, by which He manifests Himself, His will, His truth. As a manner of knowing, it is separate from ordinary mental processes; as that which is known, it is knowledge not otherwise attainable by men.

By way of more precise definition the following may suffice. 'Revelation means God manifesting Himself in the history of the world in a supernatural manner and for a special purpose[a],' i.e. the proper *object* of revelation is God; its *sphere* is history, not nature; its *method* is supernatural. Again, 'Revelation can only concern what is so above nature as to be beyond the power of man to discover or of nature to disclose; in other words, it must relate to God, proceed from Him, and be concerned with Him[b].'

90. Moreover, although writing is not essential to revelation as thus defined, 'the idea of a **written revelation** may be said to be logically involved in the notion of a Living God. Speech is natural to spirit; and if God is by nature Spirit, it will be to Him a matter of nature to reveal Himself[c].'

The relation of Revelation to Inspiration (see § 82) is dealt with by Dr. Fairbairn in words which follow those just quoted: 'But if He speaks to man, it will be through men; and those who hear best will be those most possessed of God. This possession is termed "inspiration." God inspires, man reveals: inspiration is the process by which God gives: revelation is the mode or form—word, character, or institution—in which man embodies what he has received. The terms, though not equivalent, are co-extensive, the one denoting the process on its inner side, the other on its outer.' Dr. Sanday, in quoting this passage with approval, remarks: 'The context shows that it is as correct to say, "God reveals"; but it is through man that the revelation takes concrete shape[d].' A passage to the same effect may be

[a] Dr. A. B. Bruce.

[b] Dr. A. M. Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 387.

[c] *Ibid.*, p. 496. [d] Dr. Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 125 note.

added from Bishop Westcott: 'Inspiration may be regarded in one aspect as the correlative of Revelation. Both operations imply a supernatural extension of the field of man's spiritual vision, but in different ways. By Inspiration we conceive that his natural powers are quickened so that he contemplates with a Divine intuition the truth as it exists still among the ruins of the moral and physical worlds. By Revelation we see as it were the dark veil removed from the face of things, so that the true springs and issues of life stand disclosed in their eternal nature[a].'

In affirming then that Christianity is a Revealed Religion, we affirm that God has so spoken to men: that we know it to be so, because we have a record of the revelation in the Scriptures. The Bible is a revelation because it contains the history of the Redeemer and of our Redemption. So much any believer in revelation must affirm: any further affirmations as to the nature and method of revelation must be based on a study of the Bible itself.

Method of Revelation in the Bible.

91. The Bible is, first, a revelation of **Religious Truth.** This has already been stated in definition. The proper object of revelation is God, in the relations which do and may subsist between Him and His creatures. The Bible is the history of Redemption. It gives the history of the world as 'God's world,' and as destined to become the kingdom of His Son. It tells us of its origin, that we may know by what God has done, the reverence due to Him: what is His power Whose law this book has revealed: Whose creatures we are, that we may distinguish Him from the idols of the heathen, who are either imaginary beings, or parts of His creation.

1. All the *narrative* of the Bible seems written on the same principle. It is an inspired history of religion, i.e. of man in *relation to God:* all else that it contains is in subordination to this main purpose. Idolatrous nations are introduced,

[a] Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, p. 8.

not as independently important, but as influencing the Church, or as influenced by it: and thus narrative and prophecy continue from the first transgression, through the whole interval of man's misery and guilt, to a period, spoken of in a great diversity of expressions and under both economies, when 'the God of heaven shall set up a kingdom that shall never be destroyed.'

These historical disclosures supply ample materials for inquiry; but it is the principle of selection and the clear scope of the whole which are now under notice. To convey religious truth is clearly the writers' chief design. Whatever is revealed must be studied with this fact in view, and whatever is withheld may be regarded as not essential to the accomplishment of this purpose.

2. In the *prophetic Scriptures* this peculiarity is equally obvious. They are all either intensely moral, or evangelical, or both. It might have been otherwise, without injury to prophecy as an outward evidence of Scripture. The gifts of prediction and of moral teaching might have been disjoined: but in fact they are not. What might have ministered to the gratification of natural curiosity only is enlisted on the side of practical holiness. The prophet is the teacher; and the revelation of the future becomes, like the history of the past, the handmaid of evangelical truth and of spiritual progress.

3. So is it in all that is revealed in relation to Christ. We read of the dignity of His Person, but it is with a constant reference to 'us men, and to our salvation.' If He is set forth as the Light of the world, it is to guide us into the way of peace: if as the Lamb of God, it is that He may redeem us by His blood: if as entering into heaven, it is as our Propitiation and Intercessor. We call Him justly the 'Son of God': *He* loved to call Himself, as His Apostles never called Him, and with a peculiar reference to His sympathy and work—the 'Son of man.'

Scripture, then, is the revelation of religious truth, and of truth adapted to our nature as fallen and guilty. We use it rightly, therefore, only as it ministers to our holiness and consolation. It might have revealed other truth, or the truth it does reveal may be regarded by us only as sublime and glorious. But this is not God's purpose. He has given it 'for teaching, reproof, correction, and for discipline in righteousness.' All knowledge may be useful: but this knowledge is necessary.

An important principle follows from these remarks. We must not expect to find revelation in Scripture, except of what is, **in a religious point of view, important for us to know.** Some seek 'the dead among the living' (as Lord Bacon phrased it), and look into the Bible for natural philosophy and human science: others inquire in it for the 'secret things' which 'belong only to God': and both are rebuked by the very character and design of the Bible. It is the record of necessary and saving truth; or of truth in its religious aspects and bearings, and of nothing besides: its histories being brief or full, as brevity or fullness may best secure these ends.

Not everything contained in Scripture is of the nature of revelation. God reveals the unknown, the spiritual, the secret purpose of His will. But more than this: He unveils **hidden meanings in what is already known,** His own mind as displayed in outward facts; in a word, the religious interests of life.

Professor Hannah has acutely remarked, with regard to many of the Bible records:—'So far as these are simple facts, bearing a plain historical character, and holding definite external relations to dates, to geography, to the histories of surrounding nations, it is clear that no special revelation was required for their record. We can imagine that even uninspired historians might have narrated the whole contemporary portion of the facts of Scripture, in histories of the common type and order. But such records would have differed widely from the existing Scriptures, because they could not have presented the

facts under the aspect which a knowledge of their purpose and significance supplied. Revelation, properly so called, is the supernatural counterpart to this double series of facts, uniting them together under one religious explanation. Scripture consists, then, not of facts only, but of facts arranged with a view to one overruling purpose, and lighted up by a peculiar interpretation, which the unassisted mind of man could never have projected or supplied.'—*Relation between the Divine and Human Elements in Holy Scripture* (Bampton Lectures, 1863, pp. 27, 28).

In general, Scripture speaks **in relation to physical facts** in the language of common life and contemporary knowledge; and sometimes that language is popular rather than scientific, as in Job 9^6 38^6 Ps 104^3. And the reason is plain. Supernatural intervention *here* would be quite outside the purpose of revelation. Indeed, if strictly philosophical language had been employed, Scripture must have been less intelligible: to have described natural facts *not* as they appear, but as they really *are*, would have made all such facts matters of revelation. It must have excited doubts among the ignorant, and prejudice (from the necessary incompleteness of Scripture teaching on such questions) among the philosophic; destroying, among all, the unity of impression which the Bible seeks to produce. The Bible would have become, in that case, a Divine, though incomplete handbook of science; an arrangement as little conducive to the cultivation of a truly philosophical spirit as to the interests of religion itself. 'And yet, although the language is not that of modern science, it is curiously accurate, and its absolute concurrence with the latest discoveries is amazing to all except the believer[a].'

The Scriptures, for example, speak of the earth as a *globe*, and as *suspended upon nothing*, Is 40^{22} Job 26^{7-10} Pr 8^{27}. In treating of its age, they distinguish between the creation of unorganized matter and that of the heavens and the earth, Gen $1^{1.2}$. They give to man a very recent origin, and their accuracy in this respect is attested by the ascertained state of the earth's surface and by the monuments of antiquity. They describe the heavens as *boundless space*, not as a solid

[a] See Capron's *Conflict of Faith*.

sphere ; and light as an element independent of the sun, and as anterior to it, anticipating the generally received theory of modern inquirers. When they speak of air, they say that God gave it *weight*, as Galileo proved ; and of the seas, that He gave them their *measure* : a proportion of land and sea such as now exists being essential to the health and safety of both animal and vegetable life. The waters above 'the expanse' have an importance attached to them in Scripture which modern science alone can appreciate ; many millions of tons being raised from the surface of England alone by evaporation every day.

When they speak of the human race they give it one origin ; and of human language they indicate original identity and subsequent division, not into endless diversities of dialect such as now exist, but rather into two or three primeval tongues ; facts which, though long questioned, ethnography and philosophy have confirmed, Gen 11^{1} 10^{32}..

When they speak of the stars, instead of supposing a thousand, as ancient astronomers did (Hipparchus says 1022, Ptolemy 1026), they declare that they are innumerable ; a declaration which modern telescopes discover to be not even a figure of speech. 'God,' says Sir John Herschel, after surveying the groups of stars and nebulæ in the heavens, 'has scattered them like dust through the immensity of space.' And when the Scriptures speak of their hosts, it is as dependent, material, obedient things, Is $40^{26.27}$.

In the domain of religious truth the Bible is of absolute and final authority ; in that of scientific fact and conception it does not claim to be. There can be **no conflict between science and religion.** The dreary records of the warfare between science and systems of *theology* which have mistaken the nature and limits of the inspiration under which the authors of the Bible wrote its several books, will not fail of their lesson if they teach us to rest the authority of Scripture on its matchless and unassailable revelation of religious truth.

92. A second peculiarity of Scripture is, that it is **a gradual and progressive revelation.**

The truths and purpose of God are in themselves incapable of progress ; but not the revelation of those truths. In nature, the rising sun scatters the mists of the morning, and brings out into light first one prominence, and then

another, till every hill and valley is clothed in splendour. The landscape was there before, but it was not seen. So in revelation, the progress is not in the truth, but in the clearness and impressiveness with which Scripture reveals it.

In the beginning, for example, God taught the unity of His nature ; while the truth that there is a plurality in the Godhead was taught, but indistinctly. In the later Prophets, the truth comes out with greater distinctness ; and in the New Testament it is fully revealed. In the same way, the work of the Holy Spirit is recognized in the Old Testament, and with increasing clearness as we approach the times of the gospel [a]. It is in the New alone, however, that we have a distinct view of His personality and work.

This gradual disclosure of the Divine will is yet more remarkable in the anticipations of the Christ. The first promise (Gen 3^{15}) contained a prophetic declaration of mercy, and foretold His coming and work, though in mysterious terms. The first recorded act of acceptable worship (Gen 4^{4} Heb 11^{4}) was a type, expressing by an action the faith of the offerer in the fulfilment of the first prediction. There was to be triumph through suffering, and there was to be the substitution of the innocent for the guilty.

These promises and types were multiplied with the lapse of time. In the person or worship of Enoch [b], of Noah [c], of Melchizedec [d], and of Job [e], there was much that was typical and predictive ; still more in the history of Abraham [f] and his immediate descendants.

Under the Mosaic dispensation, other typical acts or persons, and places, and things were instituted, and the design of the institution was most distinctly explained [g]. Prophecies, also, became more clear and frequent [h].

Between the days of Samuel and Malachi—a period of more than six

[a] Gen 1^{2} 6^{3} Ps $51^{11.12}$ Is 48^{16} 61^{1} Eze $3^{24.27}$. Compare Num 6^{24-26} with the New Testament benediction 2 Cor 13^{14}. [b] Ju 14.
[c] 1 Pet 3^{20} Gen 8^{21}. [d] Heb 5, 6. [e] Job $42^{7.8}$.
[f] Gen 12^{3} (compared with Gal 3^{8}) 26^{4} 49^{10}, &c.
[g] Lev 1^{4} 6^{2-7} 17^{11} compared with Heb 9^{22}.
[h] Num 24^{17} Dt 18^{15} Ac $3^{22.23}$.

hundred years—a succession of prophets appear, who gradually set forth the person and work of the Messiah; they foretell, too, the outpouring of the Spirit and the general prevalence of the truth[a]: points on which the earlier revelation is silent.

In the extent of their predictions, the prophets have not gone beyond the first promise which was intended to give hope of complete redemption; but in their clearness, in the detailed account they give of what redemption involved, and what it cost, the difference is most marked; while in the same qualities, the Gospels have gone at least as far beyond the prophets as the prophets have gone beyond the Law.

93. It is noticeable, too, that the predictions of the old economy and its **practical doctrines** go hand in hand. The revelation spreads on each point. The light that illuminates the living spring, or the harvest-field of truth, shows with equal clearness the path that leads to them. The Law gives Divine precept with more fullness than previous dispensations, and the Prophets go beyond the Law, occupying a middle place between it and the gospel. They insist more fully on the principles of personal holiness, as distinguished from rational and ceremonial purity, and their sanctions have less reference to temporal promises. The precepts of the Law are in the Law stern and brief: its penalties denounced with unmitigated severity. In the Prophets, the whole is presented in colours softer and more attractive; hues from some distant glory, itself concealed, have fallen upon their gloomy features and illumined them into its own likeness. The Law had said, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy strength'; and the extent of this command nothing could exceed. The Prophets, however, expound and enforce, and animate it with a new spirit, and direct its application to greater holiness. The rule of life thus becomes in their hands increasingly luminous and practical.

The Psalms, again, are a great instrument of piety, and are so far additions to the institutes of legal worship, which contain no specific provision for devotion.

[a] 1 Pet 1^{11} Ps 68^{18} Is 52^{13-15} $53^{11,12}$ $61^{1,2}$ Joel 2^{28} Zec 14^{9}.

Ethical Progress.—At the same time, there is an undoubted *ethical* development. Statutes were given and actions permitted in the early stages of human history, which became obsolete in the progress of Divine revelation. Our Lord expressly declares that certain Mosaic institutes were given for the hardness of the people's heart [a]; that is, because they were as yet unprepared for what was higher and purer. The essential principles of morality are immutable; their application to human conduct was a progressive force.

'That God has not thought proper to raise mankind at once to its highest state of moral perfection, any more than individuals are born at once to their maturity, is a matter of actual experience. Why He has admitted it is a question which it is vain to ask, and because vain, presumptuous. The human species has gone through a state of less fullness of moral knowledge, of less enlightened conscience, as compared with its subsequent attainments, just as every individual has done. Now this less perfect state being a part of God's will, the training applied to it must have been suited to it; that is, it must have taken it as imperfect, and dealt with it as such; not anticipating the instructions of a more perfect state, but improving it in its imperfection; not changing spring into summer, but making of spring the best that could be made of it. While, therefore, general principles of duty were given, all the conclusions which follow from them, with regard to our particular relations in life, were not at the same time developed, and men did not at once develop them for themselves. . . . But further, this imperfect moral knowledge on many particular points of practice being allowed, if an action on any one of these points was capable of strengthening their moral principle generally, or tended to serve any other useful end, it would properly be commended to *them*, however inconsistent it might be with more enlightened notions of particular duty. It might be commended to them, because it could do *them* no moral harm, but probably the contrary; and because, being a command in a particular case, and not a statement of a general principle, it could not justly interfere with the acquisition of purer views by future generations when the dispensation of the fullness of time was come.'—Dr. T. Arnold, of Rugby, *Essay on the right Interpretation of Scripture*, 1834.

If the reader, for instance, will compare the statements

[a] Mt 19^8.

of the Pentateuch with those of the Prophets on the relation between the Jews, or of the world generally, and Him who came to enlighten the Gentiles as well as His people Israel[a], or will mark the increasing spirituality and clearness[b] of the whole horizon of spiritual truth as the dawn of the gospel day drew on, he will not fail to understand the consistency and progressive development of revelation. In both he will see evidence of the presence of that God Who (as Butler expressed it) 'appears deliberate in all His operations,' and Who accomplishes His ends by slow and successive stages, whether they refer to the changes of the seasons, the movements of Providence, or the more formal disclosures of His will.

This peculiarity of Scripture makes it important that the various parts of the Bible should be read in the order in which they were written. A chronological arrangement of sacred History, the Psalms, and the Prophets, so far as attainable, is important for the explanation of the several parts: nor is it less so for a clear and consistent view of the progressive unveiling of the Divine character and plans[c]. This applies to the New Testament as well as to the Old.

94. A third feature of the revelation in the sacred volume is its **unity.** It has the first requisite of a great book—a single purpose, and that purpose kept in view throughout every page.

This unity is not owing (it will be observed) to the circumstance that the volume is the work of one author, or of one age. As many as forty different writers (including the authors of smaller portions) composed it. The style is now history, now song, now arguments or dialogue, now

[a] Cf. Ex $19^{5,6}$ (of the Jewish people Is 61^{6}) with Is 66^{21} (of the converted Gentiles); 1 Pet 2^{9} Rev 1^{6}.

[b] See especially Jer 31^{31-34}.

[c] For a chronological arrangement of the whole of the Bible see Appendix I.

biography, or prophecy, or letters. Deeper than these causes of diversity, and sufficiently strong to counteract their influence, must be the secret of this marvellous harmony. It is found, in fact, in the superhuman care of One Who is infinite in power and wisdom. The entire building, which was so many centuries in rearing, is symmetrical throughout, and must have had a Divine Founder, Who first planned and then superintended the whole.

1. **One moral purpose.**—Look again, for example, at the *uniformly moral purpose* of the volume. It is the story of human beings in relation to God: first of man, as man: then of families: then of a nation: then of the wider society of the Church. In all other professed revelations, the writers dwell at length on the origin of the universe (as in the Shastras of the Hindus), or on the physical theory of another life (as in the pretended revelations of Mohammed), or on topics which cannot even be imagined to be of any practical importance (as in the fables of the Talmud, and of apocryphal New Testament books). All that the Bible teaches, on the other hand, refers to God as connected with man, singly or socially, or to man as connected with God: and is moral and practical. It contains no cosmogony, no mythology, no metaphysics, no marvels which are not moral: no ideal which is not also a reality. In its histories, biographies, prophecies, and psalmody, it has but one aim, to knit together the broken relations between God and man, and between man and man:—to redeem and sanctify our race.

2. **One System of Doctrine.**—If we look at *the doctrines* which were believed and taught, we find a unity no less remarkable. Under every dispensation, the great principles of Christianity have been recognized by all holy men. Religion, 'subjectively' regarded, has ever been faith and obedience. And as a system of truth ('objective') it has never changed. From the earliest times, we find a belief

in the unity of God; in the creation and preservation of all things by Divine power; in a general and particular Providence; in a Divine law, fixing distinctions between right and wrong; in the fall and corruption of man; in the doctrine of atonement through vicarious suffering; in the obligation and efficacy of prayer; in direct Divine influence; in human responsibility; and in the necessity of practical holiness.

Law and Gospel essentially One.—The *Law*, as given by Moses, abounds in ceremony, and was evidently adapted to the peculiar circumstances of one people. The *Gospel* has but few ceremonies, remarkable for their simplicity, and the whole is of universal application. But though at first sight so dissimilar, the two systems are essentially one. They present the same views of God and of man, suggest or plainly teach the same truths, and are adapted to excite the same feelings.

This unity comprehends doctrines entirely beyond human knowledge. The Bible reveals everywhere the same God, holy, wise, and good: it speaks of His designs in governing the world, and of the final issue of the present struggle between good and evil. It treats of human nature and of true happiness; analyses with matchless skill the secret motives of human action, and points out the grand source of human misery: subjects which have engaged the thoughts of the wisest men in all ages.

95. Unity amid Diversity.—One consideration of prime importance is suggested by this characteristic of the Bible. It is in the light of this unity in the whole that we must interpret the diversities amidst the parts. If not all in the Bible is revelation (§ 91), neither is the *quality* of the revelation always on the same level. It has been seen that in the Prophets, Old Testament inspiration finds clearest expression and reaches its height, culminating, perhaps, in

that wonderful utterance of Jeremiah concerning the New Covenant, on which the central revelation of the Epistle to the Hebrews is based[a]. We do not look for revelation like this in the Books of Chronicles or Esther, yet can recognize that these too have their needful and honourable place as stones in the Divine fabric.

96. Essential things in Revelation.—So far from being a source of perplexity, the perception of unity amid diversity should bring gain every way. It throws the stress on what is *essential* in revelation, the vital truths and moving forces of religion. It brings into clearer light the *design*, *nature*, and *method* of revelation in exhibiting it as the history of God's redeeming activity. Above all it fixes attention on the *goal* of revelation. The Old Testament is seen as the gradual preparation for the Christ. The New Testament also receives its meaning from Christ: He created it: it is His Self-manifestation through His servants, their several message to the world centred in Him into a unity transcending all art, and combined into a living book which answers at all points to the living Christ. In discerning the process we become aware of the unity. We may wonder and revere as we fall under the spell of Prophet or Psalmist, of Evangelist or Apostle: it is when we see the whole in the parts that we feel we are in the presence of a stupendous miracle of revelation, and amid all that is human humbly acknowledge that 'a greater than man is here.'

97. A fourth peculiarity of Scripture is **the absence of all systematic form** in the truths revealed. There is no compend of Christian doctrine, nor are there specific rules on the duties of the Christian life: an omission the more marked, as in the books of most false religions (the Koran and Shastras, for example) the description of the 'faith' is

[a] Jer 31^{31-34} Heb 8–10; cf. 1 Cor 11^{25}.

most precise, and the minutest directions are given concerning fasts, ablutions, and other points of religious service.

This peculiarity is both natural and instructive. In the Old Testament, the earlier part (and much of the later) is historical in its method. Moral truth is conveyed exclusively through narrative, and the narrative is fragmentary and concise. God had been in communication with man long before He gave the Law. What He had revealed, or how He revealed it, cannot be fully gathered from the record. The very object, indeed, of a large portion of the Bible seems to be not so much the disclosure of truth, as the embodiment of truth already disclosed.

The New Testament, again, was written for those who had received instruction in the Christian faith, and had embraced it. It does not, accordingly, contain regular elementary instruction, or an enumeration of articles of faith. When the Epistles were written, the churches had been formed under Divine teaching and on a Divine model; while the Gospels are clearly historical, and rather imply, or suggest, religious truth, than systematically reveal it.

Teaching by Example.—Religion is both objective and subjective; a system of holy doctrine, or of active holy principles. The first is truth, and the second is piety. In Scripture both are revealed, but it is rather in the form of examples, or of incidental illustrations, than of systematic teaching.

Let us notice, for example, how the Bible speaks of the character of God as a Moral Governor, and of man, both as sinful and as holy.

Everywhere, throughout the Bible, the perfections of God are revealed, but they are revealed in His *works*. They are never defined or mentioned even, without reference to some practical end.

When Abraham, through Sarah's impatience or unbelief, had taken Hagar, hoping to see an early fulfilment of the Divine promise, Jehovah rebuked him, and for the first time spoke of Himself as the 'Almighty God,' Gen 17[1]. When Israel exclaimed, 'My way is hid

from Jehovah,' the answer was given, 'Hast thou not known . . . that the everlasting God . . . fainteth not, neither is weary? there is no searching of His understanding,' Is 40[28].

Considering His government, we find its principles embodied in facts, or in practical precepts, exclusively. His dispensations are unchangeable, like Himself. In every nation and age, he that worketh righteousness is approved. He judges according to every man's work [a]. He controls what seems most accidental [b]. He brings about His ends by means apparently trifling or contradictory [c]. He makes even the wicked the instruments of His will [d]. He forgives, and is ready to forgive [e]. He hears and answers prayer [f]. He marks the motives of men, as in the case of Lot's wife and of Joash [g]. He chastises those whom He most loves, as in the case of Moses, of David, and of Hezekiah [h]. He preserveth the righteous, and none that trusteth in Him shall be desolate [i].

Human sinfulness is traced through its manifold disguises and set in its true light in a series of vivid biographical touches—a wonderful gallery of portraits! Every variety of character passes before us, not brought in for the sake of the moral lesson, but exhibited often without comment, leaving the lesson to follow of itself. So of human excellence, as implanted by the Spirit of God, the moving principles being faith in the Unseen.

Thus, if we would analyse and describe our sinfulness, we may find scoffing infidelity in the antediluvians [j]; envy in Cain and the brethren of Joseph [k]; malice in Saul [l]; slander in Doeg and Ziba [m] contempt for Divine teaching in Korah and Ahab [n]; covetousness in Achan, Balaam, Gehazi, and Judas [o]; ambition in Abimelech and the sons of Zebedee [p]; pride in Hezekiah and Nebuchadnezzar [q].

To set forth the inconsistencies of human nature, it shows us, in Ahithophel, the friend and the traitor [r]; in Joab, the brave soldier and faithful servant [s], yet 'a doer of evil,' and one who opposed

[a] Dt 10[17] 2 Ch 19[7] Ro 2[11] Gal 2[6] Eph 6[9] Col 3[25] 1 Pet 1[17]. [b] Est 6[1] Jer 38[7–13] Ac 16[23]. [c] 1 Sa 9[3.15.16] Judg 7[13–15]. [d] Ne 13[2] Ac 2[23]. [e] Dn 9[24] 2 Ch 7[14]. [f] 2 Ch 33[12.13] Gen 24[12]. [g] Gen 19[26] 2 Ki 13[19]. [h] Num 20[12] 2 Sa 24[11.15] 2 Ch 32[25]. [i] 1 Sa 17[37] Phil 4[12.18]. [j] Ju 14, 15. [k] Gen 4[5] 37[11]. [l] 1 Sa 18[28.29]. [m] 1 Sa 22[9] 2 Sa 16[1–3]. [n] Num 16[3] 1 Ki 20[42]. [o] Jos 7[21] 2 Ki 5[20–27] Mt 26[15.16]. [p] Judg 9[1–5] Mk 10[35]. [q] 2 Ki 20[13] Dn 4[30]. [r] Ps 55[12.13] 2 Sa 16[15]. [s] 2 Sa 12[28] 24[3].

God's appointment and sided with Adonijah [a]; in Jehoram, a destroyer of the images of Baal, who yet cleaved to the sin of Jeroboam [b]; in Herod, reverence for John, and a spirit of hardened disobedience [c]; in Agrippa, belief of the prophets, and a rejection of the Gospel [d]; in many of the chief rulers, a belief in the claims of Christ, combined with a readiness to join in the sentence of the Sanhedrin, that He was 'guilty of death [e].'

We see the power of *self-deceit* in David and Balaam [f]; of *prejudice* in Naaman, in Nathanael, in Nicodemus, in the people of Athens and of Ephesus [g]; of *habit* in Ahab, who humbled himself before Elijah, and yet returned to his idols [h], and in Felix, of whom we read that he trembled once, though we never read that he trembled again [i].

The danger of ungodly connexions is seen in the antediluvians and Esau, who married with those who were under the curse of God [j]; in Solomon [k]; in Jehoshaphat's connexion with Ahab (through Athaliah) [l]; and in Ahab's connexion with Jezebel [m]; of worldly prosperity, in Rehoboam [n] and Uzziah [o].

If we seek for exhibitions of moral excellence, again, we have it not defined, but illustrated: faith in Abraham [p]; patience in Job [q]; meekness in Moses [r]; decision in Joshua [s]; patriotism in Nehemiah [t]; friendship in Jonathan [u]. In Hannah we have a pattern to mothers [v]; in Samuel, and Josiah, and Timothy, to children [w]; in Joseph and Daniel, to young men [x]; in Barzillai, to the aged [y]; in Eliezer, to servants [z]; in David, to those under authority [aa]; in our Divine Lord, to all of every age and in every condition.

To make the truth taught in these examples (except in the last) complete, we must trace the evidence of their weakness. They failed in the very parts of their character which were strongest—Abraham through fear [bb], Job through impatience [cc], Moses through irritability and presumption [dd].

If we attempt, again, to ascertain from Scripture what Paley has called the 'devotional virtues' of religion, veneration towards God, an habitual sense of His providence, faith in His wisdom and dealings,

[a] 1 Ki 2^{28}. [b] 2 Ki 3^{1-3}. [c] Mk 6^{16-20}. [d] Ac $26^{27.28}$. [e] Jn 12^{42} Mt 26^{66}. [f] 2 Sa 12^{5-7} Num 23^{10}. [g] 2 Ki $5^{11.12}$ Jn 1^{46} 3^{9} Ac 17^{18} 19^{28}. [h] 1 Ki 21^{27} 22^{6}. [i] Ac 24^{25}. [j] Gen 6^{1-3} 26^{34}. [k] Ne $13^{25.26}$. [l] 2 Ki 8^{18-26}. [m] 1 Ki 21^{5-14}. [n] 2 Ch 12^{1}. [o] 2 Ch 26^{16}. [p] Gal 3^{7-9}. [q] Jas 5^{11}. [r] Num 12^{3}. [s] Jos 24^{15}. [t] Ne 1^{4} 5^{14}. [u] 1 Sa 19^{2-4}. [v] 1 Sa $1^{27.28}$. [w] 1 Sa 3 2 Ch 34^{3} 2 Tim 3^{15}. [x] Gen 39^{9} Dn 1^{8}. [y] 2 Sa $19^{34.35}$. [z] Gen 24. [aa] 1 Sa 24^{6-10}, &c. [bb] Gen 20^{2}. [cc] Job 3^{1}. [dd] Dt 32^{51}.

a disposition to resort on all occasions to His mercy for help and pardon, we shall find them rather illustrated than defined—embodied, that is, in character and example, and not in propositions[a]; the whole adapted to our wants with admirable skill, and by the very form they assume.

It is this presence in Scripture of men like ourselves that brings it home to our heart and conscience. There is felt to be something human in it, as well as Divine. It meets us at every turn. We feel, as we look, that it has a power which, like the eye of a good portrait, is fixed upon us, turn where we will[b].

Besides answering this moral purpose, it is worthy of remark that the style of Scripture, consisting of figures and specific examples, or 'singular terms,' is the kind of diction least impaired by translation. See Whately's *Rhet.*, Part III, chap. ii. § 2.

98. Now this is a quality essential in a volume **designed for all countries and for every age.** If articles of faith or minute rules of practice had been given, they must have been retained for ever, and with them the heresies and errors which they were intended to condemn. Either they must have been very general, and therefore useless for their avowed purpose, or they must have been so minute as not to be practicable in all countries, and comprehensible by all Christians. The Koran, for example, places the utmost importance on the offering of prayer at sunrise and sunset; a rule which proves that the religion of the false prophet was never designed for Greenland or Labrador, where for several months the sun never sets. A summary of doctrine, too, perfectly intelligible to a matured Christian, might be nearly all mysterious to the converted Hottentot.

And even if such a summary could have been made generally intelligible, its effects upon the minds of Christians would have been disastrous. They would have stored their memory with the very words of the creed, without searching the rest of Scripture. There would have been no room for thought, no call for investigation, and no excitement of the feelings or improvement of the heart. The creed being, not that from which the faith is to be learned, but the faith itself, would be regarded with indolent and useless veneration. It is only when our energies are roused and our attention awake, when we are acquiring or correcting, or improving our knowledge,

[a] Paley has some admirable remarks, applying these principles to the character (given in Scripture) of our Lord, *Evidences*, p. 231, Religious Tract Society's ed.

[b] See Miller's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 128.

that knowledge makes the requisite impression upon us. God has not made Scripture like a garden, 'where the fruits are ripe and the flowers bloom, and all things are fully exposed to our view ; but like a field, where we have the ground and seeds of all precious things, but where nothing can be brought to maturity without our industry'; nor then, without the dews of heavenly grace. 'I find in the Bible,' says Cecil, 'a grand peculiarity, that seems to say to all who attempt to systematize it, I am not of your kind . . . I stand alone. The great and the wise shall never exhaust my treasures : by figures and parables I will come down to the feelings and understandings of the ignorant. Leave me as I am, but study me incessantly.'

Even good men, too, have undue preferences. If all truth of the same order were placed together in Scripture, men would read most what they most loved : to the neglect of what may be as important though less welcome. But as truth is scattered throughout the Bible, we learn to think of doctrine in connexion with duty, and of duty in connexion with the principles by which it is enforced.

99. Character above System.—These facts suggest a lesson to those who regard the Bible as influential only when made a treasury of intellectual truth. Systematic Divinity, founded upon the Bible, is perhaps the last perfection of knowledge, but not necessarily of character. A man may be drawn to the sacred page by its pictures of Divine goodness, and may love it with a return of affection for all its mercy, or of hope for its promises, or may feed his soul with its provisions, or direct his life by its counsel, and yet do nothing to systematize its doctrines, or at all understand the technical phrases of theological truth. This life of devotion, with its acknowledgement of Providence and imitation of Christ, is the chief thing : combined with systematic thinking, it makes a man profoundly holy and profoundly wise ; but without the systematic thinking there may be both holiness and wisdom.

The Divine Instrument of Man's Improvement.—They suggest another lesson. Systematic catechetical treatises on doctrine are of use, chiefly in defining or preserving unity of faith : but must not be regarded as the instruments of religious training, or as the store-houses of effective knowledge. They address the intellect only, and that too in logical forms, without narrative, or example, or feeling, or power. They contain no patterns of holiness : no touches of nature. Use them therefore in their right place ; but remember that the Divine instrument of man's improvement is that book which abounds in examples of tenderness, of pity, of remonstrance ; which gives forth tones, and looks, and words, at once human and Divine, ever the same, and yet ever new—the Bible.

100. The Revelation in the Bible is authoritative.—A word may be added, finally, on the *Authority* of Scripture. If there is revelation at all there is essentially and necessarily authority. The Prophets speak as men who believe they speak the Word of God: it is for those who hear to believe and to obey. Authority thus belongs to Scripture *as the vehicle of revelation.*

The distinction, indeed, which is sometimes drawn between the Bible as an authoritative book and as authoritative revelation is theoretical rather than practical. The authority is there, claiming us, and the vast majority who have yielded to its claim and lived by obedience to it have not been careful—perhaps not able—to distinguish. At the same time it may be acknowledged that the true authority of the Bible is **immediate**, spirit finding spirit. Unless God be heard in the soul, He will not be found in the Word. To forget this may lead to a mischievous bondage to the letter: it is possible with all zeal and sincerity to 'search the Scriptures,' teeming with their witness to Christ, and yet fall under the judgement, 'Ye will not come to Me that ye might have life.' If there may seem some loss of definiteness and fixity in ascribing authority, less to the Bible as a whole than to the revelation it contains, this danger should be remembered. The loss may well be compensated by gain in vitality and spiritual power, while the Scriptures still hold indisputable sway over mind and will as alone 'able to make wise unto salvation.'

101. The Ultimate Seat of Authority in Religion.—Authority has been denied to the Bible mainly on two grounds: (1) Revelation is defined as essentially immediate and personal; there cannot therefore be written revelation. God reveals Himself directly to the soul that seeks Him. (2) Criticism is alleged to have shaken the pretensions of Scripture to be in all its parts the infallible Word of

God[a]. With the latter we are not now concerned, though it may be unhesitatingly maintained that the authority of the Scripture revelation as expounded above stands fast in face of any critical results with regard to the books containing it. But the first and main reason assigned surely does not lead to the conclusion. Granted that revelation always involves direct intercourse between God and each recipient soul: yet the word which has come to one, and stands written, may cause multitudes to hear a Voice to which they would otherwise have remained deaf. 'The man who has most clearly and certainly heard God, has done more than hear Him for himself; he has heard Him for the world, and the world ought to be able to hear God in the man[b].' He is become an *authority* in religion, and the record of his consciousness has value even of an authoritative kind for less inspired men. Nor need we depend simply on individual recognition of the written Word as having authority. Our own response is justified and reinforced by the experience of countless others and by the sway the Bible has exercised over human life.

The position here contended for may be summed up in words of Principal Rainy in a review of Dr. Martineau's book[c]:—

'The Bible discloses a revealing process of which it is itself the effect. That process, entering into the history of the world, has made proof of its nature and source. It claims to be nothing less than God making Himself objective in the religious history of men—approaching us not merely through the hidden avenues of our individual consciousness, but outwardly in the plane of facts and events. It is claimed that He broke the silence and spoke, put aside the veil and wrought, in an order of words and works, specifically His own, leading up to and crowned by the Incarnation. This history is for us embodied in a literature—no otherwise could it live for us and for the world. In this literature, the revealing process finds its voice and continues to be vocal; and as it utters the mind of God in Christ,

[a] Dr. James Martineau, *The Ultimate Seat of Authority in Religion.*

[b] Fairbairn, *Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 495.

[c] In *The Critical Review.*

it becomes for men the Word, the voice of which is gone out into all the world.

'The evidence of the reality of all this is exceedingly various. It would be a long story to set forth by how many avenues the persuasion reaches us of the historicity of this process, of its moral continuity and progress, of its religious depth and vitality, of its mighty works and wonders, of its great personalities in fellowship with God, its prophecies, its psalms, above all its crowning and sealing Person, full of grace and truth. The inward witness only assures us that we are not mistaking the character of this great phenomenon, of which the various aspects touch us at a thousand points. But when we have come so far, then we know that God has spoken—we know that He has been holding fellowship with men as One Who stands over against them, not less than as One Who is within them. And it becomes our right to deal with the revelation with a sense of expectancy, and with a recognition of authority.

'Such a revealing process by no means supersedes the inner fellowship with God and the longing for His presence. Indeed no other influence in this world has so stimulated and sustained that faith and longing. It remains true, that every disclosure which comes to us through the Scripture only reveals its full Divine significance, only opens its final and conclusive evidence when God meets us in it. John Bunyan tells us how in his early religious life his pastor used to admonish him that God must set him down and root him in the truths which he seemed to find in the Word, otherwise he should not have stability and abiding profit. All is not done as soon as we have read our Bibles. Yet we may be persuaded that here we are in the region where God is emphatically teaching, both in things which have been made sure to us by an inward witness, and also in things which we are only in progress to understand, to discern in their true meaning, and to feel in their Divine influence.'

CHAPTER VII

THE BIBLE AS TRANSLATED

'No book is so translatable as the Bible. It runs with the least difficulty into all languages, East and West. When it fails to meet with idioms that are perfect equivalents, it will always be found that its own may be successfully transplanted, and that they will grow with surprising freshness and vigour in their new soil. Hence no so ready a way to enrich a language, even an old and copious language, as to translate the Bible into it. We are not generally aware how many of our own most life-like idioms are in fact orientalisms thus introduced into our remote Western world. The reason is that it is the Living Word—"the Word of God, quick and powerful," yet clothed in humanity; and hence it is so intensely human because it is the Divine in the human. In other words, it could not have been so human had it not also been Divine.'—Prof. Tayler Lewis, *The Divine Human in the Scriptures.*

1. Modern Versions in Different Languages.

102. Latin Versions.—Of modern versions the merits are very various. Here Erasmus claims the first mention. In 1505 he published a Latin translation of the New Testament, and in 1516 accompanied his edition of the Greek Testament by a Latin version. He was followed by others, who undertook the translation of the whole Bible. The versions made by Romanists are generally extremely literal, and often obscure: such are the versions of Pagninus (Lyons, 1528), Arias Montanus (Antwerp Polyglot, 1584), and Cardinal Cajetan (Venice, 1530, and Lyons repub., 1639). Some, as the version of Clarius (Venice, 1542)[a], are mere

[a] Clarius claimed to have corrected the Vulgate in 8,000 places; but his work was for a time placed in the *Index Expurgatorius.*

corrections of the Vulgate. Houbigant (1753) gives an elegant Latin version of the Old Testament, to accompany his emended Hebrew text.

Among Protestants, Sebastian Münster (Heidelberg, 1534) gives an intelligible version from the Hebrew, preferable to the versions of Pagninus and Montanus. He follows, however, the same text, and does not widely differ in principles of translation from those authors.

Leo Juda at Zürich began another version of the Hebrew and LXX, which was completed and published after his death in 1542 by Bibliander, the New Testament being added by others. This version is both free and faithful.

Sebastian Castellio (Basel, 1557–1573), gives a version from the original, in which he studied to give the sense in elegant classical Latin. It is wanting, however, in simplicity and force.

The version of Tremellius, a Jewish Christian, assisted by his son-in-law F. Junius (Leipzig, 1579), is deemed among the best. They expressed the Greek article by the demonstrative pronoun. The version of Sebastian Schmidt (Strassburg, 1696) is extremely literal, and that of J. A. Dathe (Old Testament, Leipzig, 1781–1789) is remarkable for fidelity and elegance. The New Testament of Beza (Geneva, 1556) is valuable, not only for its faithfulness as a translation, but for its employment of all the then accessible sources for textual criticism. It was frequently reprinted, in some editions with the Greek original and the Vulgate, and exerted a marked influence on the English Revisers of 1611.

2. Versions in European Vernacular Languages.

103. The German Bible.—A translation of the Bible into German, from the Vulgate, was in existence before the fifteenth century; and after the invention of printing it was issued from the presses of Mainz, Strassburg, Augsburg, and

Basel. It was literal and unscholarly, and had but a small circulation. Before 1521 Martin Luther had translated, 'not,' as he says, 'for scholars but for the people,' certain parts of Scripture; and during his seclusion in the Wartburg he began the translation of the whole Bible from the original languages. The New Testament appeared in 1522, but at first without the name either of translator or printer. The Old Testament was issued in successive portions, and the whole was completed in 1532, the Apocrypha being added two years afterwards. Luther frequently revised his work, forming a committee to assist him (*Collegium Biblicum*), of which Melanchthon and Bugenhagen were the most distinguished members. The final touches were added to the version in 1544. The effect of its publication was marvellous and lasting. It not only greatly aided the Reformation, but gave form and fixedness to the German language. It also was of material help to Protestant Bible translators in other countries. Revisions have been frequently attempted. In 1883, after much discussion among German scholars and divines, a tentative edition was published, and, after being subjected to general criticism for two years, was thoroughly re-examined and submitted to a theological Conference at Halle in 1890. The Conference entrusted the publication to the Cannstein Bible Institute, by which it was issued in 1892. In 1897 an edition of the revised text was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society. It is no doubt in some such form that Luther's Bible will in future be best known.

104. Translations founded on Luther's.—Luther's Bible has been the basis of translation into the languages of North-Western Europe—the Swedish (1541); the Danish (1550); the Icelandic (1584); an early Dutch version (1560); and the Finnish, with its cognate dialects (1642, &c.). The followers of Zwingli also revised the version for the use of the German-Swiss Church in 1679, superseding an old

translation which had been made for the same church by Leo Juda and others between 1524 and 1529.

Of other German versions, that of De Wette, *Die Heilige Schrift*, must be especially mentioned. It was a work of his earlier years at Heidelberg (1809–1814); and the final, standard edition was published in 1839. It is the work of a man of genius: and for scholarship, brilliancy, and exegetical tact, is perhaps unsurpassed.

105. French translations.—In FRANCE, many versions of parts of Scripture, made from the Vulgate, especially of the Psalter and Gospels, existed from a very early period. The evidence respecting them is scanty; but there can be no doubt that Peter Valdo of Lyons gave an impulse to the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular (the Romance dialect), which made the Waldenses a Bible-reading people, and called forth the prohibitions of synods and councils. The first printed French Bible was, however, the work of Guiars des Moulins, an ecclesiastic of Picardy, with others. It was printed in Paris, 1487. Another version, by J. Lefevre d'Étaples, was printed, anonymously, at Paris and Antwerp (1523–1528), and is a scholarly work, the renderings from the Vulgate being in several places corrected from the Greek. It was placed in the *Index*, 1546, but was republished in 1550 without the renderings deemed 'heretical.'

The first Protestant version was issued by P. R. Olivetan (1535), a relative of Calvin, with a considerable number of references from the LXX placed in the margin. This version followed in the Old Testament the Latin of Pagninus, in the New that of Erasmus. It was corrected, chiefly as to the language, by Calvin (1540); again, by Beza and others, under the editorship of Cornelius Bertram (Geneva, 1588). It has since, from time to time, undergone other alterations: the revisions by Martin (1707) and Ostervald (1721) are best known. A French version by Beausobre and L'Enfant 1718) was published at Amsterdam, and is highly esteemed

for its accuracy. But all these editions, more or less founded upon Osterwald's work, will probably be superseded by the translation of Dr. Louis Segond (Geneva, Old Testament, 1874; New Testament, Oxford, 1880).

Among translations by Romanist scholars from the Vulgate, several appeared in the seventeenth century, chiefly of the New Testament. Distinguished above the rest was the version by the Jansenists Antoine Lemaître, Louis Lemaître de Sacy, and Antoine Arnauld (1667), variously known as the Port Royal Bible, the Mons Bible (from the places of its first publication), and the Bible of De Sacy. Of this many editions have appeared.

A translation of the Gospels by Lamennais (1846), and especially one by Henri Lasserre (1886), must be mentioned. The latter, of all recent versions, is the most essentially modern, of fine literary quality, and with true insight into the meaning of the sacred text.

106. Other Languages of Europe.—By order of the Synod of Dort (1618), a version was made into the DUTCH language by a committee of able scholars, in place of the version made from Luther's Bible, which had been used till then. This version was printed in 1637, and is highly valued for its fidelity. A revised edition of the New Testament appeared in 1867, but has failed to command general approval.

An early ITALIAN version was made by Antonio Braccioli of Florence (1530–1532). Although a Romanist, he translated from the original texts. The work was condemned by the ecclesiastical authorities, and is now very rare. The great Protestant version is that of Giovanni Diodati, Professor of Hebrew at Geneva (1607). It was made directly from the original texts, and is free, accurate, and clear. A version from the Vulgate, by Antonio Martini, Archbishop of Florence, was published at Turin in 1776, and has had considerable currency, even among Protestants.

There are two versions of the Bible in SPANISH; the one made by a Romanist, Cassiodoro Reyna, Basel (Old Testament, 1569; New Testament, 1625), and the other by a Protestant, Cyprian de Valera (Amsterdam, 1602). They are founded chiefly on the Latin version of Pagninus, the second also partly on the Genevan-French Bibles. There are also three Spanish versions made from the Vulgate (1478, 1793–4, 1824)[a].

In PORTUGUESE, the version chiefly circulated is that by J. Ferreira d'Almeida, a convert from Rome (New Testament, 1712; Old Testament, 1719). Another version, by Anton Pereira de Figuerido, was printed in 1784, but has never obtained much currency.

107. Versions by Missionaries.—The various translations made by MISSIONARIES in countries beyond Europe cannot here be enumerated. Among the great Bible translators the names of Dr. William Carey in India (1761–1834), and of Dr. Robert Morrison in China (1782–1834), will ever hold a distinguished place.

108. THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

'Who will say that the uncommon beauty and marvellous English of the Protestant Bible is not one of the great strongholds of heresy[b] in this country? It lives on the ear like a music that can never be forgotten, like the sound of church bells, which the convert hardly knows how he can forego. Its felicities often seem to be almost things rather than mere words. It is part of the national mind, and the anchor of national seriousness. The memory of the dead passes into it. The potent traditions of childhood are stereotyped in its verses. The power of all the griefs and trials of a man is hidden beneath its words. It is the representative of his best moments, and all that there has been about him of soft, and gentle, and pure, and penitent,

[a] See Borrow's *Bible in Spain*.

[b] It must be remembered that Dr. Faber writes as a Romanist. His testimony is all the more valuable, as he speaks of the power of the English Scriptures as 'unhallowed,' and of the veneration paid to them as 'idolatry.'

and good, speaks to him for ever out of his English Bible. It is his sacred thing, which doubt has never dimmed, and controversy never soiled. It has been to him all along as the silent, but oh! how intelligible voice of his guardian angel; and in the length and breadth of the land there is not a Protestant, with one spark of religiousness about him, whose spiritual biography is not in his Saxon Bible.'—Dr. Frederick William Faber.

'The English Bible is consecrated by the blood of martyrs. Wyclif was not murdered, but in revenge for his exemption his bones were exhumed and burned; Tindale was strangled and consumed to ashes; Coverdale escaped almost by miracle; Rogers and Cranmer "loved not their lives unto the death"; the Genevan scholars were exiles while many of their brethren at home were perishing at Smithfield; the Elizabethan bishops had been in imminent peril during a season when the "hour" was ruled by the "power of darkness." The Divine presence was frequently and palpably apparent in moulding circumstances, in paralysing the arm of opposition, and in cheering and supporting those who were walking in the furnace.'—Dr. John Eadie, *History of the English Bible*, vol. ii. p. 333.

109. Early English Versions.—The various Anglo-Saxon translations of parts of Scripture, like the older European versions, were made from the Vulgate. About the year 700, Aldhelm, the first Bishop of Sherborne, translated the Psalms into Saxon; and Egbert, Bishop of Holy Island, the four Gospels. A little later, the 'Venerable' Bede translated parts of the Bible, including the Gospel by John (A.D. 735). King Alfred prefixed to his *Laws* a version of the Ten Commandments; he also undertook to translate the Psalms, but died (900) when his work was about half finished. Ælfric 'the Grammarian,' an abbot in Wessex[a] about the end of the tenth century, translated the Pentateuch and some of the historical books. From the seventh century onwards there had been metrical summaries and paraphrases of Scripture, among which the chief was that of Cædmon, lay-brother and monk of Whitby, a true, although unlettered poet, who versified the

[a] Probably a different person from the Archbishop of Canterbury of the same name (994-1006).

translations dictated to him by his more learned brethren [a]. In the Norman period a monk of the northern part of the kingdom, named Orme, produced a similar metrical translation of the Gospels, entitled *Ormulum* after his name (about 1180) [b]. Several 'glosses,' as they were termed, were prepared in monasteries, the Latin text, chiefly of the Psalter, but often of the Gospels, being accompanied by an interlinear version in literal, often rude, Old English. Of these there are MSS. in many public libraries [c].

110. The Wyclif Bible.—The first complete translation of the Bible into English was made also from the Vulgate, by John Wyclif, about A. D. 1380, and was revised after his death by his devoted fellow-labourer John Purvey. It existed only in MS. for many years, but the whole is now in print (New Testament, 1831; Old Testament, 1848, and both in the splendid edition of Forshall and Madden, 1850). The work was regarded with grave suspicion; and a bill was introduced into the House of Lords for suppressing it; but through the influence of John of Gaunt this was rejected. In 1408, however, the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury at Oxford resolved that no one should translate any text of Scripture into English, as a book or tract, and that no book of the kind should be read, publicly or privately, until approved by ecclesiastical au-

[a] 'He sang of the creation of the world, of the origin of man, and of all the history of Israel; of their departure from Egypt and entering into the Promised Land; of the incarnation, passion, and resurrection of Christ, and of His ascension; of the terror of future judgement, the horror of hell-pangs, and the joys of heaven.'—BEDE, *Ecclesiastical History of the Anglo-Saxons.*

[b] He says in his dedication to his brother :—

'Icc hafe wennd inntill Ennglissh
Goddspelless halighe lore.'

'I have wend (turned) into English Gospel's holy lore.'

The time is that of Henry II (died 1189).

[c] The Bodleian Library has a remarkable MS. entitled *Salus Animi*, or *Sowle-hele*, containing a paraphrastic version of Scripture.

thority, on pain of the greater excommunication. This edict led to great persecution, though there is reason to believe that, notwithstanding, many MSS. of Scripture were in extensive circulation throughout England.

111. Tindale's Version and others.—The first *printed* edition of the New Testament in English, translated from the Greek, with help from the Latin Vulgate and Luther's German version, was published by William Tindale in 1525, and the Pentateuch from the original Hebrew, in 1530. Tunstall, Bishop of London, and Sir Thomas More took great pains to buy up and burn the impression of the New Testament, but with the effect thereby of enabling the translator to publish a larger and improved edition[a].

Just prior to the death of Tindale, martyred at Vilvorde in 1536, Miles Coverdale translated the Bible from 'the Douche and Latyn,' using also Tindale's translations, and published the edition with a dedication to King Henry VIII, A.D. 1535. This was the first complete version of the English printed Bible. In 1537 John Rogers, who had assisted Tindale, and was then residing at Antwerp, reprinted an edition, taken mainly from Tindale and Coverdale, but also bearing traces of careful revision. This was a great improvement on the edition of 1535, and may be regarded as the true *editio princeps* of the English Bible. It was published under the assumed name of *Thomas Matthew*.

The *Great Bible* appeared A. D. 1539. It was Coverdale's, revised by the translator, under the sanction and with the aid of Thomas Cromwell. It was printed in large folio. For the edition of 1540 Cranmer wrote a preface, and hence this and the subsequent folio editions are often incorrectly

[a] On the history of the English Bible, both external and internal, see *The English Bible*, by Dr. John Eadie; Westcott's *General View of the English Bible* (second edition); Demaus' *William Tindale*; and a compendious little volume published by the Religious Tract Society, *The Printed English Bible*, 1525–1885, by Richard Lovett, M.A.

called *Cranmer's* Bible. It was published 'by authority.' From this volume the Prayer-book Version of the Psalter is taken, with some slight variations.

During the seven years of King Edward VI, eleven editions of the Scriptures were printed: but no new version or revision was attempted.

The *Geneva* New Testament was published during the reign of Mary in 1557; the complete Bible, with an entirely new version of the New Testament, in 1560. Coverdale and others who had taken refuge in Geneva edited it, and added marginal annotations, expository, doctrinal, practical, and sometimes highly controversial. This was the first Bible printed in a handy size, in *Roman* type, and unhappily with verse divisions.

Archbishop Parker obtained authority from Queen Elizabeth to revise the existing translations, and, with the help of various bishops and others, published in 1568 what was called *the Bishops' Bible*. This also contains short annotations, and the text is divided, like the Genevan, into verses. An edition in quarto was printed in 1569, and a second folio edition in 1572. This Bible continued in common use in the churches for forty years, though the Geneva Bible was almost universally read in private, and frequently found in the churches also. It was not finally superseded until the middle of the seventeenth century.

The English Bible of the Romanists was produced by the divines of the English College at Douay in Flanders, removed for a few years to Rheims. Among the chief translators was William Allen, designated as Archbishop of Canterbury had the Spanish Armada succeeded in its enterprise. The New Testament appeared at Rheims, 1582; the Old Testament at Douay, 1609–10. Both are affirmed on their respective title-pages to be translated 'out of the authentical Latin, diligently compared with the [Hebrew,] Greeke, and other editions in divers languages.' This version is

remarkable for its Latinisms[a]. A 'Table of References' is appended, in which the texts are classified that are thought to support Romanist doctrine. The annotations all through bear in the same direction, and this edition is disfigured by the most aggressive and violently controversial notes found in any edition of the Bible.

112. The 'Authorized Version.'—In 1603 King James resolved on a revision of the translation, and for this purpose appointed fifty-four men of learning and piety. Forty-seven only undertook the work, and in four years (1607–11) it was completed. The text, as thus prepared and printed in 1611, is generally known as the Authorized Version, although no direct evidence is to be found of its appointment by authority, whether civil or ecclesiastical. The Preface of the Translators *To the Reader*, retained in the earlier editions, deserves to be carefully studied.

For a long time, the Great Bible, the Geneva Bible, the Bishops' Bible, and King James's Version were used concurrently; the last at length prevailing by general consent, and so becoming THE BIBLE of all English-speaking peoples.

113. Proposals for Revision.—Suggestions for revising this translation have, almost from the first, been made. A Committee appointed in the days of the Commonwealth to inquire into the possibility of improving it reported, that while it contained some mistakes, it was in their judgement 'the best of any translation in the world.' Nor is it only as a translation that this verdict holds good. The genius of the first translators, Wyclif, Coverdale, Tindale, with the reverent care and literary skill of the revisers in 1611,

[a] e.g. Ps 23^5 'My inebriating chalice, how goodly is it!' In the Lord's Prayer 'Give us this day our supersubstantial bread.' On the other hand, our Bible has been enriched by the Rheims translators with some felicitous renderings. Thus Phil 1^{21} 'To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain.' Previous translations had 'Christ is to me life, and death is to me advantage.'

combined to impress upon it the character of a great English classic: and it is no mean advantage that a book which contains the revelation of God should also by the perfection of its style win its way to the minds and hearts of men.

114. The Revised English Bible.—Still, unquestionable errors and defects remained; and the question of revision was much discussed after the middle of the nineteenth century, eminent scholars taking part in the debate, and many attempts at improvement being made, both in Great Britain and America. At length, the work was undertaken by the Convocation of the Canterbury Province of the English Church, and two Companies of Revisers were appointed for the Old and New Testaments respectively (thirty-seven for the former and twenty-seven for the latter), representing different Christian communions, while similar companies were afterwards formed for the United States (fifteen for the Old Testament, nineteen for the New). The result of their labours, the Revised New Testament, was published in 1881, the complete Revised Bible in 1885.

The work is throughout based upon the Authorized Version. It is a *Revision*, not a *New Translation*; while it was associated with a new and careful examination of the original texts, in the light of modern discovery and criticism. Great attention was paid to every minute detail, including orthography and punctuation. To secure as general a consent as possible in so large a body of scholars, it was agreed at the outset of their work that no change should be introduced without the consent of at least two-thirds of the respective companies; other proposed alterations, some of which commanded an actual plurality of votes, being relegated to the margin. This margin is therefore of high importance, and will be increasingly valued as the use of the Revision extends.

What will be the future of the work, it is for another generation to decide. The following paragraphs illustrate

in various ways its indispensableness to students of the English Bible [a].

115. English Translations compared with the Original. — It remains to be asked, Are the English versions of the Bible accurate; and may the reader regard them as, on the whole, expressive of the mind of the Spirit of God? The question relates to the two versions now in the hands of all readers; and to a great extent the same remarks will apply to both; while the alterations made by the Revisers will deepen rather than destroy our confidence in our old and familiar Bible.

The nature of the emendations introduced must be considered under different heads; a few only of the more important, out of a multitude available, being quoted by way of illustration.

The *textual* changes have been discussed in a previous chapter; the following instances are from *translation* only; and the Authorized Version is quoted where no further reference is given.

In six distinct cases, alteration, generally slight, brings out the sense more clearly.

1. In some instances the English version gave a **wrong meaning** to the words or expressions of the original.

In Gen 36^{24} one Anah is said to have 'found the mules in the wilderness'; he really found 'hot springs' there (R. V.). In Ex 12^{35} the Israelites are said to have '*borrowed*' of the Egyptians things which they never intended to return. The original says simply, that they asked for them. In 2 Sa 12^{31} it would appear that David *cruelly tortured his captives.* He *put them to ignominious employments,* is the meaning proposed by Rosenmüller (see R. V. margin). So in the clause following: 'made them pass through,' with a very slight change in the original becomes 'made them labour at.'

[a] The references given are mostly from the former editions of this *Handbook.* A few have been omitted, and several have been added. The *Handbook* in numberless instances anticipated the changes that have been made; the author, as is well known, having been among the most influential of the Revisers.

It may be observed, generally, that the use of prepositions and particles is often indeterminate in our version. *For* sometimes means *because*, 2 Cor 5^{1}; it is often a preposition denoting relation: *instead of, on account of, with a view to.* So, *of* means *from*, as in Jn 8^{40} (R. V.); and *by*, as in 1 Cor 15^{6}. These ambiguities are not in the original. The word translated 'children' in the narrative of Elisha, 2 Ki 2^{23}, is translated elsewhere 'young men'; and is applied to Isaac when he was twenty-eight years old, and to Joseph when he was thirty.

In 2 Ki 6^{25} the article sold for five shekels of silver was a kind of pulse, or vetch, as Bochart has shown; the fourth part of a kab being about a pint. Gen 4^{15}, for 'set a mark upon,' read (R. V.) 'appointed a sign for.' Lev 7^{10}, for 'mingled with oil *and* dry,' read (R. V.) 'or dry' (i. e. whichever it be). Dt 33^{25}, for 'shoes,' iron and brass, read (R. V.) 'bars,' describing the chain of mountains which protected Asher from the inroads of the Gentiles. Judg $15^{8.11}$, for 'top.' read 'cleft.' Jos. $24^{14.15}$, for 'the flood,' read 'the River' (i. e. Euphrates). 1 Ki 18^{42}, for 'he cast himself down upon,' read 'he bowed down to.' 2 Ch 8^{2}, for 'restored,' read (R. V.) 'given.' 2 Ch 21^{11}, for 'compelled *thereto*,' read 'led astray,' as in Dt 4^{19} 30^{17}. Ne 6^{11}, for 'to save his life,' read 'and live' (see R. V. margin). Not being a priest, Nehemiah was not allowed to enter the holy place. Ps 86^{2}, for 'I am holy,' read 'I am a *devout* man,' or, 'the object of Thy favour.'

'Light' should be 'lamp' in Jn 5^{35} Rev 21^{23}. In Acts 12^{4} 'Easter' should be 'the Passover'; and in 19^{37} 'churches' ought to be 'temples.' It would have been well always to discriminate between the different words rendered 'miracles' in the A. V., 'signs,' 'mighty works,' and 'wonders'; the first conveying *spiritual truth*, the second, 'supernatural *power*,' and the third producing astonishment and awe. On all these passages, see the R. V.

In Jn $10^{28.29}$, for 'any *man*,' 'no *man*,' read 'any,' (R. V.) 'no one.' In Ac 7^{45}, for 'that came after,' read (R. V.) 'in their turn.' In Ac 17^{23}, for 'ignorantly,' read 'without knowing Him.' In Ac 22^{23}, for 'cast off,' read 'threw up.' In Ac 26^{18}, for 'to turn them,' read (R. V.) 'that they may turn.' In Ac 27^{12}, for 'lieth,' read 'looketh,' lit. down the south-west wind and down the north-west wind, i. e. facing the NE. and SE. Verse 15, for 'into the wind,' read 'against the wind' (R. V. 'could not face the wind'). In 2 Cor 3^{6}, for 'who hath made us *able* ministers,' read 'who hath fitted us to be ministers' (R. V. 'made us sufficient as ministers'). In Gal 4^{24} the history of the sons of Hagar and Sarah is said to be an 'allegory,' or a fictitious narrative. The Apostle merely says that it represents important spiritual truth (R. V. 'contains an allegory'): i. e. the Jews of the Apostles' day ('Jerusalem that now is') answered to Ishmael;

and true believers—the Church—to Isaac, the heir of the promise. In 2 Pet 1^5, for 'and beside this,' read 'and for this very reason' (see R. V.). Miletus (not *um*), Euodia (not *as*), Urbanus (not *e*), are the correct renderings; Joshua is less liable to mistake than Jesus (Ac 7^{45} Heb 4^8), and 'Marcus,' 'Lucas,' should be, as elsewhere, 'Mark' and 'Luke.'

2. In some cases the **full force** of the original is not expressed in the A. V.

In Jn 1^{14}, the Word is said 'to have *dwelt* among us': the original connects His appearance with the ancient tabernacle as the dwelling-place of the Divine glory (R. V. margin, 'tabernacled'). In 1 Cor 4^{13}, the Apostles are said to have been made as 'the filth of the earth': literally, 'the sweepings' (classical usage), or 'appeasing offerings' (LXX and classical usage), R. V. margin, 'refuse.' 'Rid of us, the world will deem itself comparatively clean'; or 'it offers us in expiation to its gods,' Jn 16^2. In Heb 12^2 Christians are described as 'looking to Jesus': the original implies, looking up to Him, and away from every other object of trust (A. V. margin). In 2 Tim 2^5, read 'if a man contend in the games.' So in 1 Cor 9^{25}. In 1 Th 4^6, read 'in that matter.'

Sometimes the older translators neglected the peculiar expressiveness of the original, substituting a tamer phraseology. Several instances of this kind occur in the rendering of the so-called 'hendiadys[a],' where a literal translation would have more accurately conveyed the sense of the original. Thus Ro 8^{21}, 'the liberty of the glory of the children of God'; Phil 3^{21}, 'the body of our humiliation'; Col 1^{13}, 'the Son of His love'; 1 Tim 1^{11}, 'the gospel of the glory of the blessed God.' See also 2 Cor 4^4 Eph 1^{19} $4^{22.24}$ Col 1^{11} 2 Th 1^7 Tit 2^{13} 1 Pet 1^{14} 1 Tim 6^{17}.

In several passages the sense of the original is weakened in A. V. by a disregard of the force of **the Greek Article**, an inaccuracy evidently due to the Vulgate, the Latin having no definite article. Generally speaking, the article recognizes the object of thought as definite, or familiar, or well understood; in many cases also it refers to previous mention. Thus, we should read with R. V., 'the virgin,' Mt 1^{23} (Is 7^6); 'the mountain,' Mt 5^1 14^{23}; 'the synagogue,' Lu 7^3; 'the half-shekel,' Mt 17^{24}; 'the way of escape,' 1 Cor 10^{13}; 'the Amen,' 1 Cor 14^{16}; 'the crown of righteousness,' 2 Tim 4^8; 'the great tribulation,' Rev 7^{14}. Definiteness is also marked in such references as those to the usual furniture, &c., in a house; Mt 5^{15} Jn 13^5. For other usages see Mt 4^5 Mk 4^3 Lu 2^{16} Jn 6^{35} Ac 1^{13} Ro 5^{15} 1 Cor 1^{21}

[a] Ἓν διὰ δυοῖν, 'one thought in double expression.'

1 Cor 5^{9}. In 1 Th 4^{13}, for 'even as others,' read 'even as *the* rest of the world.' In 1 Cor 4^{5}, read 'and then shall every man have *of God* the *praise that is His.*' Some of these corrections may at first sight appear unimportant; but many of them will repay careful study[a]. For others, often of deep theological significance, see Ch. VIII, § 133.

On the other hand there are cases in which the absence of the article is rightly noted in the R. V. either by the indefinite *a, an*, or by the omission of the article inserted in A. V. Such instances are Lu 2^{12}, 'ye shall find a babe'; Lu 3^{14} 7^{3} 19^{10} Ac 18^{4} (referring respectively to *some* of the soldiers, elders, bond-servants, Jews, Greeks); Lu 6^{17}, 'on a level place,' i. e. in the mountain, as Mt 5^{1}; Lu 10^{6}, 'a son of peace,' a person well disposed to the message; Jn 4^{9}, 'Jews have no dealings with Samaritans'; 4^{27}, 'He was speaking with a woman'; Ac 4^{9}, 'a good deed done to an impotent man'; 14^{27}, 'a door of faith'; 17^{23}, 'to an unknown God'; 2 Cor 3^{6}, 'ministers of a new covenant'; 1 Tim 6^{10}, 'the love of money is a root of all kinds of evil.' Other instances out of many are Mk 12^{25} Ac 6^{16} 7^{38} 18^{19} 1 Cor 1^{22} 6^{15} 9^{20} 2 Pet 2^{4} 3^{5}; Rev 14^{6}, 'an eternal gospel.' To this list Lu $12^{31.32}$ and Mt $12^{41.42}$ might advantageously have been added: 'Men of Nineveh,' 'a queen of the south.' Still more instructive are the correction in Jn 5^{27} (R. V. margin, and American revised text), 'because He is a son of man'; and that in Heb 1^{2} (R. V. margin), God hath spoken unto us 'in a Son'; compare Rev 1^{13} 14^{14}. All these changes rightly 'throw emphasis on the character of the subject instead of the concrete subject itself' (*Westcott*).

The Hebrew article, though less definite than the Greek, is often important. In Ex 17^{14}, read 'in *the* book' (viz. of the Law); in Ps 89^{37}, read 'as *the* faithful witness in the sky' (the rainbow).

3. In some cases the **peculiar idiom** of the original has been overlooked.

In 1 Cor 4^{4} 'I know nothing by myself' is 'I am not conscious of anything' (viz. wrong 'against myself' R. V.). In Gal 5^{17} 'cannot' should be 'may not.' In Ac 17^{23}, for 'devotions,' read 'objects of devotion.' In 1 Cor 1^{21}, for 'the foolishness of *preaching*,' read 'the foolishness of *the preaching*,' i. e. with special reference to *the doctrine preached*. So Lu 11^{32}. In 2 Pet 2^{5}, read 'Noah, *with seven others*' (R. V.). In Heb 12^{18}, read 'the mountain that *could* be touched.'

Both in the Old and New Testament, again, verbs are sometimes translated in **the wrong tenses.**

The present translation of Jn 13^{2}, 'supper being ended,' contradicts

[a] For other instances, see *Handbook to Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (R. T. S.), § 213.

verses 26, 28. The original is 'supper being come.' So in Ac 2^{47}, for 'such as should be saved,' read 'such as were being saved.' So 1 Cor 1^{18} 2 Cor $2^{15.16}$ 4^{3}. In Lu 5^{6}, read 'began to break,' or 'was breaking' (see verse 7). So Mt 8^{24} Lu 8^{23} Mk 4^{37} 1 Cor 11^{23}.

In 2 Cor 5^{14}, read 'then are all dead,' or 'have all died.' In 2 Cor $12^{2.3}$, for 'I knew,' read 'I know.' In Lu 23^{46}, read 'And Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying.' In Philem, verse 21, for 'I wrote,' read 'I have written,' as in verse 19. See also Jas 2^{21} 1 Th 1^{10}.

In some parts of the Old Testament the **numbers mentioned** seem enormously large, and may be corrected by the idiom.

It is said, for example, that at Bethshemesh (a small town) the Lord smote 50,070 men, 1 Sa 6^{19}: and in Judg 12^{6} there are said to have fallen of the Ephraimites 42,000: while a short time before the tribe contained only 32,500 persons. Both passages are possibly to be corrected by a mode of notation still common among the Arabians. They say 'in the year 12 and 300' for 312. Translating literally, we have for the first passage, 'the Lord smote seventy men, fifties and a thousand,' or 1170. Some, however, think that seventy men only are intended, the remaining numbers being a transcriber's error. And for the second, 'there fell of the Ephraimites 40 and 2000,' or 2040.

It deserves to be noticed generally that numerical statements in Oriental languages are peculiarly liable to error in transcription.

In the Hebrew, for example, א is 1; א֫ is 1000; ב is 2; כ is 20; ל֫ stands for 7000; ל for 700; and the one letter being inadvertently written in very early copies for the other has given rise to some apparent contradictions, 2 Sa 8^{4} 1 Ch 18^{4}. There is a similar error in 2 Sa 10^{18}, 700 (ל); see 1 Ch 19^{18}, 7000 (ל֫). 1 Ki 4^{26}, 40,000; see 2 Ch 9^{25}, 4000. 1 Ki 9^{23}, 550; see 2 Ch 8^{10}, 250 (נ֫). 1 Ki 9^{28}, 420; see 2 Ch 8^{18}, 450. 2 Ki 8^{26}, 22; see 2 Ch 22^{2}, 42.

4. In some cases, the **same word** in the original is rendered by **different words** in the English, sometimes impairing the effect of a sentence, and occasionally suggesting a difference in meaning where none exists.

In Is 37^{4} an accurate translation would suggest that the insult Rabshakeh had offered to Judah was to recoil upon himself. He *reproved* Judah, and God *reproved* him. So in other antithetic sentences, 1 Cor 13^{17} 'If any one destroyeth the temple of God, him will God destroy.' Compare Mt 21^{41} 'He will miserably destroy those miserable men.' In Ps 132^{6} 'the fields *of the wood*' is the translation of what is really a proper name, 'of Jearim,' as it is given in 1 Ch 13^{5} 'Kirjath' (or the city of) 'Jearim.' In Lev 19^{5}, 'at your own will,' should rather be 'that it may be accepted of you,' as in verse 7, and so $22^{20.21}$.

In Mt 25^{46} the *eternal* life of the righteous and the *everlasting* punishment of the wicked are expressed by the same word. To 'apprehend' may be translated to *lay hold of* or *obtain* in Phil 3^{12}, as in 1 Cor 9^{24}. The same word is translated 'imputed,' 'counted,' and 'accounted' in Ro 4^{3} Gal 3^{6} Jas 2^{23}. 'Attendance' is everywhere translated 'heed' or 'attention,' except in 1 Tim 4^{13}. 'Comforter' (Jn 14^{16} 15^{26} 16^{7}) is the word translated 'advocate' in 1 Jn 2^{1}, and the idea is given in the word 'consolation' in Lu 2^{25}, and elsewhere. In 2 Cor 3 and Heb 8 'covenant' and 'testament' represent the same words. In Ac 19^{2} a phrase is translated 'if *there be* a Holy Ghost, which perhaps ought to be rendered, as in Jn 7^{39}, 'whether the Holy Ghost *was given*.'

Such variations are sometimes perplexing: as Mk 15^{33}, 'darkness over all the land'; Lu 23^{44}, 'darkness over all the earth'; Mk 10^{52}, 'thy faith hath saved thee'; Lu 18^{42}, 'thy faith hath made thee whole.' The alternative of 'love' and 'charity,' for the same word, is more defensible; but still it creates difficulties. In 2 Cor 5^{10} much is lost by not translating, as in other parts of the chapter, 'we must all be *made manifest* before the judgement-seat of Christ.'

The following should be translated uniformly: 1 Cor $15^{24.26}$ (put down); Ro $5^{2.3.11}$ (rejoice, *glory*, joy); Ro $8^{19.22}$ (creature, creation); Mt 20^{31}; Mk 10^{48} (*charged*, rebuked); Mk $8^{35.36}$ (life, soul); 1 Cor $1^{4.5}$; Eph 1^{3} (in, by); 1 Cor $7^{12.13}$ (leave, put away). See also Heb 3^{11} 4^{3} 9^{23} (verse 14) 1^{3} 10^{2} Tit 2^{14} 1 Jn 1^{7} Jn $15^{2.3}$ and Ro 12^{19} $15^{4.5}$ Heb 10^{30}.

In the Revised Version the plan of uniform translation has been carried out wherever possible, while it has not been forgotten that, as the translators of 1611 expressed it, 'there be some words that be not of the same sense everywhere.' These translators may have carried variation to too great a length, on the curious principle of not honouring one word above another. Probably their successors have gone to an opposite extreme, as the genius of the English language is to avoid tautology by the judicious use of synonyms.

5. On the other hand, **different words** in the original are often rendered by the **same word** in English, where it is important to preserve variety.

JEHOVAH, in the Old Testament, is the Covenant God—God as revealed to Israel. 'The Lord' is a more general word, of various application, signifying 'my Master' (see Ps 110^{1}). The use of capital letters in the English version for LORD in the former sense marks the distinction to the *eye* (although not always sufficiently noted by readers); but to the *ear* it is lost, as when the Scriptures are read in public worship. The American Revisers of the Old Testament observe the distinction, to the great advantage of their version.

In the Old Testament the word 'vanity' represents three Hebrew words at least, one meaning 'breath' or nothingness, as in Ps 62^{9}; another meaning wicked, profitless deception, as the heathen idols, Is 41^{29}; and a third meaning falsehood, as in Ps 41^{6} Job 31^{5}. All these terms convey *sometimes* the ideas of profitlessness and of sin; but the first especially is used to indicate mere insignificancy. In Ps 89^{47} the sense is, How vain (fleeting, insignificant) are the sons of men, whom Thou hast created!

The word 'repentance' is used to translate a word denoting that change of disposition (*μετάνοια*) to which the term is properly applied: and this is the common meaning. But it is also used to translate another word, denoting merely *regret* or a *change of plans* (*μεταμέλεια*), without implying any change of disposition. This is the meaning in Mt $21^{29.32}$ 27^{3} 2 Cor $7^{8.10}$ Heb 7^{21}. Elsewhere, the former word is used.

'Conversation' again is the translation of two words; and means (1) *citizenship*, as in Phil 3^{20}; and (2) everywhere else in the New Testament, *course of life*, or *behaviour*. The Greek word for *conversation*, in the modern sense, is translated in our version 'communication,' Mt 5^{37} Lu 24^{17} Eph 4^{29}. In 1 Cor 15^{33}, however, 'communication' is the rendering of a word which signifies *intercourse* (R. V. *company*).

'Hell' again means (1) the invisible state, the place of departed spirits, without reference to their condition of happiness or misery, *hades*; as in Mt 11^{23} 16^{18} Lu 10^{15} 16^{23} Ac $2^{27.31}$ 1 Cor 15^{55} Rev 1^{18} 6^{8} $20^{13.14}$; and (2) the place of future punishment, *gehenna*, in Mt $5^{22.29.30}$ 10^{28} 18^{9} $23^{15.33}$ Mk $9^{43.45.47}$ Lu 12^{5} Jas 3^{6}. These two meanings are represented in the original and in the R. V. by different words. In the Old Testament the equivalent of *hades* is *Sheol*, as also given in R. V.

The word 'temple' is the translation of two words; and means either the whole consecrated precinct (*ἱερόν*), or the portion appropriated as the local abode of God's presence (*ναός*). In the former sense (including the outer or unroofed court) markets were held in it (Mt 21^{12}), and the rabbis met their pupils there. It is to the second that our Lord referred, when He said, 'Destroy this temple' (alluding to the indwelling of the Divine nature in His person). So is it applied to Christians in 1 Cor 3^{16} 6^{19}. In this second sense, the R. V. margin explains by *sanctuary*.

'Ordained' is the translation of several words; and means *determined* in Ac 10^{42} 17^{31}; and *foredetermined* in 1 Cor 2^{7}. The word used in the following passages is different; and means *ordain*, with the idea of *setting in order*, Ac 13^{48} Ro 13^{1} Gal 3^{19} 1 Cor 9^{14}. In Ac 16^{4} it represents a word that means to *decide*. In Eph 2^{10}, to *prepare* (as in Ro 9^{23} (so R. V.). In 1 Tim 2^{7}, to *appoint* (as in 2 Tim 1^{11} Ac 13^{47}

Ac 20[28]). In Heb 5[1] 8[3], to *constitute* or *establish*. In Ju, verse 4, *to write up in the face of men*, or *denounce*, or *to write concerning a thing beforehand* (R. V. *set forth*). In Ac 1[22] and Ro 7[10] there is no corresponding word in the original.

The word 'devils' (*pl.*) should *always* be translated demons or evil spirits: and the word 'devil' should be translated demon, as R. V. margin and American Revisers, in the following passages: Mt 9[32] 11[18] 12[22] 15[22] 17[18]; Mark throughout; Lu 4[33.35] 7[33] 11[17] Jn 7[20] 8[48.49.52]. In all other passages the word used is rightly translated the devil, as in Mt 4[1] Rev 20[2].

'*Will*' is sometimes the translation of the future; but sometimes of an independent verb, as in Jn 5[40] 7[17] 8[44] Mt 11[14.27] 16[24.25] 19[17.21] Lu 9[24] 13[31] 1 Pet 3[10] Rev 11[5]. In all these passages, excepting Jn 5[40], the distinction is noted in R. V. In two passages '*I would*' expresses a duty in addition to a wish (ὄφελον), Gal 5[12] Rev 3[15]. 'Shall' is sometimes used imperatively, and sometimes as a simple future. It is a simple future in Mt 17[22] Mk 10[3] Ac 23[3] Ro 4[24] 8[13]. The word translated 'shall' in some of these passages (μέλλω) is translated 'will' or 'would' in Mt 2[13] Lu 10[1] ('was about to,' R. V.) Jn 6[6] 7[35] 14[22] Ac 16[27] ('was about to,' R. V.) 25[4] (ib.) 27[10] Rev 3[16]. Simple futurity is expressed in each. On the other hand, duty or necessity (δεῖ) is found in Mt 26[35] ('must,' R. V.). This is the word generally translated 'must' or 'ought.'

In Jn 13[10] the true meaning of the passage is obscured by the repetition of the word 'wash'; see R.V. The following words again may be instructively compared: 'know' for full Christian knowledge, as Eph 1[17], in distinction from ordinary knowledge; 'keep' in Jn 17[12]; 'people,' 'peoples' in Old and New Testaments; and 'teach' compared with the word to 'make disciples,' Mt 13[52] 27[57] 28[19] Ac 14[21].

6. Some of the expressions of the English Bible are **obsolete** in the sense in which the Translators used them.

116. In accordance with the last observation it will be useful to distinguish, as in the following Table, between **archaic** words belonging to a former stage of the English language, and **current** words which have altered in meaning. In some cases the Revisers have retained the former, as not liable to be misunderstood.

In the following list R. and R. V. refer to both revisions;

A. R. to the American revision only; E. R. to the English version only; m. is for *margin*.

Abjects. Ps 35^{15} R. V. m. *smiters.*

Affect. Gal 4^{17} *court.*

Allow. Lu 11^{48} *approve.*

All to. Judg 9^{53} *entirely* (read *brake*). R. V. omits.

Amaze. Mk 10^{32} 14^{33} *bewildered* ('in a maze'); **amazement,** Ac 3^{10} *joy,* 1 Pet 3^{6} R. V. m. *terror.*

Artillery. 1 Sa 20^{40} R. V. *weapons.*

Astonied. Job 17^{8} Is 52^{14}, &c. A. R. *astonished,* Dn 5^{9} R. *perplexed.* In Eze 3^{15} *astonished* is altered in R. to *astonied.*

Audience. 1 Sa 25^{24} Lu 7^{1} R. V. *ears,* Lu 20^{45} R. V. *hearing*; to **give audience,** Ac 13^{16} 15^{12} R. *to hearken.*

Away with. Is 1^{13} *put up with.*

Barbarian. 1 Cor 14^{11} *foreigner* (comp. Ac 28^{2}).

Bestead. Is 8^{21} *circumstanced, situated.*

Bestow. Lu $12^{17.18}$ *put away* (not *give* away).

Bolled. Ex 9^{31} *podded for seed,* or as R. m. 'in bloom.'

Bravery. Is 13^{18} A. R. *beauty* (comp. Scotch 'braw').

Brigandines. Jer 46^{4} R. *coats of mail.*

By and by. Mt 13^{21} Lu 21^{9} R. V. *straightway* (immediately).

Carriage. Judg 18^{21} R. V. *goods* (*pl.*), 1 Sa 17^{22} Is 10^{28} Ac 21^{15} R. V. *baggage,* Is 46^{1} R. *things that ye carried about.*

Charger(s). Num 7^{13}, &c. A. R. *platter,* Mt 14^{11} Mk 6^{25} (unaltered).

Charity. 1 Cor 13 R. V. *love.*

Coast(s). Ex 10^{4} Dt $2^{14.18}$ Mt 2^{16} Ac 13^{50}, &c. R. V. *borders, regions, uttermost parts,* &c. (not implying *sea*).

Comfort, *n.* and *v.* (besides *consolation*). 1 Cor 14^{3} R. V. *exhortation,* 1 Th 5^{14} R. V. *encourage.*

Convenient. Ro 1^{28} Eph 5^{4} R. V. *fitting, befitting,* 1 Cor 16^{12} *convenient time,* R. *opportunity.*

Conversation. Phil 3^{20} 2 Pet 2^{7} (manner of life).

Convince. Tit 1^{9} Ju ^{15} Jn 8^{46} Jas 2^{9} R. *convict,* Ac 18^{28} R. *confute.*

Cunning. Ex 31^{4} 1 Ki 17^{14}, &c. A. R. *skilful.*

Curious. Ex 28^{8} 35^{32} Ac 19^{19}. E. R. *cunning,* A. R. *skilful.*

Damn, -ation. Mt 23^{14} Ro 3^{8}, &c. R. V. *condemnation,* Jo 5^{29} Ro 13^{2} R. V. *judgement*; **damnable heresies,** 2 Pet 2^{1} *heresies of destruction,* i.e. leading to destruction.

Daysman. Job 9^{33} *arbitrator,* R. m. *umpire.*

Deal. Ex 29^{40} R. V. *part* (or *portion*).

Dispensation. 1 Cor 9^{17} R. V. *stewardship.*

Draught, -house. Mt 15^{17} 2 Ki 10^{27} *drain, sewer.*

Ear, -ed, -ing. Dt 21^{4} Gen 45^{6} Ex 34^{21} R. V. *plow* (Lat. *arare*).

Emerods. 1 Sa 5^{6} R. *tumours* (hæmorrhoids).

Enlarge. Ps 4^{1} R. V. *set at large*, 2 Cor 10^{15} R. V. *magnify.*

Ensue. 1 Pet 3^{11} R. *pursue.*

Entreated. Ac 27^{3} E. R. *treat*, Gen 12^{16} A. R. *dealt well*, Ex 5^{22} Dt 26^{6} (evil entreated), A. R. *dealt ill with.*

Eschew, -ed. 1 Pet 3^{11} R. *turn away from*, Job 1^{1} (unaltered : *avoided*).

Fats, *n.* Joel 2^{24} A. R. *vats.*

Fetched a compass. Jos 15^{3} 2 Ki 3^{9} Ac 28^{13} R. V. *made a circuit.*

Fray, *v.* Dt 28^{26} *scare, frighten.*

Goodman of the house. Mt 20^{11} R. V. *householder*, Mt 24^{43} Lu 12^{39} R. *master of the house.*

Hale, *v.* Lu 12^{58} Ac 8^{3} *drag away.*

Harness. 1 Ki 22^{34} 2 Ch 9^{24} R. V. *armour*; **harnessed,** Ex 13^{18} R. *armed.*

Heir. Mic 1^{15} Jer 49^{2} R. V. *possessor.*

His for *its*, R. V. (In Old English the masc. and neut. forms were the same.)

Honest, -ly. Ac 6^{3} R. V. *good*, Ro 12^{17} 2 Cor 8^{21}, &c. R. V. *honourable*, 1 Pet 2^{12} E. R. *seemly*, 1 Th 4^{12} A. R. *becomingly*, Heb 13^{18} A. R. *honourably*; **honesty,** 1 Tim 2^{2} R. V. *gravity.*

Instant, -ly. Lu 23^{23} A. R. *urgent*, Ro 12^{12} R. V. *stedfastly*, Lu 7^{4} Ac 26^{7} R. V. *earnestly.*

Jot or **tittle.** Mt 5^{18} (the smallest letter or part of a letter).

Knop. Ex $25^{31,33}$ sqq. 'knob.'

Leasing. Ps 4^{2} 5^{6} R. V. *falsehood, lies.*

Let (as well as ordinary meaning). Is 43^{13} E. R. m. *reverse*, A. R. *hinder*, 2 Th 2^{7} R. V. *restrain.* 'There are two Anglo-Saxon verbs somewhat alike in spelling, but directly opposite in meaning, *lætan* to permit, and *lettan* to hinder.'—Hastings. Hence the apparent confusion.

Lewd, -ness. Ac 17^{5} 18^{14} R. V. *vile, villany.*

Libertines. Ac 6^{9} *freed slaves*, or the children of such.

Marish. Eze 47^{11} 'marsh,' an old form of the word.

Minish, -ed. Ex 5^{19} Ps 107^{39} and E. R. Is 19^{6} Ho 8^{10} A. R. *diminish, -ed.*

Mortify. Ro 8^{13} Col 3^{5} A. R. *put to death.*

Motions. Ro 7^{5} R. V. *passions.*

Mystery. Often a *revealed* secret, as Eph $1^{9,10}$; sometimes a *doctrine.* Mysteries = *doctrines*, 1 Cor 4^{1}.

Neese. 2 Ki 4^{35} 'sneeze'; **neesings,** Job 41^{18} A. R. *sneezings.*

Nephews. Judg 12^{14} Job 18^{19} Is 14^{22} 1 Tim 5^{4} R. V. *sons' sons, grandchildren.*

Occupy. Eze $27^{9,19}$ E. R. *exchange*, A. R. *deal in*, Lu 19^{13} R. V. *trade.* So **occupation,** as Ac 18^{3}.

Or ever. Ps 90^{2} Pr 8^{23} Dn 6^{24} *even before.*

Offend. Mt $5^{29.30}$ Jn 6^{61} 2 Cor 11^{29}, &c. R. V. *cause to stumble* or *to sin*; **offence,** Mt 16^{23} 1 Cor 10^{32} *stumbling-block.*

Ouches. Ex 28^{11} 39^{6}, &c. A. R. *settings* (properly 'nouches,' Chaucer).

Painful, -ness. Ps 73^{16} 2 Cor 11^{27} R. V. *travail.*

Peculiar. Tit 2^{14} 1 Pet 2^{9} R. V. *for* (God's) *possession,* Dt 7^{6} 14^{2} 26^{18} E. R. *peculiar unto Himself,* A. R. *for His own possession,* Dt 7^{6} E. R. for A. V. *special.*

Peep. Is 8^{19} 10^{14} R. V. *chirp* (rather 'cheep,' the faint cry of a nestling.—Hastings). **Poll,** *v.* 2 Sa 14^{26} Eze 44^{20} Mic 1^{16} A. R. *cut* (the hair).

Prevent. Ps 119^{147} A. R. *anticipate,* Mt 17^{25} R. V. *spake first to,* 1 Th 4^{15} R. V. *precede.*

Provoke. 2 Cor 9^{2} R. V. *stirred up,* Heb 10^{24} Ro 11^{14} *stimulate*: elsewhere in a bad sense.

Purge. Mt 3^{12} Jn 15^{2} Heb 9^{14} R. V. *cleanse* (in any way).

Quick, quicken. Num 16^{30} Ps 124^{3} Heb 4^{12} R. V. *living, make alive.*

Quit. 1 Sa 4^{9} 1 Cor 16^{13} 'acquit.'

Reins. Ps 7^{9} Is 11^{5}, &c. *Lit.* 'kidneys': met. for *emotions, affections.*

Religion, religious. Ac 13^{43} R. V. *devout*: used chiefly of outward manifestation of piety Ac 26^{5} Gal $1^{13.14}$ Jas $1^{26.27}$.

Road. 1 Sa 27^{10} R. V. *raid.*

Room. Ps 31^{8} Lu $14^{9.10}$ R. V. *place.*

Scrabble. 1 Sa 21^{13} 'scrawl' (not connected with 'scribble.'—Hastings).

Scrip. 1 Sa 17^{40} Lu 22^{35} R. V. (in New Testament) *wallet* (a small bag for provisions, &c.).

Several. 2 Ki 15^{5} 2 Ch 26^{21} A. R. *separate* (R. m. 'a lazar house').

Sherd. Is 30^{14} 'shred' or fragment (comp. 'potsherd').

Shroud. Eze 31^{3} *covering, shelter.*

Sith. Eze 35^{6} A. R. *since.*

Skill, *v.* 1 Ki 5^{6} 2 Ch $2^{7.8}$ A. R. to *know how.*

Sometimes. Eph 2^{13} R. V. *once*; **sometime,** 1 Pet 3^{20} R. V. *aforetime.*

Steads. 1 Ch 5^{22} (R. V. 'stead'), *places of abode.*

Straw, *v.* Mt 21^{8} 'strew,' R. V. *spread,* Mt $25^{24.26}$ R. V. *scatter.*

Stuff. 1 Sa 10^{22} 25^{13} 30^{24} A. R. *baggage,* Lu 17^{31} R. *goods.*

Tabering. Nah 2^{7} A. R. *beating,* as on a tabor.

Take thought, to. 1 Sa 9^{5} A. R. *be anxious,* Mt 6^{28} Lu 12^{26} R. V. *be anxious,* Lu 24^{38} *thoughts,* E. R. *reasonings,* A. R. *questionings.*

Target. 1 Sa 17^{6} a *light shield* or *buckler* (R. V. reads *javelin,* from a different text).

Trow. Lu 17^{9} *suppose.*

Usury. Mt 25^{27} Lu 19^{23} R. V. *interest* (in a general sense; not *extortionate* interest); **usurer,** Ex 22^{25} R. V. *creditor.*

Virtue. Mk 5^{30} Lu 6^{19} 8^{46} R. V. *power.* Elsewhere, *excellency.*

Ware. Ac 14^{6} R. V. *aware.*
Wealth. 1 Cor 10^{24} *welfare.*
Wit, *v.* Gen 24^{21} Ex 2^{4} R. V. *know*; *do you to wit,* 2 Cor 8^{1} R. *make known to you*; **wist,** Ex 16^{15} Jos 2^{4} A. R. *knew*; **wot,** Gen 21^{26} 39^{8} Ex 32^{1}. A. R. *know*; Rom 11^{2} A. R. *know.*

On these words and others used in peculiar senses, a series of articles in Hastings' *Biblical Dictionary* may be profitably consulted.

117. Some SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE ENGLISH VERSIONS are important:—

1. The **use of italics**, adopted by the Translators of 1611 from earlier versions, which, in the language of the Genevan editors, inserted 'words which, lacking, made the sentence obscure; but set them in such letters as may easily be discerned from the common text.' The principal purposes of italics are:—

(*a*) To indicate uncertainty as to the genuineness of the text: 1 Jn 2^{23}, where, as the genuineness of the clause is now established, the R. V. prints it in ordinary type. In Jn 8^{6} the italicized clause is omitted as an interpolation.

(*b*) To point out words necessary to the sense; as auxiliary verbs, the many uses of the verb *to be*, unemphatic pronouns and particles, the words *man, thing*, &c., understood after adjectives, and often the conjunctions *and* and *but.*

This usage in the A. V. is very irregular, often rendering the same original differently in the same chapter; thus Dt 2^{4} 'ye *are* to pass'; verse 18 'thou art to pass'; Lev 10^{12} 'his sons that were left'; verse 16 'the sons of Aaron *which were* left'; Dt 21^{3} 'the slain man'; verse 6 'the slain *man*'; Job 5^{13} 'He taketh the wise in their own craftiness'; Pr 1^{18} 'they lay wait for their *own* blood'; Lu 17^{27} 'destroyed them all'; verse 29 'destroyed *them* all'; 19^{17} 'thou good servant'; verse 22 '*thou* wicked servant'; Heb 3^{3} 'this *man* was counted worthy'; 8^{3} 'that this man have somewhat also to offer.' In Lu 10^{30} 'a certain *man* went down'; 15^{11} 'a certain man had two sons,' where, however, the Greek expresses 'man' in both passages. Such inconsistencies are countless; and the Revisers have introduced uniformity of usage, following the rule 'to print no words in italics which are necessarily involved in the original[a].' This rule also applies to the word 'not'

[a] The *Cambridge Paragraph Bible*, edited by Dr. Scrivener, also secures

in such passages as Ps 75^{5} Job 30^{25} Is 38^{18}, where the Hebrew idiom implies a repeated negative. Some explain Dt 33^{6} in the same sense; see R. V. and margin.

(*c*) To complete the sense in various ways, supplementing the brevity of the original. Such italic words and phrases are often felicitously introduced, but are at times uncertain; and now and then they express a sense which is not in the sacred text.

Of felicitous italics there are instances in Ps 109^{4} 'I *give myself* to prayer'; Pr 14^{14} 'A good man *shall be satisfied* from himself'; Ro 8^{3} 'God sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and *as an offering* for sin' (R. V.); Heb 8^{5} priests 'who serve *that which is* a copy and a shadow of heavenly things,' i. e. the tabernacle. See also Ex 34^{7} (compare Ps 7^{11}) Job 3^{23} Mt 20^{23} Jn 19^{5}. Sometimes the italicized supplement is uncertain: Mal 1^{11} 'My name *shall be* great among the Gentiles'; some expositors preferring '*is* great'; the difference being between a prophecy and a fact. Ps 24^{6} 'that seek Thy face, O *God of* Jacob,' or (as margin, R. V.) 'that seek Thy face, *even* Jacob'; i. e. these are the true Jacob. So Ps 68^{17} should probably read 'Jehovah is among them; Sinai *is* in the Sanctuary.' The Temple is another Sinai, where God is manifest to His people. 1 Pet 5^{13} *the church*, probably correct; R. V. has simply *she*. Unnecessary or erroneous italics in A. V. are in Job 19^{26} (*worms*); Ac 28^{4} (*venomous*); Heb 2^{16} (*the nature of*). See also 1 Cor 14^{2} Jn 20^{11} Ac 27^{44}. In Ac 7^{59} *the Lord* is a preferable addition. An interesting insertion is that of the word *saying* in Pr 31^{28}, showing that the husband's commendation is expressed.

Appropriate additions, marked in both versions by italics, are: (1) the unexpressed conclusion of conditional sentences—the 'apodosis': as Gen 30^{27} 'If I have found favour in thine eyes, *tarry*'; Lu 13^{9} 'If it bear fruit, *well*.' (2) the mark of transition from indirect to direct speech, as Ac 1^{4} 'the promise of the Father, which, *saith He*, ye have heard of Me.' See also Gen 4^{25} Ex 18^{4}. (3) Cases of *zeugma*, where two clauses are united under a verb which strictly applies only to one. Here the English idiom requires a second verb: Dt 4^{12} 'ye saw no similitude, only *ye heard* a voice'; 2 Ki 11^{12} 'he put the crown upon him, and *gave him* the testimony'; Lu 1^{64} 'his mouth was opened immediately, and his tongue *loosed*'; 1 Tim 4^{3} 'Forbidding to marry, and *commanding* to abstain from meats.' For similar forms of ex-

uniformity, but on the reverse plan, by printing all such words in italics.

pression, see Gen 4^{20} Ex 3^{16} 1 Cor 3^{2} (where *fed* in original is literally 'given you to drink,' necessarily changed to a neutral word in translating). (4) Omissions supplied from parallel passages. Sometimes these are evidently needful to the sense, as Judg 2^{3} Num 20^{26} 2 Ki 25^{3} 1 Ch 17^{25} 18^{6} 2 Ch 25^{24}. In other cases they are doubtful: 2 Sa 21^{19} *the brother of*; 8^{4} *chariots*; Jer 6^{14} *of the daughter*, where the sentences are complete without the added words. They are probably correct, but they are exposition rather than translation, and are marked in R. V., where see margin.

Occasionally italics are unnecessary, and even obscure the sense. Thus Ps 19^{3}, read 'There is no speech nor language: their voice is not heard' (compare Addison's paraphrase). Ps 133^{3}, read 'As the dew of Hermon that descended upon the mountains of Zion.' The subject of the psalm is the unity of brethren; and this is illustrated by the dew of heaven, which comes down alike upon the loftiest and the lowliest heights.

118. The Margin.—This valuable adjunct to many editions of the A. V., and to all editions of the R. V., contains different renderings of words and phrases, in two forms: (1) the literal translation of the Hebrew or Greek, where the English idiom requires a different turn of expression. Such instances are often picturesque and suggestive, and should on no account be overlooked; (2) alternative translations in doubtful cases. In the R. V. these are very numerous, and worthy of careful note, especially as they often express the opinion of a majority of the Revisers, since no change was introduced into the text, excepting by a vote of two-thirds. The margin of the R. V., and to some extent that also of the A. V., indicates the most important various readings. On this see further in the chapter on Textual Criticism, § 62[a].

The margin of the A. V. also contains a large selection of parallel passages, as compiled by the Translators of 1611, with large additions

[a] The earlier English versions contain also in the margin expository notes, exegetical, doctrinal, hortatory, and sometimes of a highly polemic character.

by subsequent editors, especially by Dr. Paris (1762) and Dr. Blayney (1769). Special editions, as *Bagster's Comprehensive Bible* (1828), the *Annotated Paragraph Bible* of the R. T. S. (1893), and the *Cambridge Paragraph Bible* (1873), contain further selections. But these will probably be ultimately superseded by the series of references prepared for the English Revisers (1898), in which the selection and arrangement of passages are for the first time reduced to a definite system. The references indicate: (1) quotations, or exact verbal parallels; (2) passages similar in idea or expression; (3) passages explanatory or illustrative; (4) historical, geographical, and personal names elsewhere occurring; and (5) passages that illustrate differences of rendering, A. V. and R. V. Not the least valuable feature of this new series is the avoidance of a multitude of erroneous or non-applicable references which had accumulated in course of time[a]. It is also an advantage in the R. V. that its two margins are kept entirely distinct from each other.

The A. V. margin contains also a series of chronological notes, principally dates, known by usage as 'The Received Chronology,' sometimes even as 'The Bible Chronology.' These are mainly from Archbishop Ussher's *Annals of the Old and New Testaments* (1650), and were first included in the edition of 1701, by Dr. W. Lloyd, Bishop of Worcester. These notes are undoubtedly useful, in indicating the succession and relation of events; but the more accurate investigations of modern times have shown their incorrectness in many particulars, and they are not therefore to be relied upon. They are entirely absent from the R.V. See further the sections on CHRONOLOGY, §§ 195–203, and the TABLES in APPENDIX I.

119. The Summaries of Chapters in the A. V. have nothing correspondent in the original, and are without authority[b]. Some are really expositions, as in the Song of Solomon; others are doubtful in point of fact, as the identification in Lu 7 of 'the woman that was a sinner' with Mary Magdalene. The headings to Gen 18 and 32 explain the 'men' spoken of in the text as *angels*, and that

[a] Dr. Scrivener in his Preface to the *Cambridge Paragraph Bible* gives a long and remarkable list of such errors.

[b] It was an original instruction to the Revisers to examine and rectify these headings, but they soon found the task impracticable, and omitted them altogether. Several are undoubtedly correct, but they add something to the contents of Scripture. Thus, Ps 127 '*Good* children are His gift.'

to Ac 6 describes the 'seven men' of the history as *deacons*. The heading to Gen 10 tells us that Nimrod was *the first monarch*. Those to Ps 2 Dt 18 Is 22 define the following text as Messianic, and that to Rev 22 extends the warning which guards the apocalyptic vision to the whole of Scripture.

The Titles of the Psalms are from the Hebrew: they are considered in the INTRODUCTION to the Psalter, Part II. The subscriptions to the Epistles in the New Testament are from the Greek of late MSS., and have been added by transcribers, in many cases erroneously (1 Cor Gal 1 and 2 Th). In the R. V. they have no place.

Chapters, Verses, and Paragraphs.—The division of the Scriptures into chapters and verses, and the order of the several books, are not of Divine origin, nor are they of great antiquity. The Vulgate was the first version divided into chapters: a work undertaken by Cardinal Hugo, in the thirteenth century, or as others think, by Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1227.

The Hebrew Scriptures were similarly divided by Mordecai Nathan, in 1445, and in 1661 Athias added in his printed text the division into verses. The New Testament was divided in the same way by Robert Stephens, who is said to have completed it in the year 1551, during a journey (*inter equitandum*) from Paris to Lyons. He placed the verse-numbers in the margin; the paragraphs were first broken up, as in the present method, by the editors of the Geneva version.

These divisions are very imperfect: and even when not inaccurate, they tend to break the sense and to obscure the meaning.

The subject of 2 Ki 7 begins at the 24th verse of ch. 6. The description of the humiliation and glory of the Servant of Jehovah begins at Is 52^{13}: and the previous verses of ch. 52 belong to ch. 51. The sixth verse of Jer 3 begins a distinct prophecy, which is continued to the end of ch. 6.

The first verse of Col 4 belongs to ch. 3. Connect in the same way,

Gen 2^{1-3} with ch. 1; Ro 15^{1-13} with ch. 14; 1 Cor 11^{1} with ch. 10. Mt 9 from verse 35 belongs to the tenth chapter. Jn 8^{1} belongs to the seventh; and the last two verses of Ac 4 belong to ch. 5.

As a rule, no importance is to be attached to the division of verses or of chapters, unless it coincide with the natural pauses of the narrative. Hence the value of the paragraph arrangement, now common in editions of the A. V., and universal in those of the R.V.

The A. V. has the elements of the paragraph-division, indicated by the sign ¶, which, for some reason, is abruptly discontinued at Ac 20^{36}.

Modern Jews use the present division of chapter and verse. But ancient MSS. were differently divided. The Law had fifty-four greater divisions, called *Parashioth*, and the Prophets had similar divisions called *Haphtaroth*, or 'Dismissions,' being read shortly before the close of the service. One of each of these divisions was read on the Sabbath. The *Parashioth* of the Law were subdivided into *Parhuchoth* ('open') where there is an obvious break in the sense, and *Sathûmoth* ('shut') where the sense runs on. Of these, there are in the Pentateuch alone 669. They are marked ס and ס respectively.

When Jews referred to the Old Testament, it was their custom to mention the subject of the paragraph, as it still is among the Arabs, in quoting from the Koran.

'In Elijah,' Ro 11^{2} (margin), refers to 1 Ki 17–19. 'The bow' in 2 Sa 1^{18} refers to the poem so called, in the Book of Jasher. So perhaps 'in the bush,' Mk 12^{26}, to Ex 3; R.V. 'in *the place concerning* the Bush.'

These corrections and explanations have been given at considerable length, for several reasons. They furnish answers to objections which have been brought against sacred Scripture. They remove difficulties and reconcile apparent contradictions. They are of value, moreover, because they illustrate very fully the nature of the differences which exist between the English version and the original text. It is obvious that very many of these differences may be rectified by a comparison of parallel passages, so that the English reader has in his own hands the means, to a large extent, of correcting them. Nor do they disturb the conclusion to which the most competent authorities have long come, and which the Revised Version makes more than ever manifest, that the English Bible is on the whole identical with the Bible of the early Church.

CHAPTER VIII

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURE

'Man can weary himself in any secular affair, but diligently to search the Scriptures is to him tedious and burdensome. Few covet to be mighty in the Scriptures; though convinced their great concern is enveloped in them.'—LOCKE, *Commonplace Book*, Preface.

'Strict grammatical analysis, and the rigid observance of exegetical rules, lead to the same views of truth as are entertained by theologians, who bring to the study of the Bible strong sense and devout piety.'—THOLUCK.

'The various controversies among interpreters have commonly led to the admission that the old Protestant views of the meaning of the sacred text are the correct views.'—WINER.

'He that shall be content to use these means, and will lay aside the prejudices . . . which many bring with them to every question, will be honoured to gain an understanding of Scripture; if not in all things, yet in most; if not immediately, yet ultimately.'—WHITAKER, *Disput. of Scrip.*, p. 473.

'He who has not believed will not experience; and he who has not experienced cannot know.'—ANSELM.

'The most illiterate Christian, if he can but read his English Bible, and will take the pains to read it in this manner, will not only attain all that practical knowledge which is essential to salvation, but, by God's blessing, he will become learned in everything relating to his religion in such a degree that he will not be liable to be misled, either by the refuted arguments, or the false assertions of those who endeavour to engraft their own opinions upon the oracles of God.'—HORSLEY.

'Pectus est quod facit theologum.'—NEANDER'S *motto*.

Preliminary Considerations

120. Importance of the study.—The importance of carefully studying the Bible with every accessible help may

be abundantly gathered from the statements in the two preceding chapters as to its Divine origin and purpose. The greatness, as well as the difficulty, of the task is enhanced by the circumstances connected with the preparation of the sacred books. Their authorship was various; the dates of their respective composition extend over many centuries. They were written in different places, Arabia, Judæa, Babylonia, and in the midst of Western civilization; the allusions, and figures, and expressions being taken from customs, scenery, and habits altogether diverse from one another, and from those of modern Europe.

Their matter is as various as their authorship; laws and histories, psalms, proverbs, prophetic poetry, biography and epistles. Whole books, and parts of books, refer to the heathen, as in Isaiah and Nahum; while parts are addressed to the Jews only: one Gospel was intended for Hebrew converts, and another for Gentiles. The Epistles vary in tone and style according to the persons to whom they were addressed, and the condition of the churches at the period of their composition. Of all these things the reader must know something before being in a position to interpret the writings. And as the relations of the Chosen People with the surrounding nations were manifold and ever-changing, the histories of these nations throw important and even necessary light upon the sacred records.

The importance of a careful study of Scripture will appear when we further consider the difficulty of communicating to men, and in human language, any ideas of religious or spiritual truth. We enter new regions of thought, and become familiar with conceptions which tax all the resources of human speech. Hence the largely figurative character of much that Scripture contains, as will be shown at length in another section. For the present, the fact is mentioned to show the necessity of mental and spiritual preparation for the effective study of the Word of God.

121. Mental and spiritual prerequisites.—The first prerequisite for this study is unquestionably the exercise of a humble and devout mind. It becomes us to cherish the habit of earnest and reverential attention to all that Scripture reveals, and to seek that inward teaching of the Holy Spirit which God has promised to them that ask Him. This disposition is essential to the application of all rules of interpretation. An analogous truth is admitted in relation to every other subject of inquiry. To understand true poetry there must be a poetic taste. The study of philosophy requires a philosophic spirit. An inquirer into the processes of nature needs to be imbued with the temper of the inductive system which Bacon taught; to sink prejudice, and inquire humbly at Nature's shrine. This principle, then, cannot be questioned when applied to the study of the Bible. There must be the alert intellect; there must be also 'the heart that watches and receives.'

Men *need* Divine teaching, not because of the peculiar difficulty of Scripture language, nor because of the incomprehensibility of Scripture doctrine—for the things most misunderstood are the things which are revealed most clearly—but because, without that teaching, men will not learn, nor can they *know* those truths which are revealed only to those who feel them. When Christ appeared, the light shone in the darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not. Unholy affection had surrounded the mental eye with the very opposite of clear 'dry light,' and had impaired the organ itself. Blindness of *heart* produced ignorance; and alienation 'from the life of God' was at once the cause and the aggravated effect of an 'understanding darkened,' Eph 4^{18}. The *source* of this teaching is clearly revealed: Christians are 'all taught of the Lord'; and He Who gave to the Church as of old 'the spirit of wisdom and revelation,' was 'the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory,' Eph 1^{17}.

The means of *securing* this teaching is equally revealed. 'The meek will He guide in judgement, the meek will He teach His way.' He that willeth to do His will 'shall know of the teaching, whether it be of God,' Jn 7^{17}. 'If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God . . . and it shall be given him.' A child-like docility, an obedient heart, a dependent and prayerful temper, are evidently essential to the successful study of Divine truth. *Bene orasse est bene studuisse* [a].

It is necessary to complete this truth by adding that the Spirit of God does not communicate to the mind of even a teachable, obedient, and devout Christian, any doctrine or meaning of Scripture which is not **contained already in Scripture itself.** He makes men wise *up to* what is written, but not beyond it. When Christ opened the understanding of His Apostles, it was 'that they might understand the Scriptures,' Lu 24^{45}. The psalmist prayed that God would be pleased to open his eyes, that he might behold wondrous things *out of the Divine law*, Ps 119^{18}. 'The Bible, and through the Bible,' indicates, therefore, at once, the subject and the method of Divine wisdom. 'To the law and to the testimony!' exclaims the prophet; 'if they speak not according to this word, surely there is no morning for them,' Is 8^{20} R. V.

This first principle of Bible interpretation is taken from the Bible itself. It occupies the same place, too, in the teaching of our Lord, who, in His first recorded discourse, assured Nicodemus that 'except a man be born again, he cannot see'—can neither understand the nature nor share the blessedness of—'the kingdom of God,' Jn 3^{3}.

Compare also 1 Cor 2^{14} 12^{3} 1^{21} 1 Jn $2^{20,27}$ 2 Cor 4^{2-6} 1 Pet 2^{1} Jas 1^{21} Ps $25^{4,5}$ 119^{88} 2 Tim 3^{15}, &c.

[a] 'To pray well is to study well.'

Rules of Interpretation

Subsidiary to this all-important attitude of reverent approach to the Bible, there may be formulated certain Rules of Interpretation. These are not peculiar to Scripture, but simply bespeak in regard to it those qualities of candour and intelligent common sense which the study of any literature requires.

122. The first rule of Biblical Interpretation is : **Interpret grammatically** ; with due regard to the meaning of words, the form of sentences, and the peculiarities of idiom in the language employed.

The sense of Scripture is to be determined by the words; a *true* knowledge of the words is the knowledge of the sense. The meaning of words is fixed by the usage of language. Usage must be ascertained whenever possible from Scripture itself. The words of Scripture must be taken in their common meaning, unless such meaning is shown to be inconsistent with other words in the sentence, with the argument or context, or with other parts of Scripture. Of two meanings, that one is generally to be preferred which was most obvious to the comprehension of the hearers or original readers of the inspired passage, allowing for the modes of thought prevalent in their own day, as well as for those figurative expressions which were so familiar as to be no exception to the general rule.

The true meaning of any passage of Scripture, then, is not every sense which the words will bear, nor is it every sense which is true in itself, but that which is intended by the inspired writers, or even by the Holy Spirit, though imperfectly understood by the writers themselves. These important points will be fully illustrated in the following pages.

123. Peculiarities of Idiom: Hebrew.—Several phrases, and turns of expression, characteristic of the original languages of Scripture and reproduced in translations, must be noticed. Especially in the Old Testament, the English version often employs the idioms and expressions of the original tongue; these are to be understood, therefore, not according to the English, but according to the Hebrew idiom.

1. The Jews, for example, frequently expressed a qualifying thought by the use, not of an adjective, but of a **second noun**; a practice which may also be traced in the Hebrew Greek of the New Testament.

'Your work of faith, and labour of love, and patience of hope,' means 'your believing work, and loving labour, and hopeful patience,' 1 Th 1^{3}. So, in Eph 1^{13}, the 'Spirit of promise' means the 'promised Spirit.' So Mt 24^{15} Mk 13^{14} Ro 7^{24} Jas 2^{4} Rev 3^{10}. In some of these passages, however, the idiom is, perhaps, emphatic. Compare the remarks on 'hendiadys,' Ch. VII, § 115, 2.

2. It was a common idiom of the Hebrew to call a person having a peculiar quality, or subject to a peculiar evil, **the child** or **son** of that quality.

In 1 Sa 2^{12} Eli's sons are called 'sons of Belial,' that is, of worthlessness, 'Belial' not being, in the Old Testament, as sometimes supposed, the name of an idol or demon, but of an abstract quality. In Lu 10^{6} a 'son of peace' means a person of gentle and attentive mind, disposed to give the gospel a willing reception. In Eph $5^{6.8}$ 'children of disobedience' and 'children of light' mean, respectively, disobedient and enlightened persons. In Eph 2^{3} 'children of wrath' refers to a disposition which involves exposure to the *Divine* anger against sin.

3. **Comparison**, again, is very peculiarly expressed in Hebrew.

To love and to hate, for example, is a Hebrew expression for preferring one thing to another. Thus it is said in Lu 14^{26}, 'If any man come to Me, and hate not his father': for which we find, as in Mt 10^{37}, 'He that loveth father more than Me.' The same expression is used in Jn 12^{25}, in Ro 9^{13} from Mal $1^{2.3}$, in Gen 29^{31}, and in Dt 21^{15}.

Comparison is sometimes intimated by the use of **adverbs of negation.**

Thus in Gen 45^{8}, '*not* you sent me hither, *but* God': it was God rather than you. So Ex 16^{8} 1 Sa 8^{7} Pr 8^{10} Ho 6^{6} (Mt 9^{13} and 12^{7}) Jer $7^{22.23}$. So in Mk 9^{37}, 'Whosoever shall receive Me receiveth not Me, but Him that sent Me'; not so much, or, not only Me, but Him. So in Lu 10^{20} 14^{12} Jn $5^{22.42}$ 6^{27} Ac 5^{4} 1 Cor 1^{17} Eph 6^{12} 1 Th 4^{8}. Caution, however, must be used, lest this idiom be pressed where it does not apply, to the weakening of the sense.

4. **Plural** nouns are sometimes used in Hebrew to imply that there are more than one, though it may be to one only that reference is made.

Gen 8^{4} 19^{29} Judg 12^{7} Ne 3^{8}. So in N.T., Mt 24^{1}, where 'disciples' means one of them (Mk 13^{1}) Mt 26^{8} (Jn 12^{4}) Mt 27^{44} and Mk 15^{32} (Lu 23^{39}) Lu 23^{36} (Mt 27^{48}). In some of these instances, however, all or several shared in the sentiment. In Jn 13^{4}, for 'garments,' read 'one of them,' the upper, see Mk $5^{27.30}$.

5. The names of parents, or ancestors, are often used in Scripture for their **posterity.**

Thus in Gen 9^{25} it is said, 'Cursed be Canaan,' i.e. his posterity. (This curse, it will be remembered, did not affect those of his posterity who were righteous; for both Melchisedec and Abimelech were Canaanites, as was the woman who came to Christ, and whose daughter was healed, Gen 14^{18-20} 20^{6} Mt 15^{22-28}.) In the same way, Jacob and Israel are often put for the Israelites, as in Gen 49^{7} Ps 14^{7} 24^{6} 1 Ki $18^{17.18}$.

6. The word 'son' is sometimes used, by a Hebraism (common, indeed, to nearly all languages), in general for a **descendant.**

The priests are called the sons of Levi. Mephibosheth is called the son of Saul, though he was the son of Jonathan, 2 Sa 19^{24}: so Gen 46^{22}. Zechariah, the grandson of Iddo (Zec 1^{1}), is called his son, Ezr 5^{1}. In like manner, 'father' is used for any ancestor, 1 Ch 1^{17}. See Dn 5^{18}. Belshazzar was probably the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar.

'Brother' is used in the same way for any collateral relation. It is thus applied by Abraham to Lot, who was his nephew[a]. In one instance, too, the descendants of a man who married a daughter of

[a] Gen 14^{16} $29^{12.15}$.

Barzillai are called, from the name of their maternal ancestor's father, the children of Barzillai [a]. In the same way, Jair is called the son of Manasseh, because his grandfather had married the daughter of one of the heads of Manasseh. Mary is also thought by some to have descended from David in this way; so that our Lord was David's son, not only through His reputed father, but by direct descent through His mother [b].

A knowledge of the last-mentioned usage will sometimes correct apparent contradictions. Athaliah, for example, is called in 2 Ki 8^{26} the daughter of Omri, and in verse 18 she is called the daughter of Ahab. She was really Ahab's daughter, and Omri's grand-daughter. See also 1 Ki 15^{10} 2 Ch 13^{2} and 1 Ch 3^{15}, compared with 2 Ch $36^{9.10}$.

Semi-Hebraisms.—Among Hebraisms of another kind (sometimes called semi-Hebraisms), the following may be noticed:—

1. Some **numeral expressions** in frequent use denote indefinite numbers.

'Ten' means 'several,' as well as that precise number, Gen 31^{7} Dn 1^{20}.

'Forty' means 'many.' Persepolis is called in Eastern language 'the city of forty towers,' though the number was much larger. This is probably the meaning in 2 Ki 8^{9}, where Hazael is said to have brought as a present to Elisha forty camels' burden of the good things of Damascus. See also Eze $29^{11.13}$; and, perhaps, some chronological notes in the histories.

'Seven' and 'seventy' often express a large and complete, though an uncertain number, Pr $26^{16.25}$ Ps 119^{164} Lev 26^{24}, &c. We are commanded to forgive till 'seventy times seven,' to indicate that, if our brother repent of his sin, there must be no end of our forgiveness. The 'seven demons' cast out of Mary of Magdala indicate extreme suffering, though not necessarily great wickedness.

2. The Scriptures sometimes use a **round number,** rather than a more exact specification.

From comparing Num 25^{9} and 1 Cor 10^{8}, we learn that between 23,000 and 24,000 were slain by the plague. The first passage mentions 24,000, the second 23,000. See Judg 11^{26} $20^{35.46}$.

[a] Ezr 2^{61} Ne 7^{63}.

[b] For an argument that the genealogy in Lu 3 is that of Mary, see Godet, *St. Luke*, i. pp. 195–204.

3. Occasionally, verbs denoting being or action are used, when the declaration only is intended that the thing **is so,** or **is so done.**

In Lev 13, for example, where the priest is said (Hebrew) to 'make the leper unclean' or to 'make clean,' or to pronounce such to be the state. Again, 'the letter killeth,' 2 Cor 3^6, that is, declares death as a consequence of sin, Ro 4^{15} 5^{20} 7^9. So in prophecy, the speaker is said to do what he only foretells, Jer 1^{10} Eze 43^3 Is 6^{10}.

124. Proper Names: persons.—In interpreting the words of Scripture, the usage of proper names needs carefully to be noticed.

Different persons have often *the same name.*

Pharaoh (or ruler) was the general name of the kings of Egypt from the time of Abraham till the invasion of Egypt by the Persians, as *Ptolemy* was the common name of their kings after the death of Alexander. *Abimelech* (meaning 'my father the king') seems to have been the common name of the kings of the Philistines; *Agag* was the name of the kings of the Amalekites, as was *Benhadad* of the kings of Damascus. Among the Romans, *Augustus Cæsar* was the common title of their emperors. The Cæsar mentioned in Lu 2^1 was the second of that name. The Cæsar who reigned when Christ was crucified was Tiberius. The emperor to whom Paul appealed, and who is called both Augustus and Cæsar, was Nero, Ac 25^{21}. The Egyptian and the Philistine kings seem to have had, like the Romans, a proper as well as a common name. We read, for example, of Pharaoh Neco and of Pharaoh Hophra; and the Abimelech mentioned in the title of Ps 34 is called Achish in 1 Sa 21^{11}.

In the New Testament several very different persons bore the name of *Herod*, as shown in Part II of the present work, Ch. XVII, § 419: *Genealogical Table of the Herods.*

Or, *different names* are given to the *same person.*

Abiel, 1 Sa 9^1, is Ner, 1 Ch 9^{39}; Ishvi, 1 Sa 14^{49}, is Abinadab, 31^2 and 1 Ch 9^{39}; Maacah, 1 Ki 15^2 2 Ch 11^{20}, is Micaiah, 2 Ch 13^2; Daniel, 1 Ch 3^3, is Chileab, 2 Sa 3^3. See also Hobab and Jethro, Judg 4^{11} Ex 3^1; Levi and Matthew; Thomas and Didymus (meaning *twin* in Hebrew and Greek respectively); Thaddeus, Lebbæus, and Judas; Silvanus and Silas. (In the original, Ex 2^{18} Num 10^{29}, Reuel and Raguel are alike. So, in New Testament, Lucas and Luke, Timotheus and Timothy. See R.V.)

Proper Names: places.—So, again, with the names of **places.** *Different places* often have the *same name.*

Cæsarea is the name of two cities; one called Cæsarea Philippi, in Galilee; the other on the shore of the Mediterranean. The one mentioned throughout the Acts of the Apostles was the port whence travellers generally left Judæa for Rome.

Antioch, in Syria, again, is the place where Paul and Barnabas commenced their labours, and where the followers of Christ were first called Christians, Ac $11^{20.26}$. The Antioch 'of Pisidia,' Ac 13^{14} and 2 Tim 3^{11}, is in Phrygia.

There is a Mizpeh ('watch-tower') in Mount Gilead, where Jephthah resided, where Jacob and Laban made their covenant, Gen 31^{49} Judg 11^{34}; a Mizpeh of Moab, 1 Sa 22^{3}, perhaps the same as the previous; a Mizpeh of Gibeah, where Samuel resided, and where Saul was chosen king, 1 Sa 7^{11}; and there is also a Mizpeh in the tribe of Judah, Jos 15^{38}. 'Mizpah' is the same name, interchangeably used with the above.

Different names are given to *the same places.*

In Gen 31^{47} Laban calls the heap of stones Jegar-sahadutha in Aramaic; Jacob names it Galeed in Hebrew. Hermon, Dt 3^{7}, is said to be called Sirion by the Sidonians, Shenir by the Amorites; in Dt 4^{48} it is called Sion; while in Ct 4^{8} (1 Ch 5^{23}) Shenir and Hermon refer to different peaks of the same mountain range. Poetically, Egypt is called Ham, Ps 78^{51}, the land of Ham, Ps 105^{23}, and Rahab, Pss 87^{4} 89^{10} Is 51^{9}; Jerusalem is Ariel, Is 29^{1}, Babylon is Sheshach, Jer 25^{26}. This last word is a cryptogram, the three letters BBL (for Babel) being written in corresponding letters counted backwards from the end of the alphabet (Sh, Sh, Ch).

Horeb and Sinai are names now and anciently applied to different peaks of the same range of mountains; and both names are sometimes applied to the whole range.

Cæsarea (of Galilee) was called Laish, and then Dan, 1 Ki 12^{29} Judg 18^{29}.

The Lake of Gennesareth was anciently called the Sea of Chinnereth (Cinnereth, Cinneroth), afterwards the Sea of Galilee, or the Sea of Tiberias, Mt 4^{18} Jn 21^{1}.

The modern Abyssinia is called Ethiopia (Heb. Cush); the word Cush, however, has occasionally a wider meaning, being applied to Asiatic regions, Gen 2^{13} Jer 46^{9} Eze 38^{5}. Greece is in Hebrew Javan, Is 66^{19} Zec 9^{13} Dn 11^{2}.

The Dead Sea (a name which does not occur in Scripture) is called the Sea of the Plain (Arabah, 2 Ki 14^{25}); the East Sea, from its position

in relation to Jerusalem, Eze 47^{18} Zec 14^{8}; and sometimes the Salt Sea, Gen 14^{3} Num $34^{3,12}$. See § 172.

The Nile is called in Scripture Sihor, Jos 13^{3}, but more commonly the River; both names, however, being applied also to other streams, the latter, especially, to the Euphrates.

The Mediterranean Sea is called the Sea of the Philistines, who resided on its coasts (Ex 23^{31}); or the Utmost or Hinder, i.e. Western Sea, Dt 11^{24} 34^{2} Joel 2^{20}; or, more commonly, the Great Sea, Ex 23^{31} Dt 11^{24} Num $34^{6,7}$, &c.

The Holy Land is called Canaan; the Land of Israel, of Judæa; Palestine, or the Land of the Immigrants; and the Land of Promise, Ex 15^{14} 1 Sa 13^{19} Is 14^{29} Heb 11^{9}.

Sometimes **the same name** is applied to **a person and to a place.**

Magog, for example, is the name of a son of Japheth, and it is also the name of the country occupied by a people called Gog, probably the Scythians, or, as they are now called, the Tartars, Eze 38 Rev. 20^{8}. The Turks have sprung from the same stock.

The names both of persons and places are sometimes **spelled differently** in the original. (Where the difference is only in the *English version*, it has been already noted.)

Dodanim Gen 10^{4}, Rodanim 1 Ch 1^{7}. In Hebrew the letters ד and ר (*d* and *r*) are so nearly alike that one may easily be mistaken in transcription for the other; see also Gen 10^{3} and 1 Ch 1^{6} Num 1^{14} and 2^{14}. In 1 Sa 12^{11} Bedan is for the same reason explained as a copyist's error for Barak. Peniel in Gen 32^{30} is Penuel in the next verse. Job in Gen 46^{13} is Jashub in Num 26^{24}. Jether in Ex 4^{18} is Jethro in 3^{1}. Hoshea in Dt 32^{44} is Joshua in 34^{9}. Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel is with greater correctness Nebuchadrezzar in Ezekiel and generally in Jeremiah. Uzziah is also called Azariah, 2 Ki 15^{13-23}, &c. Ahaziah, son of Jehoram, is called Azariah and Jehoahaz, 2 Ki 8^{29} 2 Ch 22^{6} 21^{17}. Jehoahaz, son of Josiah, is called Johanan and Shallum, 2 Ki 23^{30} 1 Ch 3^{15} Jer 22^{11}. Nathanael, mentioned in the Gospel of John, is probably the same with the Bartholomew (son of Tolmai) of the other Evangelists.

Attention to these instances will enable the student of Scripture to explain many seeming discrepancies.

125. The meaning of a word, again, will often be modified by the connexion in which it is used. We need, therefore,

a second rule of interpretation: **Interpret according to the context.** This rule is often of great theological importance.

Faith, for example, sometimes means the gospel (of which faith in Christ is the great requirement), as in Gal 1^{23}, 'he now preacheth the faith which once he destroyed.' So in 1 Tim 3^{9} 4^{1} Ac 24^{24}. It means, again, truth or faithfulness, as in Ro 3^{3}, 'shall their unbelief make the faith (R.V. faithfulness) of God without effect?' So in Tit 2^{10}, and probably in Gal 5^{22}. It means, further, in one passage, proof or evidence, Ac 17^{31} (Gr.). It means a conscientious conviction of duty, as in Ro 14^{23}; or, most comprehensively, that exercise of the mind and heart which receives spiritual and Divine truth (Heb 11^{1}); or, more specifically, the repose of the mind and heart in the work of Christ as the ground of pardon and means of holiness (Ro 3^{28}).

Flesh means sometimes what is tender and teachable, as in Eze 11^{19}, 'I will give you a heart of flesh'; where it is opposed to a heart of stone. It means, also, human nature, without any reference to its sinfulness, Jn 1^{14} Ro 1^{3} 9^{5}; but more commonly, human nature as corrupt and sinful, Ro 8^{5} Eph 2^{3}. Another meaning is, all that is outward and ceremonial in religion, as distinguished from what is inward and spiritual, as in Gal 6^{12} 3^{3}, where it refers more especially to the ceremonies of the Mosaic ritual (compare Phil 3^{3}).

Salvation means in some places outward safety and deliverance, as in Ex 14^{13} Ac 7^{25} (orig.), or healing, as in Jas 5^{15}, where, in the case of a sick Christian, the prayer of faith is said to save, i. e. heal, the sick. Its more common meaning, however, is in reference to spiritual blessing, when it sometimes includes the present and immediate deliverance, as in Eph 2^{8} Lu 1^{77}; or, more frequently, the whole of the blessing which Christ has secured for believers, beginning with forgiveness, and ending in eternal glory, Ro 13^{11}. Sometimes it means simply the gospel, as in Heb 2^{3}, where it is said to be 'spoken by the Lord, and confirmed unto us by them that heard Him.'

In the same way, blood is used in Scripture with several meanings: God 'hath made of one blood all nations of men,' Ac 17^{26}, i. e. they have a common origin or nature. In Mt 27^{25} 'His blood be on us, and on our children,' means, 'The guilt of having put Him to death be upon us.' In Ro 5^{9} the Christian is said to be justified by the blood of Christ; in Heb 9^{14} the blood of Christ is said to 'purge our conscience from dead works'; and in 1 Jn 1^{7} it is declared to have a cleansing influence upon the heart and life. The robes of the

redeemed are made white in the blood of the Lamb. In these passages, the blood of Christ means His 'obedience unto death,' 'the offering of Himself' on the cross, the ground of justification, the instrument and motive of holiness.

The general meaning of the word GRACE is 'favour.' As applied to God, it means the unmerited favour exercised by Him towards men, as in 2 Tim 1^{9}, 'According to His own purpose and grace.' It means, moreover, all the different gifts of that grace: justification, as in Ro 5^{15}; strength and holiness, as in 2 Cor 12^{9}, 'My grace is sufficient for thee'; and eternal glory, 1 Pet 1^{13}. The 'word of His grace' is the gospel, in Ac 14^{3}. So in Heb 13^{9}, it means doctrines of the gospel, and not meats or rites.

126. Contextual explanations.—1. Such special meanings are often explained by definitions or by examples; occasionally again by expressions which limit the meaning.

In Heb 11^{1}, for instance, FAITH is first described, and then illustrated. It is said to be a confident expectation of things hoped for: a perfect persuasion of things not seen: and then examples are given of both parts of the definition. In Noah it was perfect persuasion of the truth of God in regard to the Deluge. In Abraham it was confident expectation of the fulfilment of the promise made to himself, and to his seed. If the Divine word speak of mercies, faith hopes for them; if of things purely spiritual and future, faith believes in them.

Perhaps no passage illustrates better than this the difficulty of making a good translation, and the wisdom of God in giving us a Bible of examples, rather than of definitions. The word 'substance' (A. V.) is a literal translation of the original; and means, whatever stands under and sustains all that is attached to it, whether subjects or qualities. No one word could have more completely expressed the idea of the original: and yet it is not clear. In Heb 1^{3} the same word is translated 'substance' (R. V.), and in 2 Cor 9^{4} 11^{17} Heb 3^{14} 'confidence.' The full idea is that of underlying support. Faith is, therefore, as to things hoped for, a thing on which real or substantial confidence may rest, an 'assurance' (R. V.). It is, moreover, 'the evidence of things not seen.' The full idea here, again, is such evidence of things not seen as silences doubt and refutes opposition; or rather, it is the conviction which such evidence produces. All this extent of meaning is found in the original word: but no one word can express it. The R. V. gives 'proving,' and in the margin 'test.' If the Bible were made up of definitions, a translation without a paraphrase would be impossible. We may well feel thankful, therefore, that it is a book of examples chiefly: and that it illustrates its

principles rather in the lives of believers, than in logical and abstruse terms.

PERFECTION, again, is defined in several parts of the Bible. In Ps 37^{37} it is used as synonymous with uprightness or sincerity, a real unfeigned goodness: and this is its general meaning in the Old Testament, 1 Ch $12^{33.38}$. In the New Testament it means either the possession of clear and accurate knowledge of Divine truth, or the possession of all the graces of the Christian character, in a higher or lower degree. The first is the meaning in Heb 5^{14}: where strong meat is said to belong 'to them that are of full age (R. V. 'full grown,' margin A. and R. V. 'perfect'): even to those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil.' So in 1 Cor 2^{6} Phil 3^{15}. The second is the meaning in Jas 1^{4}, where 'perfect' is defined as 'entire, wanting nothing.' In 2 Pet 1^{5-7} the graces which make up the perfect Christian are enumerated.

In Eph $3^{4.5}$ MYSTERY is defined by example, as the truth that the Gentiles should be partakers of the promise in Christ by the gospel. The word denotes 'a secret' in general; as a *hidden meaning* (Eph 5^{32}), a truth *beyond human understanding* (1 Cor 15^{51}), a truth hidden for a time, but now *revealed*, as the calling of the Gentiles; more generally, a doctrine, good or evil, into which persons are initiated (1 Cor 4^{1} 2 Th 2^{7}).

THE COURSE OF THIS WORLD, Eph. 2^{2}, means man's natural state and life, as opposed to the kingdom of Christ: it is the outgoing of the spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience.

In Gal 4^{3} the expression, the ELEMENTS, or RUDIMENTS, OF THIS WORLD is used; and is explained in verses 9, 10, of the same chapter. See also 'world' in Heb 2^{5} 6^{5} ('age' R.V.) 1 Cor 10^{11} ('ages' R. V.).

WORLD in its various meanings should be carefully discriminated. 'God so loved the *world*': 'Love not the *world*,' &c.

Explanation by Analogy or Antithesis.—2. Sometimes, where there is no formal definition, the meaning is made clear by the use of some analogous or similar expression; or by antithesis.

In Gal 3^{15-17} the 'covenant with Abraham' is explained as the *promise* which God made to him.

In Ro 6^{23} the meaning of the word death (the wages of sin) is gathered from the opposite: 'the gift of God is eternal life in Jesus Christ our Lord' (R. V.).

In Col 2^{7} the expression, 'rooted and built up in Christ,' is explained as meaning 'stablished in the faith.'

In Ro 4^{5} it is said, that 'to him that worketh not, faith is counted

for righteousness': the expression 'worketh' being explained in several places in the same chapter. In verse 2 the phrase is 'justified by works.' From the same verse, we learn that it means the contrary of 'believing on Him that justifieth the ungodly' (verse 5). So in Jas 2^{14} the faith that cannot save is the faith that spends itself in words, and not in deeds. It is a faith that is without obedience: it is a faith such as devils feel (verse 19), and it is not such as Abraham felt (verse 23). To be 'justified by works,' therefore, expressly includes, in Paul, the rejection of Christ as the Saviour of the guilty, and an adherence to the old covenant; while the 'works' of which James speaks imply faith in Christ. The same truth is taught by our Lord in John 3^{36}, where it is said, 'He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life: and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life': where the word 'believeth not' is, in the original, 'is not obedient to' or will not believe (see R. V.): showing that the sin is not unbelief but disbelief; and that the faith to which the promise is annexed, is a principle of unreserved obedience.

Parallelism a guide to meaning.—3. Much light is frequently cast upon words and phrases by the parallelisms of Scripture, in which one part of a sentence answers more or less closely to another.

This branch of the subject is treated in Part II, 'On the Structure of Hebrew Poetry.'

127. Very often the meaning is decided by the **general reasoning,** or **allusions** of the context.

1. **These** sometimes prove that the words are to be taken in a limited sense.

In Ps 7^{8}, for example, David prays, 'Judge me, O Lord, according to my righteousness'; i.e. according to his innocency, in reference to the charge of 'Cush the Benjamite.' He often uses the same expression with similar limitations. The word 'righteous' or 'more righteous' is even applied to wicked men: as in 1 Ki 2^{32}, and in 2 Sa 4^{11}. In the second instance, Ishbosheth is said to be righteous, merely to imply that he had done no injury to his murderers. The same phrase is applied to Sodom and Gomorrah, because they were less guilty than Jerusalem, Eze 16^{52}. The counsel of Ahithophel is called *good*, and the conduct of the unjust steward *wise*, not because absolutely so, but as being likely means of accomplishing the ends proposed.

In Jn 9^{3} it is said, 'Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents.'

The meaning is simply, that his blindness was not the punishment of any particular sin.

In Jas 5^{14} the elders of the Church are commanded to anoint the sick, and to pray over him; 'and the prayer of faith shall save him.' The Church of Rome founds on this one passage the doctrine of extreme unction, which is held to save the soul of the dying. But from verses 15, 16, it is plain that by 'save' is meant 'heal.' So that, whatever this practice implied, it was to be observed, not with the view of saving the soul, but, in the case of one already a Christian, with the view of restoring his health.

2. The context, or general arrangement of a passage, may even require that words be understood in the **very opposite** of their natural sense.

In 1 Ki 22^{15}, 'Go, and prosper' was spoken ironically, and meant the reverse. In Num 22^{20}, 'Rise up, and go' appears from verses 12, 32, to imply, 'If, after all I have told you, your heart is set on violating My command, do it at your own risk.' The use of this form of speech may be seen in 1 Ki 18^{27} Judg 10^{14} Mk 7^{9} 1 Cor 4^{8}.

3. **Parentheses and particles.**—The general reasoning of the various passages of Scripture is, commonly, sufficiently plain to indicate the meaning of the words employed. Great attention, however, needs to be paid to the use of parentheses and of particles; the particles connecting different branches of a sentence, or argument, together, and the parentheses withdrawing from the direct line of argument the words which are included in them. The latter interrupt the grammatical construction of the sentence: the former perfect, or complete it.

When the parenthesis is short, it creates no difficulty, and can scarcely be said to interrupt the reasoning, as in Ac 1^{15} Phil 3^{18}. When it is long, it seems to embarrass the argument, and often ends in the repetition of the word of the preceding clause. Eph 3^{2} to 4^{1} (first clause) is all in parenthesis; so Phil 1^{27}—2^{16} and perhaps 3^{2-14}. In the first and last of these cases, the word 'therefore' resumes the interrupted argument.

The parenthesis is often indicated in argumentative

passages by the use of the word 'for,' as in Ro 2^{11-16} 2 Cor 6^{2} Eph 2^{14-18}.

The force and distinctiveness of **particles** may be illustrated in cases like the following.

THEN is often emphatic; sometimes as an adverb of time, as in Mal $3^{4.16}$. And again in 1 Th $4^{16.17}$, 'The dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds.' It is not said here, that the dead in Christ rise before the rest of the dead, but that the dead rise before the living are changed. But it is much oftener used as an equivalent for *therefore*; as in 2 Cor 5^{14} (see R. V.). THEREFORE itself generally expresses an inference: but it sometimes indicates that the sentence has been interrupted by a parenthesis, or is repeated: and means 'As I before said,' or 'to resume,' Mt 7^{24} (see verse 21) 1 Cor 8^{4} (see verse 1) Mk 3^{31} (see verse 21) John 6^{24} (see verse 22) Gal 3^{5} (see verse 2). THROUGH means sometimes 'by means of,' as in Jn 15^{3}, 'Through the word I have spoken unto you': and sometimes 'for the sake of,' Ro 5^{1}; or 'in the midst of,' as in Ac 14^{22}. 'Spoken by the prophet' (A. V.) should generally be 'through the prophet' as R. V. The prophet was the *instrument* of the communication; Mt 1^{22} 2^{23} &c. Now is sometimes an adverb of time: sometimes it means 'as the case is,' contrasting an actual with a supposable one, Jn 18^{36}, where 'then' means 'in that case,' and asserts the consequence; Lu 19^{42} Heb 8^{6} (verse 4). RATHER means 'on the contrary,' Ro 11^{11} 12^{19} Eph 5^{11}. The comparison implied in the modern use of the word is expressed in Scripture by 'and not.' In all such cases a knowledge of the Greek or Hebrew particle and its uses is needful for precise interpretation.

4. The connexion is sometimes obscured through the use of a **covert dialogue**; objections, responses, and replies not being distinctly marked.

See Ro 3, where we have a virtual dialogue between the Apostle and an objector. Is 52^{13} 53^{54}, a dialogue between God, the prophet, and the Jews. See also 63^{1-6} Hab 1.

Psalms 15, 20, 24, 87, 104, 132, are responsive.

128. A third rule of Interpretation, applicable where the words, the connexion of the sentence, and the context, fail in removing all ambiguity, or in giving the full meaning of the writer, is: **Regard the scope or design of the**

book itself, or of some large section, in which the words and expressions occur. The second rule touches this; and, indeed, all the rules of interpretation glide by degrees into one another.

1. Sometimes the scope of a section, or of the book itself, is **expressly mentioned.**

In Ro 3^{28}, for example, St. Paul tells us the conclusion to which his reasonings, up to that point, had brought him: namely, that a man is justified by faith, apart from deeds of law.

The principal conclusions of the Epistle to the Ephesians are stated, the first doctrinal, in $2^{11.12}$, that the Gentiles were no longer aliens; the second practical, in 4^{1-3}, exhorting Jews and Gentiles to exercise the spirit and temper which become their new relation. Subordinate conclusions are expressed in 3^{13} $4^{17.25}$ $5^{1.7}$ $6^{13.14}$: where the words 'therefore' or 'wherefore' generally indicate the result of each successive argument.

The design of the Proverbs is told us in 1^{1-6}; of the Gospel of Luke in Lk 1^{1-4}; of the Gospel of John in Jn 20^{31}; of the Old Testament itself in Ro 15^{4} 2 Tim $3^{16.17}$.

2. The design of some parts of the Bible can be gathered only from the **occasions on which they were written.**

The ninetieth Psalm purports to have been a prayer of Moses, at the time when God sent back the children of Israel to wander in the wilderness. The scope of Psalms 3, 18, 34, 51, is illustrated by their inscriptions. The Psalms which are headed 'Songs of Degrees,' 120–134, were written for the Jews, to be sung during their annual journeys to Jerusalem. Many of the verses receive valuable illustration from this fact.

The Epistles to the Colossians, the Ephesians, and the Galatians, were all written to illustrate the peculiar doctrines of the gospel, and to answer the misrepresentations of the Judaizing teachers of the Church. Many expressions will be explained by a reference to the Acts of the Apostles, and especially to the fifteenth chapter; where we have the history of the whole question which these Epistles discuss.

3. The great means of obtaining a knowledge of the scope of the various books of the Bible, or of particular passages, is the repeated and continuous study of **the books themselves.** When once this knowledge is gained, it will throw

great light on particular expressions, and illustrate other parts of the Bible in a way both instructive and surprising.

To understand the precept of our Lord, Mt 19^{17}, 'If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments,' we look to the scope. An inquirer, proud of his own righteousness, asks what he must *do* to obtain eternal life, and our Lord refers him to the Law, to rebuke and humble him.

The subjects of the predictions, Is 1–39, are generally indicated. The subjects of subsequent chapters are less marked, and the connexion can be traced only by repeated perusal. When traced, it throws light upon the meaning. Chs. 51–55, for example, form one prophecy; 51^{1-8} contain an earnest thrice-repeated appeal to the people to *hear*; 51^{9}–52^{12} contain an earnest appeal to God and to Zion; 52^{13}–53^{12} are a glorious description of the work of the 'Servant of Jehovah,' pointing onward to the Messiah, and forming the centre of the prophecy; 54 describes the results of His work on the destiny of the Church, and 55 on the destiny of the world.

4. Sometimes it is difficult to tell whether the **immediate** scope of the passage, or the **general** scope of the book, is to be regarded.

In Lu 15, for example, there are several parables addressed to the Pharisees, who complained that our Lord received sinners: and among those parables is that of the Prodigal Son. It is certain that the scope of the Gospel of Luke is to exhibit and recommend the gospel to the Gentiles: and the question arises, who is meant by the elder son, and who by the younger? Some say, the Pharisee and the sinner; others, the Jew and the Gentile. The first interpretation is sanctioned by the scope of the context; and the second, by the general scope of the Gospel. It will be seen that both interpretations are consistent and probable.

It has been doubted whether the 'rest' (or the keeping of a rest or Sabbath) spoken of in Heb 4 refers to the literal Sabbath, to heaven, or to the peace which the gospel brings, ending however in eternal life: a question that can be best decided by taking into account the general argument of the Epistle.

In the same way, if we need further light on the apparent contradiction between St. Paul and St. James, we look at the scope of their Epistles. That to the Romans is designed to prove that by the performance of the duties of the Law no man is justified, because his obedience is imperfect. The object of the Epistle of James is to prove that no man can be justified by a faith which does not tend to holiness.

If these designs be kept in view, it will be found that the apparent contradictions cease. The object of the first Epistle of John is defined in ch. 2^{1} as similar to the object of the Epistle of James.

The scope of the Epistle to the Romans, as compared with that of the Epistle to the Galatians, explains an apparent contradiction between these Epistles. In the one the observance of days is allowed, Ro 14^{5}. In the other it is forbidden, Gal $4^{10.11}$. The permission is given to *Jewish* converts, who had a tender conscientious scruple about setting aside the precepts of the Law in which they had been trained. The prohibition is addressed to *Gentile* converts, who were being taught by Judaizers that they could be saved only through the practice of the Jewish ritual. Their observance of days was owing to that feeling, and therefore condemned.

129. The fourth and most comprehensive rule of Biblical interpretation is: **Compare Scripture with Scripture.** It is by the observance of this rule alone that we become sure of the true meaning of particular passages; and, above all, it is by this rule alone that we ascertain the general teaching of Scripture on questions of faith and practice. A Scripture truth is really the consistent explanation of all that Scripture teaches in reference to the question examined; and a Scripture duty is the consistent explanation of all the precepts of Scripture on the duty. It is in studying the Scripture as in studying the works of God. We first examine each fact or phenomenon, and ascertain its meaning; and then classify it with other similar facts, and attempt to explain the whole. Such explanation is called a general law.

The importance of studying Scripture in this way is strikingly manifest from the mistakes of the Jews. 'We have heard out of the Law' (said they) 'that the Christ abideth for ever,' Is 9^{7} Dan 7^{14}, 'and how sayest Thou, The Son of man must be lifted up?' The everlasting duration of His kingdom was often foretold; but that He should be lifted up and cut off, though not for Himself, had been foretold too, Is $53^{4-6.12}$. A comparison of these passages would have removed the ground of their objections.

1. **Verbal parallels.**—Sometimes we compare the words of Scripture with one another, with the view of ascertaining their meaning.

David, for example, is called in 1 Sa 13^{14}, and in Ac 13^{22}, 'a man after God's own heart': and the question has been asked, whether this expression is meant to exhibit David as a model of perfection. On referring to 1 Sa 2^{35}, however, it will be found that the phrase is again used, 'I will raise Me up a faithful priest, who shall do according to that which is in Mine heart,' and this suggests the primary meaning, namely, that David, especially in his public official conduct, should fulfil the Divine will, and maintain inviolate the laws which God had enjoined. David was, indeed, an eminently devout man, yet it was in reference to his kingly office, primarily, that this description was given; however applicable it may also have been to the general spirit of piety which David evinced, and to the unfeigned penitence which he manifested after having been convicted of sin.

In reading Gal 3^{27}, we find the expression 'As many as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ': and we turn to Ro 13^{14}, and there find that to put on Christ is opposed to making provision for the flesh; and then again to Col 3^{10}, where the same phrase of 'putting on' the new man implies renewal in knowledge after the image of the Redeemer (verse 12), kindness, humbleness, meekness, and, above all, charity, the bond of perfectness. In Gal 6^{17} the Apostle says, 'From henceforth, let no man trouble me' (by such calumnies, as if I were a friend of the ceremonial law), 'for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus.' We turn to 2 Cor 4^{10}, where we find a similar phrase, 'bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus'; and, turning again to 2 Cor 11^{23-27}, we gather that these marks of the Lord Jesus were simply the scars of his sufferings for Christ, not (as some, interpreting the passage literally, have supposed) the marks or stigmata of the cross.

The comparison of the words of Scripture is often essential to the full apprehension of Scripture truth, especially in reference to proper names.

In Ps 106^{19}, for example, it is said, 'They made a calf in Horeb,' i. e. as appears from Ex 32, in the very place where God had taken them into covenant, and immediately after they had pledged themselves to renounce all idolatry.

In Is 29^{1-4} the distress of Jerusalem (Ariel) is made to appear the more poignant because it was 'the city where David dwelt.'

A close attention to Scripture will show that there are at least

three kinds of verbal parallels. *First*, where the same thing is said in the same words, as Ex 20^{2-17} Dt 5^{6-21} Ps 14, 53 Is 2^{2-4} and Mic 4^{1-3}. Here one passage may be used to prove the accuracy of the other, or the occasion or application of the passage may throw light on the passage itself. Is $6^{9,10}$ is referred to, for example, three times in the New Testament, and a comparison of the occasions will illustrate the saying. *Secondly*, where the same facts are narrated in similar and some identical words, as in Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy; Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles; and in the Gospels. In this case plain expressions illustrate difficult ones. One passage explains or modifies the other, as in Mt 2^{1} and Lu 2^{1-4}. *Thirdly*, where the words or idioms are used in different connexions, or where the phrases employed, though in themselves alike, are used in different senses, as in the following passages: Jn 1^{21} and Mt 11^{14}, Jn 5^{31} and 8^{14}, Ac 9^{7} and 22^{9}, Lu 1^{33} and 1 Cor 15^{24}.

Apparently different expressions are thus harmonized. God's offer, for example, of seven years' famine, 2 Sa 24^{13}, includes the three preceding years during which that calamity had continued, 2 Sa 21^{1}. In 1 Ch $21^{11,12}$ there is no reference to the preceding famine, and the offer is therefore of three years only. So 2 Sa 24^{24} 1 Ch 21^{25}.

Rule for considering verbal parallelisms.—In comparing Scripture with Scripture, therefore, ascertain, FIRST, the sense which the words to be examined bear in other parts of the same writer; then, in other writings of the same period; then, throughout the Bible. The meaning of words often changes; and all writers do not use the same word in the same sense.

In the Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians, for example, 'works,' when used alone, means the opposite of faith, namely, the performance of legal duties as the ground of salvation. In James the expression always means the obedience and holiness which flow from faith. In the one case, works are inconsistent with salvation; in the other, they are essential to it. So, in John 1^{1}, the term 'word' cannot be explained by 2 Tim 4^{2}, where the same term is employed, but in a different sense. The 'word' in Timothy means the gospel; in John it is a personal appellation.

2. **Parallelism of Ideas.**—Sometimes we have to compare the facts or doctrines of Scripture in order to gain a complete view of Scripture truth. This is the parallelism of ideas, and not of words only.

If, for example, we wish to know whether, in the Lord's Supper, the cup is to be received by all the faithful, or only by the priest, we turn to Mt 26^{27}, and we find the command, 'Drink ye all of it.' And, if it be asked whether 'all' means the Apostles only, or all in its most comprehensive sense, we turn to 1 Cor 11^{28}, where we find that in each case (six in all) the eating of the bread and the drinking of the cup are mentioned together, and enjoined on all Christians indifferently. The charge given to all is, 'Let a man examine himself; and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup.'

If we are investigating the meaning of Mt 16^{18}, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church,' we turn to 1 Cor 3^{11}, and find that the only foundation of the Church is Christ; also to the words of Peter himself in his first Epistle 2^{4-8}. In the sense, therefore, of being the foundation on which the salvation of the Church is to rest, the passage is at variance with other parts of Scripture. We turn, then, to Ac 2^{41} and to Ac 10^{44} 15^{7}, and find that Peter's preaching was the means of the first conversions, both among Jews and Gentiles. His labours, therefore, commenced the building, and in this sense he might be the foundation of the Church. Or, the statement may refer to Peter's confession, as Augustine and Luther held, or, more precisely, to the truth which he confessed; and then the parallel passages are Gal 1^{16} Jn 6^{51} 1 Jn 3^{23} $4^{2,3}$.

3. **Passages mutually interpretative.**—The most important rule in reference to this order of parallelism is, that a passage in which an idea is expressed briefly or obscurely is explained by those in which it is fully or clearly revealed; and that difficult and figurative expressions are explained by such as are proper and obvious.

The doctrine of justification by faith, for example, is explained briefly in Phil 3^{9}, and fully in the Epistles to the Romans and the Galatians.

'A new creature' (or 'creation,' R.V. marg.) is a figurative expression used in Gal 6^{15}, and is explained in ch. 5^{6} and in 1 Cor 7^{19}.

The 'charity' spoken of in 1 Pet 4^{8} is 'brotherly love,' and it is said to cover 'a multitude of sins'; not because it extinguishes them, and so justifies the sinner, but (as shown in Pr 10^{12}) because it veils them from exposure.

4. Many a passage is to be explained by a reference, not to any one or more texts, but to **the general tenor of Scripture.** We have examples of this kind of reference in

Gal 5^{14}, and again in 1 Cor 15^{3-11}, where the Apostle states the facts and doctrines connected with the death and resurrection of Christ, and then proceeds to prove other facts and doctrines from them.

The general tenor of Scripture is briefly called in the Bible, 'the Scriptures,' 1 Cor $15^{3.4}$; or 'all the Law,' as in Gal 5^{14}; or 'the mouth of all the Prophets,' Ac 3^{18} [a].

Illustrations.—1. God is set forth in Scripture as a Spirit, omniscient, and holy, and supreme. All passages, therefore, which seem to represent Him as material, local, limited in knowledge, in power, or in righteousness, are to be interpreted agreeably to these revealed truths.

2. If, again, any expositor were to explain the passages of Scripture which speak of justification by faith as if it freed us from obligations to holiness, such interpretation must be rejected, because it counteracts the main design and spirit of the gospel.

3. In Pr 16^{4}, it is said, 'The Lord has made all things for Himself: yea, even the wicked for the day of evil.' The idea that the wicked were created that they might be condemned, which some have founded upon this passage, is inconsistent with innumerable parts of Scripture (Ps 145^{9} Eze 18^{23} 2 Pet 3^{9}). The meaning therefore is that all evil shall contribute to the glory of God, and promote the accomplishment of His adorable designs.

130. Importance of Parallels.—This expository use of parallel passages is often of great moment.

Thus God, in several prophetic and poetical passages, represents Himself as giving men to drink of a cup which He holds in His hand: they take it, and fall prostrate on the ground in fearful intoxication. The figure is used with much brevity, and without explanation, in some of the Prophets [b]. In Is 51^{17-23} it is fully explained, and the meaning of the image becomes clear. The intoxication is desolation

[a] This 'tenor of Scripture' was often termed by theologians of the past 'the analogy of faith,' from an interpretation of Ro 12^{6}, where the word ἀναλογία is used. It is, however, now generally agreed that this passage refers to the *proportion* of the faith of those who 'prophesy.' They are to speak so far as they believe—no further. The phrase, therefore, is now seldom employed in the former sense.

[b] Nah 3^{11} Hab 2^{16} Ps 60^{3} 75^{8} &c.

and helplessness, more than can be borne; and the cup is the fury (or righteous indignation) of Jehovah.

In Ac 2^{21} we find it said that 'whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved'; and it may be asked, What is meant by calling upon the name of the Lord? Matthew tells us that 'not every one that saith, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven': so that the passage is not to be understood in its literal and restricted sense. On referring to Ro 10^{11-14}, and 1 Cor 1^{2}, we find that this language, which is quoted from the prophet Joel, implied an admission of the Messiahship of Christ, and reliance on the doctrines which He revealed.

Again, sin is called in Scripture a debt; atonement, the payment of a debt; pardon, the forgiveness of a debt. But we must not hold these terms so rigidly as to maintain that, because Christ died for man's sin, therefore all will be finally saved; or that, because He has obeyed the Law, therefore sinners are free to live in sin. Men are dead in sin, but not so dead as to be free from the duty of repentance; nor are they guiltless if they disregard the Divine call. These principles are sufficiently obvious when applied to passages which contain figures founded upon material objects. They are even more important, though less easy, when applied to passages which contain figures taken from human nature or common life. More errors, probably, have arisen from pushing analogical expressions to an extreme than from any other single cause; and against this tendency the sober, earnest student of the Bible needs to be specially upon his guard.

Summary.—To ascertain, therefore, the meaning of any passage of Scripture, whether the words be employed figuratively or literally, we must ask the following questions: What is the meaning of the terms? If they have but one meaning, that is the sense. If they have several, we then ask, Which of those meanings is required by other parts of the sentence? If two or more meanings remain, then, What is the meaning required by the context, so as to make a consistent sense of the whole? If, still, more than one meaning remains, What then is required by the general scope? And, if this question fail to elicit a clear reply, What then is required by other passages of Scripture? If, in answer to all these questions, it is found that more than one meaning may still be given to the passage, then both

interpretations are in themselves admissible; and we must either select the one which best fulfils most of the conditions, or look elsewhere for some further guide.

Theology is **the whole meaning of Scripture**—the sense taught in the whole of Scripture, as that sense is modified, limited, and explained by Scripture itself. It is a consistently interpreted representation of the statements of the Bible, on the various facts, doctrines, and precepts, which the book of God reveals. Thus is illustrated the ancient saying that 'the good theologian is really only a good interpreter'; *bonus theologus est bonus textuarius*[a].

Helps to Interpretation, from the Original Scriptures

131. Advantage of studying the Original Scriptures.—Thus far, questions of interpretation have been discussed with reference to the Bible as a *translation*. And unquestionably, the care and ability bestowed on its different versions, especially on the 'Authorized' and 'Revised,' with the copious assistance furnished by critical commentators, will enable the English reader to understand and judge for himself on all essential points. Still, there are obvious advantages to be secured only by students of the original Hebrew and Greek. The exact connotation of particular words, the niceties of idiomatic expression, the degrees of variation in synonyms, and the shades of difference in parallel passages, are all liable to be obscured in even the best translations. A few illustrations are all that can here be given.

132. The Study of Words: their Etymology.—We may seek for help from the WORDS THEMSELVES, their *etymo-*

[a] See *Theology an Inductive and a Progressive Science*, by Joseph Angus, D.D. (Present Day Tract, R.T.S.).

logy, the *analogy of speech*, and the meaning of similar words in *cognate dialects*.

1. **Etymology** traces the progress of the meaning of words, the changes of form which they undergo, and points out the significance of their several parts. It often gives the true meaning, explains the allusions of the context, and accounts for the rendering of ancient versions.

In Genesis, as R.V. marg., '*firmament*' should be translated '*expanse*,' the root meaning to beat or spread out.

The Hebrew phrase for 'making (lit. "cutting") a covenant' refers to the stroke that smote the victim, whose death confirmed it.

The original word for 'minister,' in Heb 8^{2} (λειτουργός), means, in classic Greek, one who performs a public work at his own cost; hence, who serves in a *special* office and ministry, as priests and Levites in the Old Testament; Apostles, prophets, and teachers in the New; in the above-quoted passage, our Lord Himself. With regard to angels, their ministry of worship expressed by this word and its cognates, is distinguished from their service to man. See Heb $1^{7.14}$ and comp. Mt 4^{8}. The word λειτουργία (whence 'liturgy') expresses the affectionate and reverential ministration of the Philippians to the Apostle Paul, Phil 2^{30}.

The Hebrew word for 'to make atonement' (כִּפֶּר, *kippēr*) means, properly, to 'cover over' sin, or expiate; and, secondarily, to propitiate, i. e. to remove the displeasure of another in relation to it. The corresponding word in the LXX and New Testament (ἱλάσκομαι or ἐξιλάσκομαι, subst. ἱλασμός) means, in the New Testament, first, to propitiate, and, secondarily, to atone for. In Heb 2^{17} it is rendered in A. V. 'make reconciliation,' and in R. V. 'propitiation,' also 1 Jn 2^{2} 4^{10}. 'Reconciliation,' καταλλαγή, with its kindred verb, is the result of expiation (Ro 5^{11} 11^{15} 2 Cor $5^{18.19}$, and the verb in Ro 5^{10} 1 Cor 7^{11} 2 Cor $5^{18.19.20}$). In Ro 5^{11} the A. V. reads 'atonement,' according to the Old English derivation of the word *at-one-ment*, but as this rendering produces confusion with that of ἱλασμός (see the converse in Heb 2^{17}, noted above) the R. V. rendering is preferable. In other passages, and from another point of view, the work of Christ is described as a redemption (ἀπολύτρωσις) or ransom, as from captivity or slavery—a stronger synonym of λύτρωσις, which also occurs Lu 1^{68} 2^{38} Heb 9^{12}. The ransom price is λύτρον, Mt 20^{28} Mk 10^{45}, or ἀντίλυτρον, 1 Tim 2^{6}. But sometimes the word is 'purchase' (ἀγοράζειν), Gal 3^{13} 4^{5} Rev 5^{9} $14^{3.4}$, the price being τιμή, 1 Cor 6^{20} 7^{23}. In Ac 20^{28} 'purchased' means simply 'acquired for Himself.' The

words *σώζειν*, 'to save,' and *σωτηρία*, 'salvation,' express in general the state into which those who believe are introduced; whether *past* 'ye have been saved,' Eph 2^5; *present* and *progressive* 'being saved,' Ac 2^{47} 2 Cor 2^{15}; or *future* 'we shall be saved' Ro $5^{9.10}$ R. V.

All these passages express in various ways the one thought that Christ died for us (*ὑπέρ*, 'on behalf of').

The Greek word for 'to sacrifice' (*θύειν*) means, in Homer, to burn wine or food in the fire as an offering, and in later writers, to sacrifice, properly so called. From this double meaning we have two sets of Greek words, the one referring to the slaying of victims (*θύω*, *θυσία*), and the other to the sweet odours, or incense, which were offered to God (*θυμίαμα*). Hence, also, *θύω* is used to translate two different Hebrew words, meaning, respectively, to sacrifice, and to burn sweet incense, 1 Sa 3^{14} 2 Ch 25^{14} 28^3 Jer 1^{16} 44^5.

Nearly all **Names** in Hebrew are significant, and a knowledge of their meaning throws light upon the context. The prophecies of Jacob concerning his sons refer in a great degree to their names, Gen 49 compared with 29, 30. See also Ru 1^{20} Gen 4^{16}.

It must, however, be borne in mind that etymology does not *of itself* fix the meaning of words; but only where usage is either doubtful or silent; and it is always, from the changes in connotation which words undergo, a somewhat uncertain guide.

2. **Analogies of Words.**—*Analogy* fixes the meaning of one form of a word from the known meaning of the similar form of another word, or of one word from the meaning of some opposite or corresponding one.

That 'folly' means sin in Gen 34^7 Dt 21^{21} Jos 7^{15} 2 Sa 13^{15}, may be gathered from the fact that 'wisdom' means, in various parts of Scripture, 'uprightness' or 'piety.'

Mt $6^{2.5.16}$ *ἀπέχουσι τὸν μισθόν*. Bp. Lightfoot on Phil 4^{18} remarks that 'the idea of *ἀπό* in this compound is *correspondence*, i. e. of the contents to the capacity, of the possession to the desire, &c., so that it denotes the full complement.' Thus *ἀποχή*, the noun, means in later Greek (Ulpian) a receipt in full, so that the phrase may be taken to mean 'they have their reward'; that is, all they will ever get.

In Mt 6^{11} Lu 11^3 *ἐπιούσιον* has been variously rendered; it does not occur in the LXX, or elsewhere. It has been translated, 'suitable for our subsistence' (*οὐσία*): a similar meaning, again, has been thought to be fixed by an analogous expression; *περιούσιον* means *more* than enough, and as *ἐπί* often indicates adaptedness, *ἐπιούσιον* means *just enough*, as Pr 30^8 'food convenient for me' (lit. the bread of my portion). The main difficulty of these interpretations is that, according

to analogy, the word would be ἐπούσιον (the ι elided); and the explanation now generally preferred is that the word is formed from the fem. participle ἐπιοῦσα, which, with the article ἡ ἐπιοῦσα (ἡμέρα) *the oncoming day*, signifies *to-morrow*. '"Food for the morrow" is equivalent to necessary or sufficient food. That state of mind is portrayed which, piously contented with food sufficing from one day to the next, in praying to God for sustenance, does not go beyond the absolute necessity of the nearest future.'—Grimm's *New Testament Lexicon*, edited by Thayer.

3. **Words in Cognate Languages—Hebrew.**—We may compare the words in Scripture with the same words *in cognate languages*. The value of cognate languages, though sometimes underrated, has been exaggerated. By modern lexicographers, they are applied within proper limits, and are of use chiefly when ancient versions differ, and where we have not, in Hebrew, materials sufficient for defining the meaning of terms.

a. They give the roots of words, the derivatives of which alone are found in Scripture, and thus aid to a consistent meaning.

אֵיתָן, *'eythān*, for example, is a somewhat rare word, translated 'mighty stream' (i.e. overflowing), Am 5^{24}; so Ps 74^{15}; 'strength (constant flowing), Ex 14^{27}; 'strong' (durable), Mic 6^{2}; 'mighty' (prosperous), Job 12^{19}; so Num 24^{21} Jer 49^{19}. The Arabic root means 'to continue running'; then, 'to continue' generally, i.e. 'to endure'; then, 'to be inexhaustibly rich'; hence the very various meanings of these texts. In Pr 13^{15} 'the way of transgressors' (or 'deceivers') is *'eythan*; probably 'headstrong,' 'regardless of consequences.' But R. V. translates 'rugged.'

b. They fix meanings which might otherwise have been only conjectural.

בָּלַג, *bālăg*, for example, occurs four times (in Hiphil): Job 9^{27}, 'comfort myself'; 10^{20}, 'take comfort'; Ps 39^{13}, 'recover strength' (R. V. marg., in these passages, 'brighten up'); Am 5^{9}, 'that strengtheneth the spoiled' (R. V. marg., 'causeth destruction to flash forth'); the versions are altogether uncertain. The Arabic root means 'to shine like the dawn'; 'to be, or to render, clear and serene.'

c. They discover the primary meaning of roots whose secondary senses only are found in Scripture, though the primary throws light on some texts.

גָּדַל, *gādhăl*, for example, means 'to be great,' but, in Arabic, 'to

twist,' and so 'to make great or strong'; hence a noun formed from it means 'fringes,' Dt 22^{12}; 'twisted thread,' or 'chain work,' 1 Ki 7^{17}. Another noun, similarly formed, means 'vigour,' Ex 15^{16}.

בָּרַךְ, *bārăk*, means, primarily, 'to kneel,' an attitude expressive of intense desire. Hence, 'to bless' and 'to curse,' Job 2^{9} (1^{11} 2^{5}). Or this latter sense may arise from the notion of *farewell*—'bid good-bye to.' So R. V. 'renounce.'

d. They explain idiomatic phrases, the true sense of which cannot otherwise be determined.

4. **Greek Classic Writers.**—In the case of the New Testament, we may seek the meaning of its words and phrases *in classic authors.*

πίστις, which commonly means 'faith,' is used in the sense of proof, 'the ground of assurance,' Ac 17^{31}, so Aristotle, Polybius.

ἐπαγγέλλομαι means, by itself, 'to announce,' and so 'to promise'; followed by certain nouns, it means to 'profess' (1 Tim 2^{10}). The word is regularly used for professing an art or science, Diog. Laert., *Proem.* 5, 12; Xen. *Mem.* i. 2, 7.

παρά, in composition, sometimes means in the Greek Testament 'by the way,' Ro 5^{20}; or 'secretly,' Gal 2^{14} Ju ^{4}; a usage found in classic authors, Polyb., Herodian, Plut.

τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος, Lu 15^{12}, is a legal phrase, indicating the share which fell to a man as heir; the use of the word here shows how completely the prodigal son was estranged from all filial feeling. Herodotus iv. 115; Diod. xiv. 17.

The apparently incomplete sentences in Lu 13^{9} 19^{42} are good Greek; the custom being, frequently, to omit the apodosis (or conclusion) of a sentence after εἰ or ἐάν, when the meaning is clear.

Other classical usages are illustrated by such instances as 'being thirty-eight years in his infirmity,' i. e. being ill for thirty-eight years, Jn 5^{5}, comp. 8^{57} 9^{21} 11^{17}; 'preserved Noah (the) eighth,' i. e. Noah and seven others, 2 Pet 2^{5}.

Bos, Elsner, Kypke, Grotius, Wolf, Wetstein, Raphel, have largely illustrated the phraseology of the New Testament from classic sources; Kypke and Raphel from particular authors, and the rest from classic authorities generally.

5. **Greek: Josephus and Philo.**—Or we may turn to the works of *Josephus* and *Philo*, which in this respect are not unimportant.

μετεωρίζεσθαι means, etymologically, to hang up in the air; but it is

used both by Philo and Josephus for 'to be of doubtful mind,' as in the New Testament.

ὑπωπιάζειν, literally, to 'hit under the eyes' (Lu 18^5 1 Cor 9^{27}), means, generally, 'to harass,' 'to afflict.'

ἐφημερία, Lu 1^5, translated 'course,' means the daily service of the Temple, which was discharged by bands of priests in rotation (Jos. *Ant.* vii. 14. 7).

κρίσις (judgement), Mt 5^{31}, was the name given to the court of seven magistrates, who had the power of punishing small offences (Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8. 14). See Schürer, *New Testament Times*, § 23. 11.

τὰ ἐγκαίνια (the renewal), Jn 10^{22}, is the term used by Philo as appropriate to express the Feast of the Dedication instituted by Judas Maccabæus, B.C. 164, after Antiochus' sacrilege, held on the 25 Kisleu, as *ἡ νηστεία* is the fast connected with the Day of Atonement, 10 Tisri, Ac 27^9.

6. **Aramaic expressions.**—Especially useful shall we find a reference to *Semitic languages*, including the Hebrew, from which, indeed, many New Testament phrases are taken.

Hebraisms may be seen in Heb 1^2, *αἰών* = עוֹלָם, *ōlām*, so *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* or *τοὺς αἰῶνας* = 'for ever'; *εἰρήνη*, often = שָׁלוֹם, *shālōm*, 'all blessing,' Mk 5^{34} Lu 7^{50}; 'peace to you' being the Hebrew form of 'salutation,' as *χαίρειν* is in Greek, Jas 1^1: sometimes *εἰρήνη* is used in the Greek sense for peace, Lu 14^{32}, and sometimes in the Christian sense, Ro 2^{10} Lu 19^{42}: *ἐξομολογεῖσθαι* (הוֹדָה, *hôdah*), 'to acknowledge the qualities of another'; so as 'to praise,' Mt 11^{25}: *πορεύεσθαι*, to indicate a 'mode of life': *εἰ*, elliptically employed after verbs of swearing, a strong negative, Mk 8^{12} Heb $4^{3.5}$: **ἀνάγκη* means 'straits, calamity,' Lu 21^{23} 1 Cor 7^{26}: 'to taste death,' Mt 16^{28}: 'heaven,' for God, Dn 4^{23}: see Mt 21^{25} Lu 15^{21}: **ὀφειλήματα ἀφιέναι* = 'to forgive sins': *δέειν* and *λύειν* (Aram., שְׁרָא אֱסָר, *shĕrē 'esār*), 'to forbid and to appoint' (see J. Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*, on Mt 16^{19}): 'to die in sin,' Jn $8^{21.24}$—'to perish because of sin' (Lev 5^6): *μοιχός*, used spiritually after the Hebrew (זָנָה, *zōneh*), not literally, as Jas 4^4. Some of these expressions marked (*) are found in classic authors, and are therefore called imperfect Hebraisms. See Ac 19^6 24^4 2^{14} Jas 2^9 Mt 15^2 Mk 7^{22}, ('evil') is *envious*.

For other Aramaic expressions, see § 40. The Hebraisms of the New Testament are fully illustrated in the works of Lightfoot, and in the supplementary volumes of Schoetgen. See also Winer's *New Testament Grammar*, ed. Moulton.

Glossaries and other Authorities.—Nor is it unimportant, in ascertaining the meaning of words, to consult ancient scholiasts and glosses, and the writings of the early Fathers. The first two give the meaning generally, without supplying evidence or proof passages, and the second give professed interpretations of Scripture language.

Hesychius, for example, explains the 'tittles' of the law, Mt 5^{18}, by defining the 'tittle' as the mark made in beginning to write a letter of the alphabet (*ἀρχὴ γράμματος*); and Suidas explains *βαττολογεῖν* by 'wordiness,' or 'much speaking' (*πολυλογία*), 6^{7}.

μυστήριον is explained by Clem. Rom. as a revealed secret.

αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός 1 Tim 2^{12}, means, according to early Greek usage, to kill her husband; but Theophylact explains it, 'to usurp authority over': so the English version. *εὐτραπελία*, which means, properly, 'lively ("nimble-witted") discourse,' is explained by Chrysostom in his oration on Eph 5^{4}, and by Jerome, as something said (generally foolish and sinful) to provoke a laugh; 'foolish jesting' gives, therefore, the precise meaning. That *ἀνάληψις*, Lu 9^{51}, refers to our Lord's ascension may be gathered from Ac 1^{2}, and it is proved by a similar use of this phrase in the Fathers.

The chief Greek glossaries are the lexicons of Hesychius (400), Suidas (980), and Phavorinus (1523); the *Etymologicum Magnum* (tenth century), with the works of Photius (850) and Zonaras (1118). The glosses, or explanations of the first four, so far as the New Testament is concerned, were edited by C. G. Ernesti, 1785–6, and those of Zonaras in 1618. Matthæi (Mosc. 1774–5, Lips. 1779) and Alberti (Lug. Bat. 1735) have also published glosses, selected from the margin of ancient manuscripts of the New Testament.

For a view of the explanations of New Testament terms given in the Fathers see by far the completest book on this subject, the *Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus* of Suicer, 2 vols., 1728; or indexes of good editions of the Fathers themselves. For the teaching of the Fathers on books or parts of Scripture, see the compendious collections published under the name of *Catenæ*: some of their comments are good, many trifling.

The Septuagint.—The chief help to the study of the New Testament, however, remains: the version of the LXX: words and phrases being often taken from that version, and used in an altogether peculiar sense.

διαθήκη, for example, means in classic Greek, 'a disposition of

property,' or 'a will,' but in the LXX it is frequently used to translate בְּרִית, *bĕrîth*, in the sense of 'covenant' or 'agreement between parties,' which classic authors express by *συνθήκη*, Gen $17^{9.10}$. It is applied to the agreement between Abraham and Abimelech, 21^{27-32}; between Laban and Jacob, 31^{44}; compare Dt 7^{9} 17^{2} 29^{9} Ps 131^{12} Is 42^{6}. See further in Ch. I, § 7.

ἀλήθεια, 'truth,' is used for, and means 'all probity or holiness,' Ps 26^{3} 86^{11}, and also 'substance,' as opposed to 'type or shadow,' Jn 1^{17} Heb 8^{2}.

νόμος = תּוֹרָה (*tôrah*), the whole Mosaic economy, Dt $4^{8.44}$ Mt 5^{17} 7^{12} Jn 1^{17}.

συγκρίνειν means in classic Greek, 'to confound, or mix'; in the LXX, it is 'to interpret, or explain,' Gen 40^{8}, and hence perhaps 1 Cor 2^{13}, 'expounding spiritual things by spiritual' (neut.), 'adapting the discourse to the subject.' Another interpretation, which takes the latter adj. as masculine, 'interpreting spiritual things to spiritual persons,' is generally abandoned. But see R. V. and margin.

ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό = יַחְדָּו, *yachdav*, 'together,' Mt 22^{34} Ac 1^{15} 2 Sa 2^{13} 10^{15}.

πᾶσα σὰρξ οὐ = 'no flesh shall,' = לֹא כָל, *kōl lō*, Ex $12^{15.43}$: sometimes the LXX use the classic phrase, *οὐκ οὐδείς*, Ex 10^{15}.

The LXX translate חַטָּאת, *chattā'th*, in the sense of 'sin offering,' by the phrases *περὶ ἁμαρτίας*, Lev 5^{8} 7^{37}; *ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτίας*, Lev 8^{2}; *ἱλασμός*, Eze 44^{27}, and hence the use of these phrases in the New Testament. On the other hand, it may be noticed that the Hebrew word means both 'an act of sin' and 'a sinful disposition,' as does *ἁμαρτία*. For the *act*, however, *ἁμάρτημα* is occasionally used, Mk 3^{28} Ro 3^{25} 1 Cor 6^{18}. See Trench, *Synonyms*, xvi, and Grimm's *Lexicon* (Thayer), s. v. *ἁμαρτία*.

Ὁ *ἐρχόμενος*, 'the coming one,' is the LXX translation of a phrase of Messianic import, and hence applied frequently in the New Testament to our Lord, Lu 3^{16} Heb 10^{37}, not '*shall* come,' but 'is coming,' or 'is to come,' Rev 1^{8}.

The New Testament also abounds in Hellenistic constructions: nouns absolute for example, Rev $1^{4.5}$ 2^{20} 3^{12}; unusual governments; adj. with gen. case and no prep., Jn 6^{45}, and the contrary, Mt 27^{24}; *ἀπό* in the sense of 'by' or 'because,' מִן, *min*, Mt 11^{19} 18^{7} Gal 1^{1} 2 Cor 3^{18} Ac 22^{11}.

Causation is expressed in Hebrew by a special verbal form, the 'Hiphil' conjugation. Thus, from the verb 'to be king' the Hiphil signifies 'to make a king,' 1 Sa 15^{35}. But in the LXX the two meanings (neuter and active) are often expressed by the same word, as in this passage, and Gen 2^{9} 4^{11} 19^{21} Num 6^{25} 34^{17} Is 61^{11}. Hence the New Testament also frequently employs the neuter verb with active meanings, as Mt 5^{45}, *ἀνατέλλει*, 'rises' = 'causes to rise'; *βρέχει*, 'rains' =

'causes to rain'; *μαθητεύειν*, 'to be disciples' (as 27^{57}) or 'make disciples, 28^{19}.' See also 1 Cor 3^{6}. Sometimes 2 Cor 2^{19} has been regarded as a similar instance, A. V. 'causeth us to triumph.' But see R. V. and compare Col 2^{15}.

133. Grammatical peculiarities.—Many specialities of Greek idiom, overlooked in the Authorized Version, and successfully reproduced by the Revisers, have been already noted. Others, however, there are which it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to express distinctly in translation. A few instances only can be given, but these will be sufficient to show the interest and importance of studying the original.

(*a*) **Tenses (Greek).**—The force of the tenses is to be especially noted, as in the 'imperfect' or continuous tenses, present and past. Thus 1 Jn 3^{9}, 'Whosoever is begotten of God doeth no sin . . . and he cannot sin.' The original shows the meaning to be 'doth not—cannot habitually live in sin'; *character* being denoted rather than single acts. 1 Cor 15^{26} 'the last enemy is abolished,' rather, 'is being abolished,' the tense expressing both the process and the certain issue. Instances of the past imperfect are as in Mk 5^{34}, 'He expounded all things to His disciples,' that is, it was His custom to do so. In such passages as Mt 25^{8} Lu 1^{59} Eph 5^{22} Heb 11^{17} the force of the tense is accurately marked in R. V.; so in the sentences where the imperfect describes a continuous action, the aorist a completed one, Mt 4^{11} 8^{15} 13^{8} 17^{7} 25^{5} Lu 7^{23}. Sometimes again, the distinction, though existing, is too slight to be successfully shown in translation, while nevertheless it exists, 1 Cor 10^{4} Jas 2^{22}.

(*b*) Very noteworthy also is the use of the **Personal Pronoun** as subject of the verb, to express emphasis or contrast. This is sometimes shown in R. V., as Mt 1^{21}, 'it is He that shall save' (none other); but it is often impracticable to retain the special shade of meaning in translation. Thus,

λέγω ὑμῖν (as Mt 5^{18}, &c.) is 'I say unto you,' but ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν (as generally in the Sermon on the Mount) '*I* say unto you,' the emphasis implying His own authority. Jn 5^{39} 'Ye' (pronoun not expressed) 'search the Scriptures, because *ye yourselves* think,' &c., implying a strong reproach of inconsistency; 1 Cor 1^{23} '*We* preach a crucified Christ,' in strong contrast with Jewish and Greek teachers; Mt 28^{5} 'Do not *you* fear,' i. e. as the soldier-guards have feared. See also Jn 9^{34} 10^{36} 13^{6} Ac 4^{20} 22^{21} 1 Cor 15^{30} 1 Jn 4^{10}. This form of emphasis is often a useful help to interpretation [a].

(*c*) **The Definite Article.**—The peculiarities of the Greek tongue are nowhere more instructive or beautiful than in the use of the Article. Many illustrations of this have already been given in the chapter on Bible translation, § 115, where it is seen that the Revised English version has in almost numberless instances reproduced this usage, with great gain in perspicuity and precision. Some other points remain, which can be fully appreciated only by reference to the original.

It must be remembered that the Greek has only one Article, the Definite. The Indefinite Article is expressed in the New Testament by τις, 'a certain'; occasionally by εἷς, 'one'; more generally by the omission of the article altogether. In Mt 13^{3} 'a sower' (A. V.) is in the Greek ὁ σπείρων, literally, 'the (man) sowing': the Article marks out the definite sower in the concrete picture presented. As the picture is typical the sense is not misrepresented by 'a sower,' i. e. any sower; but there is gain of vividness in following the Greek idiom 'the sower' (R. V.).

Special uses of the Article beyond those indicated in § 115, 2, and embodied in the R. V., are such as the following.

1. With proper names, the names of persons well known

[a] See further, *Handbook to the Grammar of the Gk. Test.*, § 169.

generally take the Article ; but because they are well known, their names also dispense with it. Hence Ἰησοῦς and ὁ Ἰησοῦς : see Mt $1^{1.16}$ $2^{16.19}$. Names generally, when mentioned the first time, omit the Article, and take it when the mention is repeated. But to this rule there are many exceptions. No absolute rule can therefore be given on the matter. Χριστός in the Gospels and Acts almost invariably has the Article, being strictly an appellative, 'the Christ,' 'the Messiah,' Mt 2^{4} 11^{2} 22^{42} Jn 7^{31} 12^{34} Ac 17^{3}. But in the Epistles the appellation has already become a recognized proper name. Thus, in the writings of Paul, 'the Christ' about 90 times ; 'Christ' alone, 120. The name of the Holy Spirit, Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, requires the Article when He is spoken of *personally*, but when the reference is to His manifestation and gift to man, the Article is almost invariably omitted. Thus the literal rendering of Jn 7^{39} is '(the) Spirit as yet was not,' Article omitted ; the sense being 'the Spirit was not yet *given*.' So Ac 19^{2} 'We did not so much as hear whether there be (a) Holy Spirit,' i. e. 'whether the Holy Spirit was *given*.' Compare Jn 16^{13} with Jn 20^{22}.

The name for God may be Θεός or ὁ Θεός. The *general* difference is that without the Article the name stands for the *general conception* of the Divine character, but with the Article, God as *revealed*, 'our God.' See 1 Cor 3^{6-10}. Κύριος, *Lord*, when used of Christ, naturally takes the Article, but in proportion as it tends to become a proper name (and after prepositions) may omit it. As the LXX equivalent of Jehovah, Lord, it is regularly without the Article[a].

2. With abstract nouns and words made abstract, when the abstract word simply denotes a quality, the Article is omitted. Where the abstraction is personified, or made a separate object of thought, the Article is employed. Thus

[a] See, for further examples, *Handbook to the Grammar of the Gk. Test.*, § 217.

1 Cor 13^{1} 'if I have not love,' a feature of character (Article omitted); but verse 4 'Love suffereth long,' &c. (Article expressed), and so throughout the chapter. So Ro 5^{13} 'sin was in the world,' as an attribute of character (Article omitted), illustrating the statement of verse 12, that Sin had entered into the world (Article expressed), a personified abstraction. See also 1 Cor 15^{26} death; Jn $7^{22.23}$ circumcision; 1 Cor 11^{14} nature; Mt 11^{19} Phil 3^{3}. Numbers in the abstract (*τὸ ἕν*, unity, the state of being one), and the infinitive used as a noun, *τὸ πιστεύειν* = believing, belong to this class. The use of the Article with *νόμος*, *law*, is special. Without the Article the stress is on the fact of a Divine law, rather than on the code which embodies it: Ro $2^{12.23.25}$ $3^{20.28.31}$ 13^{10} Gal $2^{16.19}$ $3^{2.5.10}$. In most of these passages, so important in their bearing upon the Apostle's argument, the R. V. has 'the law' in the text, and 'law' in the margin. Where *νόμος* has the Article the reference is to the Mosaic Law, except when the meaning is limited by accompanying words.

3. Usage with special words and phrases. (*a*) Nouns representing objects in nature which *exist singly*, and entire natural substances, generally take the Article. Mt 5^{18} heaven and earth; 24^{29} the sun; Mk 13^{28} summer (= *the* hot season); light; salt; water. Generally, *we* omit the Article in these cases, whenever, at least, the use of it would indicate some particular thing, rather than the universal substance.

(*b*) Words indicating *entire species*, either of animals or objects, generally take the Article. Mt 6^{1} men, as men; 7^{6} dogs, as dogs; Mt 10^{16} serpents; Lu 21^{29} any fig-tree; Jas 3^{4} (the) ships. The omission of the Article would indicate that the statement made is true only of some, and not of the class as a whole. The English generally omits the Article in these cases.

(*c*) Whole *classes of agents* generally take it. Mt 10^{10} the labourer; Mt 18^{17} the publican; Mt 25^{32} the shepherd.

(*d*) The phrase εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα or τοὺς αἰῶνας, 'for the age' or 'ages' = eternity, the conception being in the one case of a mighty whole, in the other of successive epochs. The point of view is different but the meaning is the same—intensified in the phrase εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, 'for ever and ever,' Heb 13^{21}, &c.

(*e*) With Adjectives signifying all, every, many, other, the use of the Article should be specially noted. 'All the house' is πᾶς ὁ οἶκος, 'every house' πᾶς οἶκος. See Eph 3^{15} 'every family'; 2 Tim 3^{16} 'every Scripture.' 'Many' and 'the many' must also be distinguished; the latter denoting sometimes the majority, sometimes the whole mass; Ro $5^{15.19}$.

The exceptions to these rules are numerous, but easily classified. The grammatical term *anarthrous* means 'without the Article.' Anarthrous words in Greek are occasionally such as the following:—

(*a*) Generally, where the intrinsic meaning is so clear that perspicuity is not affected by the omission.

Certain principal objects of nature, Mt 13^{6} 1 Cor 15^{41} 2 Pet 3^{10} Jas 1^{6}. Superlatives and ordinal numbers. Compare Mk 15^{33} Mt 14^{25} 22^{38}. So to a certain extent in English.

(*b*) Nouns not in themselves definite, when made definite by the context, so that no ambiguity can arise.

(*c*) Nouns used generically, i.e. with prepositions, Mt 17^{9} Mk 10^{37} Jn 1^{1} 16^{4} Ro 8^{1} 1 Cor $14^{19.28.35}$. This idiom is very frequent and cannot always be represented in English, although analogous with our phrases *at home*, *at church*, &c.

A very striking use of the omission of the Article is to call attention to the idea in the anarthrous word.

Heb $1^{1.2}$ of old, God spake by the prophets, now by One Who is Son, ἐν υἱῷ: so 7^{28}. 1 Cor 14^{4} *himself* (alone)—*a church*. Jn 3^{6} that which is born of the flesh (article) is *flesh* (no article). Ro 11^{6} grace (article) is no longer *grace* (no article), 7^{13}.

The Article in enumerations.—Here the rule is that when two or more words are connected, and are descriptive

of a single object, or of objects regarded as single, the Article is prefixed (as in English) to *the first only*, as:—

Mt 12^{22} (rec.) 'the blind and dumb.' Lu 11^{28} they that hear and keep. Jn 6^{40} Ro 2^{3} Eph 2^{20} 5^{20} 1 Jn 2^{4}.

Similarly the Article is not repeated, when a single class of things or qualities is described by an enumeration of its parts. Eph 3^{18} 'what is *the* breadth and length,' &c., describing the extent. Mt 20^{19} to mock (article), and scourge, and crucify—the sufferings. So Ac 8^{6} 1 Cor 11^{22}.

Nor when the words used express one idea, though a complex one. Phil 2^{17} 'upon the sacrifice and service of your faith.' 2 Cor 13^{11} 'the God of love and peace' (not and *of* peace). Col 2^{22} Tit 2^{13} 2 Pet 1^{10}.

Nor when two or more persons make one agency, or a single act is directed against two or more objects. Mt 17^{1} Peter (article) and John and James; Lu 19^{11} Ac 3^{11} 17^{15}.

On the contrary, the Article is repeated when distinctness is given to each of the things named. Mt 23^{23}. Tit 3^{4} the goodness and the philanthropy of God our Saviour appeared.

The Article is also repeated when the words employed are not descriptive of a single object, or of what is regarded as such. Lu 12^{11} (three different classes of tribunal), comp. Mk 15^{1}. Heb 11^{20} Isaac blessed τὸν Ἰακώβ and τὸν Ἡσαῦ (two separate blessings). 2 Th 1^{8} to those who know not ... and to those who do not obey (two different characters, the ignorant and the disobedient).

These rules are of special importance for the interpretation of the following passages:—

Tit 2^{13} the 'appearing of the glory of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ.'

2 Th 1^{12} 'according to the grace of our God and the Lord Jesus Christ.'

Eph 5^{5} 'the kingdom of Christ and God.'

1 Tim 5^{21} 'I charge thee in the sight of God, and Christ Jesus, and the elect angels.'

Ju 4 'denying our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ.'

These renderings are all from the R.V. although doubt is thrown upon some of them in the margin. Plainly, they come under the rule of enumeration with the omitted Article.

The doctrine of the Greek Article was first formally examined in modern times by Granville Sharp; afterwards, at greater length, and with more accuracy, by Dr. Middleton, some of whose conclusions, however, have been overthrown

by more recent investigation. The above rules are in harmony with such of Middleton's as have stood the test, and may be compared with the full discussion of the subject in Winer's *Grammar of the New Testament*; T. S. Green's *Grammar of the New Testament Dialect*, and similar works.

On the Interpretation of the Figurative Language of Scripture

134. Thus far, the literal meaning of Scripture has chiefly been considered. But its **figurative language** is so varied and important as to demand separate treatment. It is from misunderstanding this that many errors in interpretation have arisen, while it presents at every point almost boundless suggestiveness and instruction.

The Spiritual through the Natural. — Most of the language which men employ in reference to spiritual things is founded on *analogy* or *resemblance*. This is true of all language which speaks of the mind or of its acts; and especially of the language of early times. In the infancy of races, language is nearly all figure, and describes even common facts by the aid of natural symbols. The very word 'spirit' means in its derivation, 'breath.' The mind is said to *see* truth, because the act of the mind by which it is perceived bears some resemblance to the act of the eye. To 'reflect' is literally to bend or throw back, and so to look round our thoughts. 'Attention' is a mental exercise, analogous to the *stretching* of the muscles of eye and head in the examination of some outward object. It is a necessity of the human intellect that facts connected with the mind, or with spiritual truth, must be clothed in language borrowed from material things. To words exclusively spiritual or abstract we can attach no definite conception.

And God is pleased to condescend to our necessity. He leads us to new knowledge by means of what is already known. He reveals Himself in terms previously familiar. If He speak of Himself, it must be in words originally suggested by the operations of the senses. If He speak of heaven, it is in figures taken from the scenes of the earth.

We say that God 'condescends to our necessity.' It might be as truly said that God, having stamped His own image upon natural things, employs them to describe and illustrate Himself. 'The visible world is the dial-plate of the invisible.' Spiritual thoughts were first embodied in natural symbols; and those symbols are now employed to give ideas of spiritual truth. To the devout man, especially, the seen and the unseen world are so closely blended that he finds it difficult to separate them. The world of nature is to him an emblem, and a witness of the world of spirits. They proceed from the same hand. In his view—

> Earth
> Is but the shadow of heaven, and things therein
> Are each to other like.

Nor is it only from the nature of spiritual truth, or from the marvellous connexion which subsists between material and spiritual things, that the inspired writers employ the language of figure. Such language is often most appropriate, because of its impressiveness and beauty. It conveys ideas to the mind with more vividness than prosaic description. It charms the imagination while instructing the judgement, and it impresses the memory by interesting the heart.

1. Sometimes, for example, common things are associated in Scripture with what is spiritual.

God dwells in 'light.' He sets up His 'kingdom.' Heaven is His 'throne.' The Christian's faith is described in the same order of terms. He 'handles' the word of life. He 'sees' Him Who is invisible. He 'comes' to Christ, and he 'leans' upon Him.

2. Sometimes the Bible, borrowing comparisons from

ourselves, speaks of God as having human affections, and performing human actions.

Hands, eyes, and feet are ascribed to God; and the meaning is that He has power to execute all such acts as those organs in us are instrumental in effecting. He is called 'the Father'; because He is the Creator and Supporter of man, and especially, because He is the Author of spiritual life. He 'lifts up the light of His countenance' when He manifests His presence and love (Ps 4^{6}), and He 'hides His face' (Ps 10^{1}) when these blessings are withheld.

In Gen 6^{6} it is said, 'It repented the Lord that He had made man,' i. e. He had no longer pleasure in His work, so unpleasing and unprofitable had man become by transgression.

In Gen 18^{21} He says, 'I will go ... and see,' to imply that He would examine the doings of men before condemning them.

In Jer 7^{13} He says, 'I spake unto you, rising up early and speaking,' to imply the interest He felt in their welfare, and the care He had taken to instruct them.

In Dn 4^{35} it is said, 'He doeth according to His will,' i. e. not capriciously, but independently of men, and so as justly to require our entire submission.

It may be observed generally, that though there is identity both of nature and of manifestation between the love and wisdom, the knowledge and holiness, which we ascribe to God, and those same attributes in men, there is yet a vast difference between them. In God is the infinite and perfect reality of which the noblest human attainment is but a pale copy.

Some remarks in reference to the employment of this analogical language are important.

1. **Figurative language essentially true.**—The figures which are used in speaking of spiritual truth are not used, as in common description, to give an unnatural greatness or dignity to the objects they describe. The things represented have much more of reality and perfection in them than the things by which we represent them. It is so in all such language. The mind *weighs* arguments, and that action is more noble than the mechanical habit from which the expression is taken. God *sees* much more perfectly than the eye: and the light in which He dwells is very feebly represented by the material element to which that

name is applied. When it is said that the Church is the bride of Christ, the earthly relation is but a lower form of the heavenly, in the same way as earthly kingdoms and earthly majesty are but figures and faint shadows of the true. The figurative language, then, which we are compelled to employ when speaking of spiritual things is much within the truth, and never beyond it.

2. **Manifold meanings in figurative language.**—It is a necessary result of the employment of such language, that figurative expressions are sometimes used in different senses.

If God is said, for example, to repent, and to turn from the evil which He had threatened against sinners, and in other places it is said that God is 'not a man, that He should lie; neither the son of man, that He should repent' (Num 23^{19})—in the first it is meant that God changes His dealings with sinners when they change: and in the second, that there is no fickleness or untruthfulness in Him.

In Ps 18^{11} God is said to make 'darkness His secret place,' and in 1 Tim 6^{16} He is said to dwell in light. In the first case, darkness means inscrutableness, and in the second, light means purity, intelligence, or honour. In Ex 33^{11} it is said that God 'spake unto Moses face to face,' and in verse 20 He declares that no man can see His face and live. In the first passage, the expression means to have intercourse without the intervention of another; in the second, to have a full and familiar sight of the Divine glory.

3. **Figures drawn from historical facts.**—It may be remarked further, that the Bible often speaks of spiritual truth in terms suggested by the facts of Jewish history, or by rites of Divine institution.

The idea of holiness, e. g., for which, in its Christian sense, the heathen have no word, was suggested to the Jews by means of a special institution. All animals common to Palestine were divided into clean and unclean. From the clean, one was chosen without spot or blemish: a peculiar tribe, selected from the other tribes, was appointed to present it, the offering being first washed with clean water, and the priest himself undergoing a similar ablution. Neither the priest, nor any of the people, nor the victim, however, was deemed sufficiently holy to come into the Divine presence, but the offering was made without the holy place. The idea of the infinite purity of God was

thus suggested to the mind of observers; and holiness, in things created, came to mean under the Law, 'separation for sacred uses,' and under the gospel, freedom from sin, and the possession, by spiritual intelligence, of a 'Divine nature.'

The demerit of sin, and the doctrine of an atonement, were taught in words taken from equally significant rites. The victim was slain, and its blood (which was the *life*) was sprinkled upon the mercy seat, and towards the holy place; and while the people prayed in the outer court, they beheld the dark volume of smoke ascending from the sacrifice, which was burning on their behalf. How plainly did this suggest that God's justice was a consuming fire, and that the souls of the people escaped only through vicarious atonement! The ideas thus suggested were intended to continue through all time, and we find them often expressed in terms borrowed from these ancient institutions.

Under the Law, again, the priests were clothed in white linen, and dressed in splendid apparel. Expressions taken from these customs are hence employed to indicate the purity and dignity of the redeemed.

The whole of Jewish history is in fact typical. See § 140.

4. **Old words with new meanings.**—It may be remarked, again, that many of the expressions of the New Testament are employed in senses entirely unknown to the common writers of the Greek tongue.

The New Testament term for *humility* meant, in classic Greek, mean-spiritedness, and though Plato has used the word once or twice to indicate a humble spirit, this is confessedly an unusual meaning, *De Leg.* iv. The Greeks had no virtue under that name, and even Cicero remarks that meekness is merely a blemish, *De Off.* III, 32. *Grace* in the sense of Divine unmerited favour: *Justification* as an evangelical blessing: *God* as a holy, self-existent, merciful Being: *Faith* as an instrument of holiness, and essential to pardon: all these terms are used in Greek, and in all versions of the New Testament, with peculiar meaning. To us all, they are old words in a *new* sense. All language exhibits similar changes: 'miscreant' meant originally, in the language from which it is taken, an unbeliever, then a vicious person; 'sycophant' meant fig-shower; and 'sincerity,' without wax, alluding perhaps to the practice of the potter in concealing the flaws of his vessels. In Scripture such changes are unusually numerous. Happily, however, there need be no misapprehension

concerning the terms which are thus employed, as Scripture itself has defined the ideas they convey, sometimes by a reference to the old dispensation, sometimes by a formal or indirect explanation of the terms themselves.

135. Figures as classified by Grammarians.—It may aid the reader in interpreting Scripture, to know how the various figures which our condition compels us to use in speaking of spiritual truth are classed and named by grammarians. A knowledge of the *names* is not essential, but a knowledge of the differences on which the classification is founded may often prove so.

When a word which usage has appropriated to one thing is transferred to another, there is a TROPE or figure: and the expression is tropical or figurative. If, however, the first signification of a word is no longer used, the tropical sense becomes the proper one. The Hebrew word 'to bless,' for example, meant originally 'to bend the knee' (see § 132, 3, *c*), but it is not used in Scripture in that sense, and therefore 'to bless' is said to be the *proper*, and not a figurative meaning.

When there is some *resemblance* between the two things to which a word is applied, the figure is called a METAPHOR, as 'Judah is a lion's whelp,' Gen 49^9; 'I am the true vine,' Jn 15^1.

When there is no resemblance, but only a *connexion* between them, the figure is called SYNECDOCHE: as when a cup is used for what it contains, 1 Cor 11^{27}: or as when a part is put for the whole, 'my flesh' for 'my body' in Ps 16^9.

When the connexion is not visible, or is formed in the mind, as when the cause is put for the effects, or the sign for the thing signified, the figure is called METONYMY, as in Jn 13^8, 'If I *wash* thee not, thou hast no part with Me,' where by wash is meant purify or cleanse. Sometimes the figure is explained in Scripture itself, as in 1 Pet 3^{21}, where baptism is explained as there meaning 'the appeal' (see R. V. marg.) 'of a good conscience toward God.'

136. All the foregoing figures refer to *single* words. The following refer to several words, as they make a continued representation or narrative.

Allegory.—Any statement of supposed facts which admits of a literal interpretation, and yet requires or justly admits a moral or figurative one, is called an ALLEGORY. It is to narrative or story what trope is to single words, adding

to the literal meaning of the terms employed a moral or spiritual one. Sometimes the allegory is *pure*, that is, contains no direct reference to the application of it, as in the history of the Prodigal Son. Sometimes it is *mixed*, as in Ps 80, where it is plainly intimated (verse 17) that the Jews are the people whom the vine is intended to represent.

Parable.—When the allegory is written in the style of History, and is confined to occurrences that may have taken place, it is called a PARABLE.

Type.—As an Allegory is a double representation in *words*, a TYPE is a double representation in *action* ; the literal being intended and planned to represent the spiritual.

Symbol.—Other outward representations of spiritual truths are SYMBOLS. Generally speaking, the Type is prefigurative, the Symbol illustrative of what already exists. Baptism is thus an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace; and the bread we eat in the holy Supper, and the wine we drink, are symbolically the body and the blood of Christ. See also 1 Ki 11^{30} 2 Ki 13^{14-19} Jer 27^{2-8} 13^{1-7} 18^{2-10}. Some things, as the Passover, were both symbols and types. They commemorated one event, and they prefigured another. Language drawn from types and symbols is subject to the same rules as ordinary figures of speech.

137. Figurative language explained by the context.—In order to determine the sense of the figurative language of Scripture, the rule of attention to the context, already given, must be carefully observed. That a given expression is figurative is sometimes stated or implied, the meaning being then appended. But sometimes it is necessary to look to the general argument or allusions of the passage.

'To bear one's sin' is a figurative expression, meaning to suffer the punishment of it. Hence the synonymous expressions to be *cut off*, and to *die*, are connected with it, Ex 28^{43} Lev 19^{8}.

In Ho 4^{12}, and elsewhere (especially in Ezekiel), a spirit of lasciviousness is said to have drawn the Israelites astray; but then it is immediately added, 'They sacrifice upon the tops of the mountains, and burn incense upon the hills,' to show that it is spiritual unfaithfulness of which the prophet is speaking.

When Christ said, 'He that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me,' Jn 6^{57}, the Jews misunderstood His meaning, but He had Himself already explained it: for in the same discourse He had repeated the truth in literal terms, 'He that believeth on Me hath everlasting life.' This text is understood literally by most Roman Catholic writers, though our Lord expressly gave it this figurative interpretation; and the ordinance of the Supper, to which they suppose it to refer, had not then been instituted, and was entirely unknown to His hearers.

In Mt 26^{28} Christ calls the wine His blood: and again, in verse 29 He calls the same cup the fruit of the vine, implying that His first expression was figurative. The expression in 1 Cor 3^{15}, 'He himself shall be saved, yet so as through fire,' is the passage in Scripture generally quoted in favour of the doctrine of purgatory. Attention to the context will show that the whole is figurative. The wood, hay, stubble, which man may build on the foundation, are expressions confessedly figurative. The foundation itself is figurative, and means Christ; and the expression 'so as through fire' must be understood in a sense consistent with the general argument of the passage.

Similar figurative expressions may be seen in 1 Cor 5^{8} Mt $16^{6.12}$. See also Is 51^{1} Eph 5^{32}, where the union of Christ and His Church (and not marriage) is spoken of as the mystery.

138. Laws of Symbolic Language.—Besides such figurative expressions as are noted above, there are in Scripture many symbols taken from the natural world, and appropriated to the expression of spiritual truth. Some of these need no special elucidation; they explain themselves. Thus it is obvious and appropriate to employ Light to symbolize truth, knowledge, happiness; and Darkness for the reverse. Hunger and thirst, again, expressly denote the unsatisfied desires of the soul. Innumerable symbols are furnished by the animal kingdom. The Lion stands for kingliness, strength, ferocity; the Wolf for selfish greed; the Lamb for simplicity and meekness; the Dove for innocence and purity; the Fox for craftiness, and so with the rest.

Certain symbols, however, spring from special association

and circumstance. Some are Oriental, and point to the manners and customs of different peoples; others are derived from history, some are the product of imagination; and there are symbols which, according to different points of view, have very various and even opposite applications. Thus the harvest may denote the reaping of what is ripe for judgement, or the ingathering of what refreshes and strengthens. Fire, again, may be regarded as destructive or as purifying. The leaven may be a diffusive influence for blessing or for corruption. It is needful, in these and many other instances, to pay regard to the purpose and context of the passage. This needs much discrimination, and there is no more fertile source of error than that which arises from misapplied symbols[a].

139. Allegory.—A Symbol wrought out into details, especially where it partakes of a narrative character, passes into Allegory. A simple instance is in Gen 49^{9}. The symbol of Judah is a 'lion's whelp,' and it is thus allegorized:—

> From the prey, my son, thou art gone up:
> He stooped down, he couched as a lion,
> And as a lioness; who shall rouse him up?

More extended allegories are those of the vineyard Is 5^{1-7}, of the vine out of Egypt Ps 80^{8-19}, of the two eagles and the vine Eze 17^{3-10}, of the lioness and her whelps Eze 19^{1-9}, and several other prophetic pictures in the same book; and, in a different form, the very striking series of figures respecting husbandry in Is 28^{23-29}. See also the description of old age in Eccl 12^{2-6}, and in the New Testament the account of the bread from heaven Jn 6^{26-51}, also of the builders and the building, 1 Cor 3^{10-15}. The Book of Revelation, again, is a series of allegories.

The entire Book of Canticles is regarded by the earlier expositors

[a] It may be useful here to note that in theological language the word *Symbol* has also another meaning. Probably from the general idea of correspondence or agreement (*συμβάλλειν*, to throw or bring together) it comes to denote the *Creed*; and 'Symbology' or 'Symbolics' is the Science of Creeds. A want of regard to this distinction has occasionally led to some confusion.

generally, and by many of the moderns, as an extended allegory, shadowing forth the spiritual affection between Christ and His Church. Such expositors explain the book by reference to other places, where the relation between God and His Church is similarly described, Ps 45. See Eze 16 and 23 throughout, also Ho 2, 3, where, however, we probably have a real occurrence described with spiritual applications.

In Gal $4^{22,23}$ there is a sustained allegorical application of leading facts in the history of Abraham and of Israel.

Interpretation of Allegories.—The great rule of interpretation is to ascertain the scope of an allegory either by reference to the context, or to parallel passages; and to seize the main truth which it is intended to set forth, interpreting all accessories in harmony with the central truth. See further on this rule under the head of PARABLES.

Some expositors have unwarrantably turned histories into allegories, disregarding the distinction between legitimate illustrations arising out of the narratives, and a mystical rendering of the whole as fable. Or else the literal meaning is conceded and the allegorical superadded. According to some early interpreters of Scripture, every passage had three senses, literal, ethical, and mystical. Thus the journey of Eliezer to Paddan-aram to seek a wife for Isaac contained not only an interesting fact in the patriarchal history, with important moral lessons founded on the readiness of the maiden to leave a land of idolaters to cast in her lot with the Chosen People; but an allegory of the Divine Father commissioning His Spirit to go forth into the world to win a Bride for His Son, thus forming an expressive parable of Redemption. There is, in fact, unlimited scope for fancy, if once the principle be admitted, and the only basis of the exposition is found in the mind of the expositor. The scheme can yield no *interpretation*, properly so called, although possibly some valuable truths may be illustrated.

Such applications, indeed, sometimes vindicate themselves by their appositeness. Thus, the history of the FALL (Gen 3) represents in the most vivid way the sources of temptation, with the entrance, the progress, and the power of sin. The narrative of JONAH again depicts, by way of example, the mission of God's Israel to the heathen, inculcated but neglected; and (to those who lived after the Captivity) the consequence of unfaithfulness, in the engulfing of the disobedient messenger of God by the terrible Babylonian power, as by some sea-monster (see Jer $51^{34,44}$), followed by release for the sake of a renewed

mission. Such undoubtedly was one lesson at least of this wonderful book, well called 'the most catholic book in the Old Testament.'

It cannot be too clearly borne in mind that the *interpretation of an allegory* is one thing, *allegorical interpretation* quite another[a].

140. Scripture Types.—The *word* 'type' (Gr. τύπος) does not occur in the English Scriptures, excepting only in the margin (rec.) of 1 Cor 10^{11}. Literally it means *stamp* or *impress*; and it is rendered variously, according to the context, as 'figure,' 'pattern,' 'ensample.' It has, in fact, the same ambiguity as our word 'copy': the imitation made or that which is to be imitated. Hence 'antitype' (ἀντίτυπον), lit. 'answering to the type,' is either the reality or the imperfect shadow. In theological language it has been appropriated to the former meaning; but in Heb 9^{24} it has the latter, while in the only other New Testament instance, 1 Pet 3^{21}, it is ambiguous: baptism is either the reality foreshadowed by the Flood, or its cleansing is a symbol of that salvation which purifies the heart and conscience. The English word 'type' in its theological use thus better corresponds with σκιά, 'shadow,' as in Col 2^{17} Heb 8^{5}, 10^{1}. In its customary acceptation it expresses a symbol of that which is to come, whether a personage, incident, or institution. The following points must be especially noted:—

1. That which is symbolized—the 'antitype'—is the ideal or spiritual reality, at once corresponding to the type and transcending it.

2. The type may have its own place and meaning, independently of that which it prefigures. Thus the brazen serpent brought healing to the Israelites, even apart from the greater deliverance which it was to symbolize.

3. Hence it follows that the type may at the time have been unapprehended in its highest character.

[a] On 1 Sa 13^{1}, 'Saul was a child of one year when he began to reign, and he reigned two years over Israel,' the Douay version thus comments: 'That is, he was good, and like an innocent child, and for two years continued in that innocency.'

4. As with regard to symbols generally, the essence of a type must be distinguished from its accessories.

5. The only secure authority for the application of a type is to be found in Scripture. The mere perception of analogy will not suffice. Expositors have often imagined correspondence where none in fact exists, and where, even if it did, there is nothing to prove a special Divine intent. So to Clement of Rome 'the scarlet line' of Rahab (Jos $2^{18.21}$) typified the atonement of Christ.

In the words of Bishop Marsh: 'To constitute one thing the type of another, as the term is generally understood in reference to Scripture, something more is wanted than mere resemblance. The former must not only resemble the latter, but must have been *designed* to resemble the latter. It must have been so designed *in its original institution*. It must have been designed as *preparatory* to the latter. The type, as well as the antitype, must have been preordained, and they must have been preordained as constituent parts of the same general scheme of Divine Providence. It is this *previous design* and this *preordained connexion* which constitute the relation of type and antitype [a].'

Since the beginning of our race, there has accordingly been a connected series of representations, each embodying some truth, and all tending to illustrate the office and work of our Lord, or the character and history of His people.

Jewish history and worship form one grand type. The Old Testament (as Augustine long ago remarked) is the New veiled, and the New Testament is the Old unveiled [b].

The ancient Jewish people, for example, sustained to God the same relation as is now sustained by the Christian Church, and by each Christian. Their sufferings in Egypt, their deliverance under Moses, their wanderings in the desert, their entry into Canaan, prefigure important facts in the history of all Christians. The Israelites not only lived under the same authority with us, and were governed by an economy of discipline like our own, but the facts of

[a] *Lectures on the Criticism and Interpretation of the Bible*, p. 374.

[b] 'Novum Testamentum in Vetere latet, Vetus in Novo patet.'

their history were typical of the history of the Church, Ro 2^{28} 1 Cor 10 Heb 4 1 Pet 2^{5-10} Rev 15^{5}.

It is observable, too, that the relation between the Jewish people and some of the nations that surrounded them is a type of the relation between the Christian Church and its adversaries: Sodom and Ishmael, Egypt and Babylon have all their representatives in the history of the true Israel, Gal 4^{25} Rev 14^{8}.

It may be added, that while in one aspect Israel as the Servant of Jehovah is the representative of our Lord, individual Israelites were types of Him; as Moses among the prophets, David and Solomon among the kings; and hence expressions which were originally true of the type are applied to Christ as the antitype or fulfilment, Acts 13^{34}.

And as the people, so the rites and worship of the Old Testament were typical. The whole dispensation was the shadow of good things to come, not the very image or substance of them. That substance was Christ, Heb 10^{1}.

Rules of Interpretation.—In the interpretation of all these types, and of history in its secondary or spiritual allusions, we use the same rules as in interpreting parables and allegories properly so called: compare the history or type with the general truth, which both the type and the antitype embody; expect agreement in several particulars, but not in all; and let the interpretation of each part harmonize with the design of the whole, and with the clear revelation of Divine doctrine given in other parts of the sacred volume.

Cautions.—In applying these rules, it is important to remember that the inspired writers never destroyed the historical sense of Scripture to establish the spiritual; nor did they find a hidden meaning in the words, but only in the facts of each passage; which meaning is easy, natural, and Scriptural; and that they confined themselves to expositions illustrating some truth of practical or spiritual

importance, Heb 5^{11} 9^{5}[a]. Indeed, an examination of the passages quoted from the Old Testament in the New will show that they are adduced exclusively with reference either to the personal history and mediatorial office of our Lord, to the spiritual character of His kingdom, or to the future destiny of His Church.

141. Parables, and their interpretation.—A PARABLE, in the general acceptation of the word (from *παραβολή*, 'comparison'), denotes a narrative constructed for the sake of conveying important truth. Occasionally, the word has a wider meaning, partly owing to the fact that the Hebrew *māshāl* is used both for parable and proverb. So in Mt $15^{14.15}$ Lu 4^{23} 'parable' is used for 'proverb,' and in Heb 9^{9} 11^{19} for 'figure' or 'type.' Conversely, in Jn 10^{6} (see $16^{25.29}$) the word 'proverb' (*παροιμία*) is rendered 'parable.' There is, in fact, a close connexion between the two. 'A Proverb is often a concentrated Parable' (*Abp. Trench*).

The parable is distinguished from the allegory, in that where the latter *personifies* attributes and qualities themselves (as Faithful, Great-heart, Giant Despair), the personages of the former *illustrate* these in their words and conduct. It is different again from the fable, in limiting its scope to the human and the possible. Thus, in the Old Testament there are two fables, that of the trees choosing a king, Judg 9^{8-15}, and of the thistle and the cedar, 2 Ki 14^{9}. The parables, or apologues (as they are sometimes called), are those of the poor man's ewe lamb, 2 Sa 12^{1}, of the two brothers that strove together, 2 Sa 14^{6}, and of the prisoner that made his escape, 1 Ki 20^{39}.

The constant employment of parables in the ministry of our Lord (Mk 4^{34}) served at once to illuminate His teaching by contact with common life and human interests, to set forth the nature of His kingdom, and to test the disposition of His hearers. There were those who seeing saw not, and hearing did not understand. That is, they might be interested in the story, but cared not for the

[a] The use of Old Testament Scripture in Ro 7^{1-6} Gal 4^{21-31} Heb 7^{1-3} is exceptional.

spiritual truths which it was intended to convey. Or they might be convicted and ashamed (Mt 21^{45} Lu 20^{19}), while only aroused to deeper animosity.

Classification of our Lord's Parables has been variously made. Something with regard to their special intent and application may be learned from considering the main design of the Gospel or Gospels in which they respectively appear. In the Introductions to the Gospels, accordingly (Part II), the parables peculiar to one, or common to more, will be found enumerated.

Neander has classified the parables of our Lord with reference to the truths taught in them, and their connexion with His kingdom.

Parables on the progress of the Kingdom of Christ:—

1. The sower, Mt 13^{3-8} Mk 4^{3-8} Lu 8^{5-8}.
2. The tares, Mt 13^{24-30}.
3. The mustard-seed, Mt $13^{31.32}$ Mk 4^{30-32} Lu $13^{18.19}$.
4. The leaven, Mt 13^{33} Lu $13^{20.21}$.
5. The net, Mt. $13^{47.48}$.

Moral requisites for entering the Kingdom of Christ:—

(1) Anti-pharisaic parables, or negative requisites.

6. The lost sheep, Mt $18^{12.13}$ Lu 15^{4-6}.
7. The lost piece of money, Lu 15^{8-10}.
8. The prodigal son, Lu 15^{11-32}.
9. The Pharisee and the publican, Lu 18^{9-14}.
10. Strife for the first places at feasts, Lu 14^{7-11}.

(2) Positive requisites.

11. The two sons, Mt 21^{28-30}.
12. The hidden treasure, Mt 13^{44}.
13. The pearl, Mt $13^{45.46}$
14. The tower and the warring king, Lu 14^{28-33}.
15. The wedding garment, Mt 22^{11-14}.

Call to enter the Kingdom of Christ.

16. The feast, Mt 22^{1-14} Lu 14^{16-24}.

Activity in the Kingdom of Christ.

17. The vine, Jn 15^{1-8}.
18. The wicked vine-dressers, Mt 21^{33-41} Mk 12^{1-9} Lu 20^{9-16}.
19. The talents, Mt 25^{14-30} Lu 19^{12-27}.
20. The barren fig-tree, Lu 13^{6-9}.
21. The labourers, Mt 20^{1-16}.

The true spirit of the Kingdom of Christ.

(1) Forgiveness.

22. The good Samaritan, Lu 10^{30-37}.
23. The unforgiving servant, Mt 18^{23-34} Lu $7^{41.42}$.

(2) The right use of worldly possessions.
24. The unjust steward, Lu 16^{1-12}.
25. The rich man and Lazarus, Lu 16^{19-31}.
(3) The Christian spirit under the name of prudence.
26. The ten virgins, Mt 25^{1-13}.
(4) Prayer.
27. The importunate widow, Lu 18^{1-8}.
28. The friend on his journey, Lu 11^{5-10}.

A more elaborate arrangement is proposed by Bp. Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, Appendix F, which may also be consulted. Here the ground of classification is the twofold source from which the parables are drawn—the material world and the relations of man. Greswell, more simply, divides the parables into the prophetic and the moral. But these schemes, useful as an aid to memory, and as exhibiting the main scope of the several parables, must not be taken as limiting their meaning within hard and fast lines. They have liberal, limitless applications, if interpreted with both judgement and sympathy.

The first rule of interpretation is: Ascertain what is the scope, either by reference to the context, or to parallel passages; and seize the one truth which the parable is intended to set forth, distinguishing it from all the other truths which border upon it, and let the parts of the parable that are explained be explained in harmony with this one truth.

In the parables, the scope is generally told us in the context; sometimes by our Lord Himself (Mt 22^{14}), sometimes by the inspired narrator in his own words (Lu 18^{1}).

Sometimes it is set forth at the commencement of the parable (Lu 18^{9} 19^{11}); sometimes at the close (Mt 25^{13} Lu 16^{9}); sometimes at both, as in Mt $18^{21.35}$ Lu 12^{15-21}.

Sometimes we need to turn to a parallel passage; as, for the full interpretation of Lu 15^{4-7}, we turn to Mt 18^{12-14}.

When from none of these circumstances the scope can be gathered, we must then have recourse to the occasion or the subject of the parable itself. The meaning of the parables of the Barren Fig-tree (Lu 13^{6-9}), and of the Prodigal Son, is gathered in this way. The progress of the parables, and the study of the circumstances under which they were spoken, will clearly show the design of our Lord in uttering them.

Any interpretation of a parable or allegory that is inconsistent with the great truth, which it is thus seen to involve, must be rejected.

The parable of the Good Samaritan, for example, has been supposed to refer to our Lord; the wounded traveller, to our sinful race; the priest and Levite, to the moral and ceremonial law; the inn, to the Church, and the two pence to the two sacraments: an interpretation entirely inconsistent with our Saviour's design. It is not enough that the truths which we suppose to be contained in the allegories and types of Scripture are Scriptural; they must be evidently shown to be involved in the purpose for which each type was instituted, and each allegory spoken.

This remark is applicable to all parts of the parables, and it may be reversed. We have the right interpretation when all the main circumstances are explained. If any important member of the narrative is rendered by our interpretation nugatory, or is paralysed, the interpretation is false; and when we have a true interpretation of the whole, that interpretation of any part is to be rejected which does not conduce to the consistency and force of the whole. In interpreting the parable of the Prodigal Son, for example, some expositors have descended to details which are quite inconsistent with the obvious scope and force of the narrative. The alienation of the prodigal from all home affections—his resolution to seek happiness where God is not—the fearful change in his position, and his consciousness of that change—his attempt to repair his broken fortunes—his bitter disappointment and want—the resolve to return—the father's love and welcome—the festal rejoicing which his return created—the discontent and grudging spirit of the elder brother—the father's noble remonstrance—all illustrate the great truth of the passage, that God welcomes the return of the vilest of His children, and all are important. To deny, as some have done, that the prodigal's desertion of his home has any reference to man's apostasy weakens the parable: but to teach that the ring is the everlasting love of God, or the seal of the Spirit—that the sinner is called the younger son, because man as a sinner is younger than man as righteous—that the citizen to whom he went was a legal preacher—that the swine were self-righteous persons—that the husks were works of righteousness—that the fatted calf was Christ—that the shoes were means of upright conversation, the doctrines and precepts of the Scripture—that the music which the elder brother heard was the preaching of the gospel—is to call off our attention from the great lesson of the parable to doctrines which the disciples could not have found in the parable itself. By turning the most delicate touches into important Scriptural

truths, the great design of the whole is obscured, and we learn to bring a meaning *into* the passage, and not *out* of it; a habit which we are likely to employ with more serious mischief in other places.

While, then, everything that is explained must be explained with reference to the general intention, it is an important question, how far the details of the parables and allegories of Scripture have reference to corresponding facts in the application of them. From the inspired interpretation of parables given us in Scripture, we may gather that we are to avoid both the extreme of supposing that only the design of the whole should be regarded, and the extreme of insisting upon every clause as having a double meaning.

In the parables of the Sower and of the Tares, for example, which our Lord Himself interpreted, the moral application descends to the minutest particulars of the narrative; the birds, and thorns, and stony ground have all their meaning; and, as Tholuck has remarked, it may be said generally that the similitude is perfect, in proportion as it is on all sides rich in applications. Even in these parables, however, not all the circumstances are explained. 'While men slept,' in the parable of the Tares (Mt 13^{25}), and the phrase 'I cannot dig,' and 'to beg I am ashamed,' in the parable of the Unjust Steward, have neither of them any application in the explanation which our Lord Himself gave.

Second Rule of Interpretation.—Even of doctrines consistent with the design of the parable or type, no conclusion must be gathered from any part of either of them which is inconsistent with other clear revelations of Divine truth.

If it be attempted to prove from the fact that the rich man in the parable prayed to Abraham, that therefore we are to pray to glorified saints, we reject the interpretation as inconsistent with the express statements of Scripture; or if, from the parable of the Faithful Servants, or the Prodigal Son, it be gathered (as by the Pelagians) that God pardons us without sacrifice or intercession, on the ground simply of our repentance or our prayers, we reject the interpretation as inconsistent with the whole tenor of the Bible (Jn 8^{24} Heb 10). Nor can we gather from Lu 15^{7} that the Pharisees were just men who needed

no repentance, nor from verse 29 that the elder brother had never transgressed his father's command; nor from Lu 16^{8} that dishonesty is in any good sense true wisdom. It may not again be inferred from the parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard (Mt 20^{1-16}) that those who turn to God at the close of life shall have an equal blessedness with those who were early called by His grace. On this the parable says nothing. Our Lord evidently speaks of His kingdom generally, in which the Jews had the prior call, while the Gentiles were to be gathered in as at 'the eleventh hour.'

Third Rule of Interpretation.—It is important that parables should not be made the first or sole source of Scripture doctrine. Doctrines otherwise proved may be further illustrated or confirmed by them, but we are not to gather doctrine exclusively or primarily from their representations.

From the parable of the Unjust Steward some of the early Scripture expositors gathered, without reason, the history of the apostasy of Satan. He was said to be the chief among the servants of God, and being driven from his place of trust, he drew after him the other angels, whom he tempted with the promise of lighter tasks and easier service. Nor can we conclude, from the parable of the Ten Virgins, that because five were wise and five foolish, half of those who make a profession of religion will finally be saved and half finally perish. In the parable of the Lost Sheep, one in a hundred only went astray; in that of the Lost Piece of Silver, one in ten was lost: neither circumstance can be made the foundation of a doctrine.

Both these rules are a modification, as it will be seen, of the rule which bids us interpret according to the general teaching of Scripture, and to look to passages that are clear for the meaning of those that are abstruse.

Prophecy and its Interpretation

142. In an important sense **the whole of the Old Testament dispensation** was prophetic. 'For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John[a].' The word that discloses God in the midst of Israel, guiding, chastising, forgiving; the word that urges to the fear and service of

[a] Mt 11^{13}

Jehovah, is a prophetic word, whether it take the form of Law, History, Psalm, or Wisdom Literature. Hence the title 'Former Prophets,' given, as already noticed, to the historical books ; they are a *speaking forth* of the mind and will of God in the history of His chosen people. Possibly it was within the 'Schools of the Prophets' that the earliest sacred literature appeared, and there also that the later books were compiled. One function of the prophetic gift was to produce that record of the history of Redemption which lies embedded in the Old Testament as its Divine message to the world.

143. But we are here concerned with Prophecy in its narrower sense and in its highest development. There appeared throughout the history of Israel **a succession of teachers and preachers of righteousness,** religious reformers, who spake because the 'Word of the Lord' came to them. Bound together by no ties of a common order, as were the priesthood, separated by long gaps of time, they yet followed one another in a Divine order, and at the divinely appointed time. 'In many parts and in many manners' God spake in the Prophets, until the time came for the perfect revelation in the Son, and the final message of the Cross. As Luke has it[a] : God 'spake by the mouth of His holy prophets, which have been since the world began.' Abraham, Moses, Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha stand in this succession. With Joel and Amos begins the series of prophets who have left written records of their preaching ; and with varied gift and varied message they appear till Malachi closes the Old Testament with mingled warning and promise. 'No such names are to be found in the history of any other nation, or in the history of all the other religions combined, heroes of battles the most sublime the world has ever seen'[b].

[a] Lu 1^{70} Ac 3^{21}. [b] C. A. Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 27.

Definitions.—The Greek word prophet (προφήτης) means *one who speaks forth a message*. It represents in Scripture a Hebrew word *nābhi* (נָבִיא), which also means *speaker*, or rather, *spokesman*, one who speaks for another. The prophet was, essentially, a speaker for God.

In common acceptation the element *pro-* (πρό) in this word has taken on its other meaning of *before*: to *prophesy* is interpreted as to *predict*. It has already been seen (§ 72) that prediction is an important aspect of the prophet's message. But it is no part of the meaning of the word, either in Greek or Hebrew. The prophet is not characteristically one who foretells the future: he forthtells the Divine word. His task is to interpret the present, under guidance of the Spirit of God which possesses him. He hears and speaks: that is all his function.

144. Nature of the Prophetic Gift.—It follows from this that the prophetic gift is twofold: **Inspiration** (comprising both *insight* and *foresight*), and **Utterance.** The key, therefore, to the *interpretation* of prophecy is to regard the prophet primarily as a preacher of righteousness. 'The prophets are before all things impassioned seers of spiritual truth and preachers of religion[a].' The books of the Prophets are collections of sermons, preached as opportunity offered. Especially at some crisis in the nation's history, when men were readier to discern and to obey, the prophet stood forth as the spokesman of God to his countrymen. Incidentally he was often a religious reformer, defying kings and princes, shaping the destinies of the nation by a statesmanship in which he dared to make the fear of God the supreme factor. But always the ethical interest was first. To him law and policy, whether for individual or state, were summed up in the one word Righteousness, the ultimate requirement of 'the Holy One of Israel.'

145. Prophecy as Historical.—Hence the prophets were *men of their time*. It is true that they were also above their time in natural endowment and moral enthusiasm,

[a] Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 144.

and were, indeed, for all time, in virtue of the Eternal Spirit Who spoke through them. But a preacher speaks first to his own generation; his text and its application have their proper setting in contemporary life, however pertinent they may prove to a remote posterity. This is obviously the case as regards the prophets who appear in the historical books, Samuel, Elijah and Elisha, Nathan and Gad. To a large extent the prophecies of Jeremiah are interwoven with the history: so are some of those of Isaiah. Often the connexion is more difficult to trace, but the conviction that it exists will yield the first and most fruitful principle of Interpretation of Prophecy [a].

From this feature of prophecy it follows that it is of vital importance to understand the history and circumstances of the writer. The student of prophecy must ascertain the exact position of the prophet in relation both (1) to his age, and (2) to his predictions. (1) Each prophet was a messenger to his own times. From the circumstances of his country he borrowed his imagery, and to the moral and physical condition of his country as existing or as foreseen he adapted his message. If he describes immediate good, the future is the completion of the good he describes. Even when that future is distant it is ever linked with the present by phrases level to the capacity, and adapted to the wants of the age. (2) Further, his standpoint in relation to his own predictions must be noted. Let the student take his place, if possible, by the prophet's side, and look with him on the past and on the future. A more vivid illustration and a deeper comprehension will thus be gained.

To understand Isaiah, for example, read repeatedly 2 Ki 14-21, 2 Ch 16-22. Mark also the connexion and, if possible, the centre of each prediction. In studying the last six chapters of Zechariah first of all consider the important question whether they proceeded from that prophet, or if not, to what generation they belonged. See Introductions to the Prophetical Books in Part II.

[a] The lack of consecutive order in the writings of the greater prophets, as these have come down to us, much obscures the connexion of some of their sermons with the occasion of them in contemporaneous history. One of the chief debts we owe to modern study of the Old Testament is the re-editing of the prophetical books in their historical sequence and setting. Dr. George Adam Smith's *Isaiah* and *The Book of the Twelve Prophets* are notable examples.

146. Prophecy as typical and predictive.—If it is needful for the interpretation of any prophecy to recover its historical setting, it is no less needful to recognize that its meaning is not thus exhausted. It has been pointed out that the most characteristic element of Old Testament prophecy is the Messianic hope (§ 73). This is true, indeed, of law and history as well as of prophetical writings. It all looks forward. Such partial fulfilments as may be traced in Jewish history leave unexplained and unexhausted types and predictions on which the prophet lavishes all the wealth of an inspired imagination. Much that stands written was dark until Christ came; much still waits its interpretation in the future glories of His kingdom. It is this *excess* of prophecy over historical fulfilment, both in regard to fact and to language, that constitutes its *double sense* or its *twofold application*. 'The Old Testament is one vast prophecy. . . . The application of prophetic words in each case has regard to the ideal indicated by them, and is not limited by the historical fact with which they are connected. But the history is not set aside. The history forces the reader to look beyond [a].' It is on this principle that the New Testament writers make such free and varied use of Old Testament scripture in reference to Christ (see § 152 sq., 'Quotations of the Old Testament in the New'). 'The words had a perfect meaning when they were first used. This meaning is at once the germ and the vehicle of the later and fuller meaning. As we determine the relations, intellectual, social, spiritual, between the time of the prophecy and our own time, we have the key to its present interpretation. In Christ we have the ideal fulfilment [b].'

Primary and ultimate reference in Prophecy.—The bearing of this general principle on the interpretation of prophecy is twofold. (1) Its direct and primary reference

[a] Bishop Westcott, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 69. [b] *Ibid.*

finds expression in language suitable to its wider application. On the other hand, (2) its ultimate meaning is conveyed under the limitations of language adapted to its primary reference.

Illustration may be given of both points. See also § 157.

(1) 'Prophecy continually applies to one object by anticipation and partially, and to another completely; the earlier object being the representative of the later. In the promises to Abraham (Gen 15, &c.), in the prediction of Jacob concerning Judah (Gen 49), of Balaam (Num 24^{17}), of Nathan (2 Sa 7^{12-17}), and of David in some of the Psalms, in many parts of Isaiah and other prophets, there is this double reference. As the history of the Jews foreshadows the history of the Christian Church, so does prophecy the experience of both. Not all parts of prophecy are thus applicable, nor, judging from examples given in the New Testament, are any parts thus applicable to be applied indiscriminately. In fact, the double application is restricted to similar events under two different and remote economies, and is never extended to two different events under the same economy. Prophecies on the restoration from Babylon (Jer 31 Is 52), on the setting up of the tabernacle of David (Am 9), and on his kingdom (2 Sa 7), had all, to a certain extent, an immediate fulfilment, and are yet applied in the New Testament to the gospel dispensation.

(2) 'And now we see why the language of the prophets, as applied to those nearer events which occupy, so to speak, the foreground in their vision, must be hyperbolical. Beginning with those near events, beginning amidst all familiar objects and images, Israel, Jerusalem, the Law, the Temple, Babylon, Egypt, Edom, or Tyre, defeat and victory, captivity and deliverance, famine and plenty, desolation and prosperity, other and higher hopes possess their minds almost immediately, distinct in their greatness, undiscerned in their particular forms. Thus into the human framework there is infused a Divine spirit, far too vast for that which contains it. The names are the same, but the meaning is different; and thus there arises a necessary inequality between the prophecy and its historical fulfilment, which, if we do not understand how it has arisen, must be a source of extreme perplexity. And some, finding that the historical fulfilment has as yet borne no proportion to the greatness of the prophecy, look for another fulfilment with the same forms as the former, which shall accomplish what is yet wanting. Thus, because the restoration of the Jews from Babylon no way answered to the greatness of the prophetic picture which announced it, there are some who look for another historical restoration, which shall place the

Jewish nation in Canaan under all those forms of happiness described by the prophets; that is, in the enjoyment of plenty, of peace, and of dominion. But the greatness of the prophecy never really belonged to the historical forms with which it was connected, and can find its answer only in that which indeed was the original subject which called it forth, the triumph of perfect good, or, in other words the glory of Christ and of His kingdom.'—Dr. Arnold of Rugby, *Sermons on the Interpretation of Prophecy*, 1844 (Note 6).

Inexhaustible Meanings.—It follows from this double sense that, as in the first fulfilment there is a limit to the blessing foretold, so, in the second, there is a fullness of meaning which it seems impossible to exhaust. To David, for example, the promise was partly conditional, partly absolute. As conditional, it cannot be applied to Christ, and as absolute, it cannot be applied in its fullest literal meaning to David. 'I will stablish the throne of his kingdom *for ever*. If he commit iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men . . . but My mercy shall not depart away from him, as I took it from Saul,' 2 Sa 7^{13-15}. The condition is twice repeated (1 Ki 2^4 9^4), and the promise that David's seed should occupy the throne *for ever* had of course, in a literal sense, but a limited fulfilment. 'For ever' may mean till the end of the kingdom, or till the end of the polity; the phrase implying perpetuity of duration throughout the period or system of things to which reference is understood to be made. In fact, David's family occupied the throne till the end of the kingdom, holding it through twenty descendants for upwards of 400 years; while, in the brief duration of the northern kingdom (254 years), there were nineteen kings, of *nine* different families. There was, therefore, a literal fulfilment of the promise, but clearly a fulfilment less glorious than when applied to the Messiah. In truth, prophecy borrowed from previous types is as unequal to describe His kingdom as is narrative, founded on ritual institutions, to describe His office. We call Him Prophet and Priest, our Sacrifice and

Intercessor; but no one of the institutions whence these names are taken, nor all combined, can speak His glory or tell His worth.

Imagery and Symbol.—Seeing that the future was thus represented in visions, and under a typical dispensation, it can excite no surprise that the whole is often described in figurative and allegorical or symbolical terms. As everything earthly supplies images for describing things spiritual, so does the whole of the Jewish economy. Language borrowed from nature and from the Law is therefore appropriate alike. The unity and vastness of God's plans are illustrated by it all.

Under the gospel, for example, Messiah is to be King, and hence the prophets represent Him as possessed of all the characteristics of the most distinguished princes of the Jewish theocracy, and more than once apply to Him the title of David, who was, in many respects, the ideal of kingly authority, Ho 3^5 Jer 30^9 Ac 13^{34}. They describe His character as Prophet or Priest in the same strain, multiplying images in each case adapted to give the most exalted ideas of His office, Ps 110 Zec 6 Heb 7. In the same way, they speak of His kingdom, either of grace or glory, as the highest perfection of the Jewish economy. It is called Jerusalem, or Zion, Is $62^{1.6.7}$ 60^{15-20} Gal 4^{26-28} Heb 12^{22}. See also Is $60^{6.7}$ 66^{23}. To Joel, the outpouring of the Spirit appears as a general extension of the three forms of Divine revelation which occur in the Old Testament. The idea that all nations should worship the true God is expressed by the declaration that they will join in the Feast of Tabernacles, Zec 14^{16}. The glory of the Messiah's days is represented by the prosperous times of David and Solomon, Zec 3^{10} (compare 1 Ki 4^{25}); the prevalence of peace, by the union of Judah and Israel, Ho 1^{11} Is 11^{13}. In the same way, the enemies of the kingdom of the Messiah are not only called by the names given to the enemies of the ancient theocracy, viz. the nations of the Gentiles, but they often bear the name of some one people who, at the time, were peculiarly inimical or powerful. In Is 25 they are called by the name of Moab, in Is 63 and Am 9^{12} by the name of Edom, and in Eze 38 by the name of Magog. There are, of course, specific prophecies concerning most of these nations and cities, but their names are also used generically, or figuratively, in these and other passages. Hence is foretold the restoration, in the latter days, of Moab and Elam, Jer 48^{47}

49^{30}. Hence, also, the 'blessing to the earth' is to proceed in 'that day' from Israel, Assyria, and Egypt, Is 19^{18-25}.

The Scheme of Prophecy.—Nor need this peculiarity of prophetic language excite surprise. It is found pervading the whole ancient dispensation. That dispensation began with the **promise to Abraham.** His descendants were to be as the stars, and in him and his seed all nations were to be blessed. The first part of this prediction was fulfilled in his literal seed, as Moses implies, Ex 32^{13} Dt $1^{10.11}$. Paul also applies it to his spiritual seed, even to all who believe, Ro 4^{16} Gal $3^{8.9}$. The blessing upon all nations, the second part of the promise, is also upon all as believers, and is received through Christ, Who is the seed according to the flesh, Gal $3^{16.19.29}$.

The next remarkable fact in the history of the Jews is their **deliverance from Egypt**; and in connexion with that deliverance the most remarkable expressions are used to indicate the favour which God bore them. All of these expressions, however, are in the New Testament applied to the Church. God is said to have *chosen* them, Dt 10^{15} Eze 20^{5} Eph 1^{4}. He *delivered* and *saved* them, Ex 3^{8} 14^{30} Gal 1^{4} 1 Th 1^{10} 2 Tim 1^{9}; He *created* and *called* them, Is 43^{1} 44^{2} 1 Cor 1^{9} Col 3^{10}. Both are *sons*, *helpless*, and *dear*, Eze 16^{3-6} Is 44^{2} Dt 32^{6} Gal 3^{26} 1 Pet 1^{3}; both are *brethren*, Dt 1^{16} Col 1^{2}; a *house*, a *family*, Num 12^{7} Heb 3^{6}; a *nation*, Dt 4^{34} 1 Pet 2^{9}; both *fellow-citizens*, with *aliens* around them, Ex 20^{10} Eph 2^{19}; and both *heirs* of their appropriate inheritance, Num 26^{53} Heb 9^{15}. Compare in the same way the application of the following words under the two dispensations: 'Servants'; 'husband' and 'wife,' 'mother' and 'children'; 'adultery'; 'sanctuary' or 'temple'; 'priests'; 'saints' or 'holy'; 'near' or 'nigh,' and 'afar off'; 'congregation' or 'church'; 'vine,' 'vineyard'; 'shepherd,' 'flock'; 'inheritance' or 'heritage'; the privileges and duties which these terms imply; and it

will be found that nearly all the characteristic names of Israel are applied to the body of believers. In the first case, the blessings and relations, so far as the people were concerned, are earthly and temporal; in the second, spiritual and eternal: *individual* spiritual blessings being enjoyed in both.

The Apostles reason throughout their writings on the same principle. We who believe, and are united to Christ, are children of Abraham and heirs of his promise, Gal 3^{29} Ro $4^{11.16}$; the *Israel* of God, Gal 6^{16}, as distinguished from the Israel according to the flesh, 1 Cor 10^{18}; the true circumcision, Phil 3^{3}, who therefore appropriate ancient promises (Gen $22^{16.17}$ applied to all believers; Heb $6^{13.20}$ Dt 31^{6} Jos 1^{5} quoted Heb 13^{5}; Ho 1^{10} 2^{23} quoted Ro 9^{24-26}).

The Levitical Law.—After the exodus comes the institution of the ritual law—its sacrifices, priesthood, mercy-seat, tabernacle and temple, and worship. All these, it need hardly be remarked, are represented in the Prophets as being restored in the latter days, and in the Gospels each expression is applied to our Lord or to His Church. He is priest and propitiatory (ἱλαστήριον, Ro 3^{25}), tabernacle (σκηνή, Jn 1^{14}), and temple (ναός, Jn 2^{19}); as also, since His ascension, is His Church, 1 Cor 3^{16}. Her members offer spiritual offerings. They form a royal priesthood, a holy nation.

A Prophetic Chain.—The next prophetic era begins with Samuel. His chief office was to prepare for the establishment of kingly authority. He was commissioned, moreover, to give to David an assurance that his seed should sit upon his throne for ever, i. e. literally, till the end of the kingdom, or, spiritually, in the person of his greater Son, till all things should be put under His feet. Of this enlarged meaning Samuel says nothing, nor does Nathan; but David,

himself a prophet, clearly understands it, applies it in part to himself, 1 Ki 2^4, but passes on the fullness of the promise to his Lord, Ps 2, 72, 110. All these psalms are applied, in the New Testament, to the kingdom which Christ commenced when He appeared on earth, Heb 1^6, or rose from the dead, Ro 1^4.

This prophetic era is closed with the predictions of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and the later prophets. The great theme of their predictions is the restoration of the Jews, and the re-establishment of that dispensation which seemed hastening, without hope of remedy, to decay; and under a twofold form this theme is presented. The prophets who preceded the Captivity, and those who lived in it, foretell a restoration, and borrow from it phrases to describe the establishment of a *new* kingdom. Haggai and Zechariah foretell the rebuilding of a temple, and under that figure speak of the Church. After the Temple was finished, Jewish worship became selfish and insincere. Malachi therefore foretells the coming of one who shall purify the sons of Levi, and secure from all a spiritual offering.

In a word, the prophets describe the Church in terms borrowed from successive stages in the history of the ancient economy. Whether, because Old Testament prophecy is expressed in terms founded on that economy, it has *therefore* no further or more literal fulfilment, is another question. In the meantime, mark the fact from which that question arises. The fact is itself of great importance in explaining both the gospel and the Law.

147. Prophecy as Hebrew Poetry.—It must further be remembered that the language of prophecy is, in the main, the language of poetry.

Much that is contained in preceding sections regarding symbol and allegory has its chief exemplification in prophetical Scripture. Visions vouchsafed on special occa-

sions have their obvious meaning: as of the live coal placed upon Isaiah's lips, Is. 6; of the almond-tree and boiling cauldron seen by Jeremiah, ch. 1^{11-14}, and the series of visions recorded in the first part of Zechariah, ch. 1-6. All these will bear attentive study. The symbolical actions enjoined upon the prophets were often performed in vision only. See Jer 13^{1-10} 25^{15} $27^{2.3}$ Eze $3^{2.3}$ 4^{4-6}. Others no doubt were literally carried out, as a sign to the people, Eze 4^{1-3} and 5^{1-4}, Zec 6^{11}. Such acted prophecies carried with them their own interpretation.

The student must therefore familiarize himself with the *language* of prophecy—its figures and symbols. In these, prophecy is more rich than common history. Its poetic style makes its usage in this respect both necessary and appropriate. The meaning of these figures is pretty nearly fixed: and though perhaps not clear to those who first used them, to us, with the completed Bible in our hands, they ought to be familiar.

Compare, for example, the following passages:—

Descriptions of afflictions and distress, Ps 42^{7} Is 13^{13} 29^{6} 34^{4} Jer 4^{23-26} Eze $32^{7.8}$ 38^{20} Joel $2^{10.30.31}$ Am $8^{8.9}$.

Interpositions of Divine providence and grace in delivery from dangers, Ps 18^{7-17} Nah $1^{4.5}$ Hab 3^{5-11} Zec 14^{4}.

The joy of deliverance, Is 35^{1-7} $55^{12.13}$ 60^{13} 65^{25} Joel 4^{18}.

A notable instance in which this symbolic and imaginative aspect of prophetic diction needs to be taken into full account is our Lord's discourse to the disciples in Mt 24 Mk 13 Lu 21. The facts which He predicts, the truths He declares, must be distinguished from the symbolic language in which they are conveyed. To expect literal and detailed fulfilment of such signs of His coming as are depicted in Mk 13^{24-27} would be to confound poetry with prose, vision with sober history. A comparison of the passage with the judgements declared by Isaiah against

Babylon and Edom, and by Micah against Samaria and Jerusalem, will make this clear[a].

148. Specialities of Prophetic Language.—In regard to the language of prophecy, especially in its bearing upon the future, the following points should also be noted:—

1. The prophets often speak of things that belong to the future as if present to their view.

Thus in Is 9^{6} it is said, 'Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given.'

2. They speak of things future as past.

In Is 53, for example, nearly the whole of the transactions of the life of the 'Servant of Jehovah' are represented as finished.

3. When the precise time of individual events was not revealed, the prophets describe them as continuous. They saw the future rather in space than in time; the whole, therefore, appears foreshortened; and perspective, rather than actual distance, is regarded. They seem often to speak of future things as a common observer would describe the stars, grouping them as they appear, and not according to their true positions.

In Jer $50^{41\ sqq.}$, for example, the first conquest and the complete destruction of Babylon are connected, without any notice of the interval between them; in fact, nearly a thousand years elapsed between the first shock to the empire in the attack of the Persians, and the final overthrow of the city.

In Is 10, 11, the deliverance of the Jews from the yoke of the Assyrians is connected with the deliverance which was to be effected by the Messiah.

In the same way, Isaiah, Micah, Hosea, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah, all connected these two events, without intimating, however, that the Messiah was to take part in both.

In the description which is given of the humiliation and glory of the Messiah, there is seldom any notice taken of the time which is to elapse before His kingdom is established. Both are often connected, as in Zec $9^{9,10}$ Joel $2^{28\ sqq.}$

[a] Is 13^{9-13} $34^{4,5}$ Mic $1^{3,4}$.

149. Great Principle of Interpretation. — It is a golden rule, that as prophecy is not of 'private' (or capricious) 'interpretation,' 2 Pet $1^{20.21}$, each of the predictions of Scripture must be compared with others on the same topic, and with history, both profane and inspired. Parallel predictions will often throw light upon one another, and recorded fulfilments will explain predictions or parts of predictions still unfulfilled. History and the New Testament will thus often fix the meaning of individual passages, and these will illuminate and explain their respective connexions.

Compare in this way the parallel predictions on Babylon, Tyre, Egypt, Ammon, Nineveh, Edom, and Moab.

Fulfilments recorded in the New Testament may be seen in the sections on the Quotations of the Old Testament in the New, § 152 sq.

150. New Testament Applications.—These principles of prophetic interpretation are sanctioned by the New Testament. We there have the meaning of the Old divinely declared; and while the sense of particular passages is fixed, principles of interpretation are suggested applicable to all.

Instead of pointing out these principles at length, we may again notice one which is suggested in almost every chapter of the later Revelation [a].

The great end and theme of prophecy is CHRIST; either in His person and office, or in the establishment of His kingdom. Under this twofold division most of the Old Testament predictions may be ranged: some of them are already fulfilled, others are in course of fulfilment, and others, again, are to be fulfilled at some future day.

In Paradise, prophecy gave the first promise of a Redeemer. In Abraham, it connected the covenants of Canaan and of the gospel.

[a] For an illuminating exposition of the principles on which Old Testament Scripture is applied in a book of the New Testament, see Westcott, *Hebrews*, pp. 469-495.

In the Law, it spoke of the second prophet, and foreshadowed in types the doctrines of Christianity. To David, it revealed the kingdom of his greater Son. In the days of the later prophets, it presignified the changes of the Judaic economy; uttered judgements upon the chief pagan kingdoms, and completed the announcement of the Messiah. After the Captivity, it gave clearer information still of the advent of the gospel. In the days of our Lord, it spoke in parables and direct predictions; and at last, in dark symbolical language, foretold the history and final glory of His reign. 'The testimony of Jesus' is indeed 'the spirit of prophecy,' Jn 5^{39} Ac $3^{18.24}$ 10^{43} Ro 1^{2} $3^{21.22}$ Rev 19^{10}.

This fact is of the greatest importance. It proves the general scope of ancient predictions, and limits them. It teaches us to seek Christ everywhere, under both dispensations, and it makes plain the *general* meaning of these predictions themselves.

151. Varying Interpretations of Expositors.—A certain difference of view between expounders of prophecy may, in conclusion, be briefly referred to. Many are content to rest in these *general* interpretations without seeking for literal and particular fulfilments. Giving great weight to the facts that the Jews were types, that the distinction between Jew and Gentile is formally abolished, and that our dispensation is spiritual; thinking, moreover, that the descriptions in prophecy, if taken literally, would lead to a belief in the restoration of Judaism, and in the introduction of a system adapted to the infancy rather than the maturity of the Church; finding that these descriptions, so far as the re-establishment of the Jews is concerned, are not repeated in the New Testament, and that many prophecies which seem to apply to them as a nation are referred in the New Testament to the Church, or to the conversion of the Jews, Ac 2^{17-21} Ro 11^{26}; they conclude that a spiritual interpretation of the whole series is most consistent with the tenor of Scripture.

Another class of biblical students go further. Much of this reasoning they admit to be true; deeming it, however,

not all the truth. Finding that predictions even of spiritual blessing have had for the most part a literal accomplishment; that the Jews are spoken of under both dispensations as still beloved for their fathers' sakes; that many prophecies (those, for example, which speak of Israel and Judah in terms either inapplicable to the first return, or written after it, Is 11^{12} Ho 3^{5} Zec 14) remain unfulfilled; that the language of these prophecies, though often applicable in a general sense to the Christian Church, cannot be confined to it without doing violence to the commonest rules of speech; that in the New Testament prophecies having undoubtedly an early fulfilment in Jewish history, or in the Christian Church (as Is $13^{9.10}$ 25^{8} Hag 2^{6}), seem referred to as having fulfilments still future (Mt 24^{29} 1 Cor 15^{54} Heb 12^{26}); they maintain that, besides a first accomplishment of many predictions in the history of the Jews, and the spiritual accomplishment of others under the gospel, many remain to be fulfilled in a literal and more extended sense. They hold therefore, throughout, the principle of literal interpretation, whether the predictions refer to the restoration of the Jews—to the second, i. e. the pre-millenial advent of Christ, or to the establishment of His reign.

Between these two methods of interpretation the principles laid down in the foregoing discussion must decide. It may at least be safely asserted that, concerning the precise **times** foretold in the Scripture, it is clearly not God's intention to give us exact knowledge. These are put in His own power. The prophecy sustains our hope, and elevates our feelings. It assures us of the final issue, and lays down certain prognostics highly useful for a moral and spiritual discernment of the Divine purpose, without the indulgence of an unhallowed curiosity. Even in prophecies which have been fulfilled, the dates are often difficult of adjustment; a fact that should suggest humility and modesty in interpreting prophecies whose fulfilment is yet to come.

Quotations of the Old Testament in the New

152. Value of the Study.—The quotations made in the New Testament from the Old form a subject of much interest. They explain ancient types, history, and predictions. They exemplify sound principles of interpretation, and show in various ways the connexion between the Old and New Testaments.

These quotations may be studied for a double purpose—either to ascertain the verbal variations between the Old Testament and the New, and the lessons taught thereby, or to determine the spiritual truths and principles of interpretation which these quotations involve. To this twofold division we shall adhere in the following remarks.

Number of quotations.—These quotations are very numerous, having been reckoned to amount to 263; references less direct being in number 376, or together, 639. These numbers are slightly varied by some expositors, the less obvious references being either added or omitted. But according to the above estimate, there are in—

	Quotations.	References.		Quotations.	References.		Quotations.	References.
Mt .	37	43	Gal .	9	5	Jas .	5	10
Mk .	17	10	Eph .	4	3	1 Pet .	10	9
Lu .	19	31	Phil .	—	2	2 Pet .	1	9
Jn .	15	19	Col .	—	2	1 Jn .	—	4
Ac .	31	21	2 Th .	—	2	Ju . .	—	4
Ro .	52	15	1 Tim .	1	4	Rev .	1	115
1 Cor	18	17	2 Tim .	1	1			
2 Cor	9	6	Heb .	33	44			

Quotations from the Pentateuch amount to 90, and references to it to upwards of 100; from the Psalms 71, references 30; from Isaiah 56, references 48; from the Minor Prophets about 30[a].

[a] In some editions, both of the Greek and English New Testament,

The **formulas of quotations** are most generally 'that it might be fulfilled'; 'it is (*or* has been) written[a]'; 'the Scripture saith,' with similar expressions. The first of these forms is most frequently used by Matthew, also by John and Paul; the second is employed in the Gospels, Acts, and Paul's Epistles; never in the Epistle to the Hebrews. This second also is the principal form of citation in the Old Testament, by the later writers from the earlier.

Quotations analysed.—Quotations have been classified as prophetic, demonstrative, explanatory, or illustrative: *prophetic*, including those that refer to Christ and the gospel, (1) immediately, as Mt $4^{15.16}$, or (2) typically; i. e. they indicate primarily some typical event or person, and then some other event or person under the gospel, as Jn 19^{36}: *demonstrative*, proving some statement, as Jn 6^{45}: *explanatory*, explaining some statement or fact, as Heb 12^{20}; and *illustrative*, when expressions are taken from the Old Testament with a new meaning, as Ro 10^{18}. Some, of course, are both demonstrative and explanatory, i. e. they explain, and prove by examples, some general truth, as Gal 3^{11}. *Prophetic* quotations referring to our Lord, or His Church, amount to about 120. These have already been discussed in the section on the Interpretation of Prophecy, § 146.

153. Sources of quotations. The Septuagint.—The quotations are generally made from the LXX; sometimes from the Hebrew, varying more or less from the LXX; and still more frequently they express the general sense without verbal exactness. Sometimes they are strict and verbal; sometimes widely paraphrastic or greatly abbreviated. They are usually quotations from memory; as shown,

the citations are usefully designated by a difference of type. See especially the Greek Testament edited by Westcott and Hort.

[a] Γέγραπται. Luther's German Bible happily expresses the force of the perfect tense by the phrase *stehet geschrieben*, it 'stands written.'

among other indications, by the varying uses of the Divine names, 'God' and 'Lord' (Jehovah).

For paraphrastic or abbreviated quotations, see Mt 13^{35} (Ps 78^{2}) Mt 22^{24} (Dt 25^{5}) Ro 9^{25} (Ho 2^{23}) Ro 10^{6-8} (Dt $30^{12.13}$) 1 Cor 1^{31} (Jer 9^{24}), &c. The omission by the tempter (Mt 4^{6} Lu 4^{10}) of the words 'in all thy ways,' Ps 91^{11}, is perhaps significant.

Quotations are sometimes combined, Mk $1^{2.3}$ (Mal 3^{1} Is 40^{3}) Ro 11^{8} (Is 29^{10} Dt 29^{4}) 2 Cor 6^{16-18} (Lev 26^{11} Is 52^{11} Jer 31^{1}). See especially Ro 3^{10-18}.

Language of the Quotations.

Looking to the **phraseology** of these quotations, it may be observed:

1. To a certain extent they may be applied to correct the text of the Septuagint. This rule, however, is not of extensive application, from the fact that the citations are not in general verbal, and that sometimes they are independent renderings from the Hebrew.

2. Occasionally the quotations in the New Testament are useful in the criticism of the Hebrew text of the Old.

In Hab 1^{5}, for example, for 'among the heathen,' read 'ye despisers,' as in Ac 13^{41}; the LXX translators having evidently read not בַּגּוֹיִם *Baggoyîm*, but בּוֹזִים *Bozîm*. So Is 29^{13} and Mt $15^{8.9}$ (not תָּהִי, *shall be*, but תֹּהוּ, *vanity*); Gen 47^{31} and Heb 11^{21} (the Hebrew words for *staff* and *bed* differing only in the vowel-points: see § 25); Am $9^{11.12}$ and Ac 15^{17} (*Edom* and *man* being the same word differently pointed); Ps 16^{10} ('holy ones' in the *K'thîbh*, although the Massorites give the singular) and Ac 2^{27}; Ho 13^{14} and 1 Cor 15^{55} (*I will be* and *Where?* being almost alike in Hebrew, excepting in the vowels). In Ho 14^{2} the word for *calves* differs only in a single letter from *fruit* (Heb 13^{15}). Or perhaps 'calves' may be a metonym for 'sacrifice.'

After all these corrections have been made, however, a large number of passages remain which do not agree with the exact words either of the LXX, or of the Hebrew.

About one-half of the quotations, in fact, give **rather the sense than the words.** See Ro 15^{12} (Is 11^{10}) 1 Cor 1^{31} (Jer 9^{24}) 1 Cor 2^{9} (Is 64^{4}). Sometimes, on the other hand, the whole argument is made to turn on the very *terms* employed, as in Heb 3^{7-11} (Ps 95^{7-11}) Gal 3^{16} (Gen 22^{18}) 1 Cor 15^{45} (Gen 2^{7}).

154. Use of the Hebrew original.—In particular passages the New Testament writers translate directly from the Hebrew.

Matthew, for example, while generally using the LXX, in passages which refer to the Messiah pays special attention to the original, which he closely follows.

Variations.

While most of the **variations** between the New Testament and the Old are explained on the principle that it is rather the sense than the words that are quoted, there is sometimes an obvious purpose in the variation.

To fit a quotation to the context, the number, or the person, or the tense, or the voice, is changed, Lu 4^{12} (Dt 6^{16}) Lu 8^{10} (Is 6^{9}) Jn 19^{36} (Ex 12^{46}).

To suit the argument, or to suggest an additional lesson, the meaning of the Hebrew is narrowed in the quotation, the larger meaning including the less: thus,—

In Ac 3^{25} Peter, in quoting Gen 22^{18}, uses 'kindreds' instead of 'nations,' suggesting to his Jewish hearers that the Gentiles were their brethren.

In Heb 1^{6} we have angels instead of 'gods,' as in Ps 97^{7}. The original means 'mighty ones,' and is applied to God, false gods, angels, and generally to those high in authority. The Apostle takes the narrower meaning, and omits the rest.

In Ro 11^{26} the word 'Deliverer' is used instead of 'Redeemer,' Is 59^{20}. After Christ had appeared, the latter term would have been ambiguous in this passage.

So in 1 Cor 3^{20}, quoted from Ps 94^{11}, for 'men' the Apostle reads 'wise,' and in Mt 4^{10} our Lord says 'worship,' instead of 'fear,' Dt 6^{13}. So Ro 14^{11} 'confess' for 'swear,' Is 45^{23}.

In Joel 2^{29} 'servants and handmaidens' appear as a *class*; in Ac 2^{18} (also LXX) *character* is signified, 'My servants,' &c.

In John, also, and the Pauline Epistles, there are indications of the writers' familiarity with the Hebrew. The quotations in the Epistle to the Hebrews are almost wholly from the LXX, and generally verbatim.

In Mt 9^{13} and 12^{7} the quotation from Ho 6^{6} is according to the Hebrew, '*and not* sacrifice.' The LXX have '*rather than* sacrifice.'

See also Mt 26^{31} and Zec 13^{7} 'the shepherd' (LXX 'shepherds'); Ro 1^{17} (Gal 3^{11}) and Hab 2^{4} 'by (his) faith' (LXX 'by my faith'); Ro 15^{10} 'ye Gentiles' (Dt 32^{43} LXX 'ye heavens'); 1 Cor 15^{54} and Is 25^{8} 'He will swallow up death in victory,' *or* 'for ever' (LXX 'death prevailing hath swallowed (men) up'); 1 Pet 4^{8} and Pr 10^{12} 'love covereth all sins' (LXX 'friendship covereth all who love not strife'). It will be seen that, in the last two cases, unless the LXX had a different Hebrew text, they entirely missed the meaning.

In Mk 1^{2} and Lu 7^{27} the quotation from Mal 3^{1}, 'before Me' (Hebrew and LXX), becomes 'before Thy face.' In Jn 19^{37} (Zec 12^{10}) we have 'upon Him,' instead of the Hebrew and LXX 'upon Me.' In Ro 3^{14} (Ps 10^{7}) the singular is turned into plural; in Ac 7^{49} (Is $66^{1.2}$) the affirmative into interrogative. In Mic 5^{2} Bethlehem is described as 'little to be among the thousands of Judah,' in Mt 2^{6} as 'not the least.' In Ac 7^{43} the exile 'beyond Damascus,' predicted in Am 5^{27}, is extended to 'beyond Babylon.'

Synonymous expressions are frequently employed. Ac 2^{26} (Ps 16^{9}) Hebrew, 'my glory'; LXX and New Testament 'my tongue.' Ro 15^{12} (Is 11^{10}) 'shall stand for an ensign'; LXX and New Testament, 'shall arise to rule.' Ho 14^{3} (Heb 13^{15}) has been noticed above.

Sometimes, again, **parts of a prediction** are omitted, because not required by the argument, or because likely to raise a question which the inspired writer did not at the time intend to discuss.

In quoting Zec 9^{9}, for example, Mt 21^{5} omits 'bringing salvation,' as that fact was not at the time apparent.

Sometimes, again, the New Testament quotation is more clearly expressed than the LXX, and sometimes it brings out the idea more fully even than the original itself.

Compare, in illustration, the LXX version of Job 5^{13} with the Apostle's quotation, 1 Cor 3^{19}; and similarly, the Hebrew, LXX, and English version of Is 29^{14}, with 1 Cor 1^{19}.

While, therefore, the general principle seems to be that the inspired writers preserve rather the thoughts than the words of the original, we must not hastily conclude that verbal variations are without meaning or inaccurate.

Quotations in the Apocalypse.—The quotations in the Book of Revelation, which are generally indirect, are of great interest. They connect the predictions of the two economies, and throw light upon the meaning of the symbolical language of the sacred volume.

Important Variations. Sometimes the LXX and New Testament appear materially to differ from the Hebrew, while substantially expressing the same thought. Thus, the phrase in Ps 51^4, 'when Thou judgest,' becomes in Ro 3^4 'when Thou comest into judgement' (R. V. and LXX). That is, God's judgements, rightly estimated, are proved to be just —one truth in two different aspects.

Again, in Is 53^8 it is said of the suffering Servant of Jehovah, 'By oppression and judgement He was taken away' (as R. V.); in the LXX and Ac 8^{33}, 'In His humiliation His judgement was taken away.' The Hebrew speaks of iniquitous 'judgement' inflicted; the translation, of just judgement denied. But both present only different aspects of the same fact.

In Heb 10^5 (and LXX) words from Ps 40^6 read, 'A body hast Thou prepared me'; the Hebrew original has 'Mine ears hast Thou opened.' Unnecessary conjectures[a] have been offered to explain the discrepancy; but the truth expressed in both readings is the same—the worth of obedience in comparison with ritual. 'The body is the instrument for *fulfilling* the Divine command, just as the

[a] As that the word for 'opened' (lit. 'digged') refers to the piercing of the ear as a symbol of life-long servitude (Ex 21^6): or that a copyist of the Hebrew, or else of the Greek, mistook a word. See any critical commentary.

ear is the instrument for *receiving* it' (Westcott). The LXX thus gives a free translation of the Hebrew.

In Ps 68[18] (Hebrew and LXX) the Conqueror, entering the sanctuary, is apostrophized; 'Thou hast *received* gifts for men.' The Apostle Paul, in applying these words to Christ at His ascension, writes: 'He *gave* gifts unto men,' Eph 4[8]. The tribute laid at the Saviour's feet was, in another view, the salvation of men. So, to receive and to give were one.

155. Untraced quotations.—Some quotations have not been traced to their sources:—

Mt 2[23] from 'the prophets,' 'He shall be called a Nazarene,' not 'a Nazarite,' as the Rheims version—a different word; and see Mt 11[18.19]—nor 'a Branch' (*nētser* Is 11[1]), which would be inapplicable. The reference appears to be general—to those passages which speak of our Lord's humiliation.

Jn 7[38], also a general reference to Old Testament imagery, Is 44[3] 55[1] 58[11].

Eph 5[14], probably based upon Is 60[1], with the Apostle's commentary.

Jas 4[5]. The thought is the same as that in Ex 20[5] 'I Jehovah thy God am a jealous God,' but there is no direct quotation. The difficulty is not escaped by a rendering such as that of the R.V.

Bearing of Quotations upon Doctrine.

156. Truths common to both Testaments.—The chief instruction, however, to be gathered from New Testament quotations relates to the TRUTHS taught by them. They illustrate the doctrines and ethics of the ancient Scriptures, and of both dispensations; they supply evidence of the truth of Scripture; and they suggest important rules of biblical interpretation.

1. Life by faith, salvation through Christ, and the duty of holiness are all taught to the Jewish and Gentile Church from the ancient Scriptures.

Salvation by faith, and through Christ, proved by quotations and references in Ro 1[17] Gal 3[6–9.14.16] Ro 4[10.11] 1 Pet 2[6.7] Jn 8[56]. Faith, from

its relation to something which is righteousness, is counted as righteousness, Ro 4^{3-8}. Men are condemned through unbelief, Heb 3^{7-10}. See also Heb $8^{9.10}$.

Election of grace, and the promise as wide as the Fall, Ro 11^{5} 10^{12}.

Holiness essential, consists in love, and is enforced by Divine example, 2 Cor 6^{16} Mt 22^{37-39} 1 Pet 1^{16} Mt 23^{23}.

Grace given to the humble, and in largest measure to those who use it best, Jas 4^{6}.

Present temporal blessing connected with obedience even under the gospel, Eph $6^{2.3}$ 1 Pet $3^{10.11}$.

Special doctrines.—The passages in the Old Testament to which we have referred as implying the **Divinity of the Messiah** and the **agency of the Holy Spirit** are quoted in the New Testament with the same view. Mark especially the following:—

The stone of stumbling on which Israel fell is said in Isaiah to be Jehovah Himself, Is $8^{13.14}$ Ro $9^{32.33}$ 10^{11}. So in Is 45^{21-25}, the speaker is called Jehovah, and to Him every knee is to bow. His language is quoted by Paul, Ro 14^{11}, to prove that all must submit to *Christ*.

The vision described in Is $6^{3.10}$ is spoken of by John as a sight of Christ's glory, Jn 12^{41}; and the 'voice of the Lord' which spake to the prophet is called by Paul the Holy Ghost, Ac 28^{25}.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews $1^{6.8.10}$ passages which refer to One Who is spoken of as the Ruler of the world, the unchangeable Creator, Ps 97^{7} $45^{6.7}$ 102^{25-27}, are applied to the Son of God.

That the ancient Church had at least some glimpses of **immortality, the resurrection, and a future judgement,** may be gathered from Mt 22^{32} Heb $11^{5.13.14}$ 1 Cor 15^{55} (see Ju $^{14.15}$) and the various passages in which the great day of the Lord is named, 1 Th 5^{2} Rev 6^{17} (Joel 2^{11} Mal 4^{5} Ps 17^{15} Job 19^{26} 21^{30} Dn 12^{2} Ho 13^{14}).

157. Old Testament foreshadowings.—The principles involved in Old Testament history may be applied to the experience of the Church under the gospel: whether that history illustrate human character or God's dispensations, Ro $9^{7.9}$ Gal 4^{22-31} Ro 8^{36} (Ps 44^{22}) 1 Cor 10^{1-11} Heb 3^{7-10} 10^{26-30}, or whether the significance lies in special facts and incidents parallel or mutually illustrative in the two dispensations.

This resemblance, moreover, is often shown to have been

predetermined. An interesting series of quotations applies leading incidents of Israelite history to the events which the New Testament records; not simply by way of illustration: there is a divinely arranged accordance between the two. See 1 Cor 10^{6}, 'These things were our examples' (τύποι). Compare § 140. The formula 'That it might be fulfilled' does not mean precisely that events were framed with a view to the accomplishment of certain prophecies, but that they occurred according to a Divine purpose, shadowed forth in earlier days. Thus the declaration of Jehovah that Israel His child was called from Egypt, Ho 11^{1}, is applied to the infant Saviour, Mt 2^{15}; that is, in both cases, Egypt was the cradle of the Church. The poetic representation by Jeremiah of the mother-spirit of Rachel wailing above her tomb over the desolation wrought by the exile of her descendants from their land prefigures the lamentation of the mothers in Bethlehem over their infants slain, Jer 31^{15} Mt 2^{18}. So again, the departure from Babylon foreshadowed the separation of Christians from the world. Compare 2 Cor $6^{17.18}$ with Is $52^{11.12}$. The comparative study of the Old Testament history throughout, together with the prophecies cited by Evangelists and Apostles, is fraught with instruction.

Passages in the prophets which contain *general promises*, or are descriptive of classes, are, of course, repeatedly fulfilled. They are, in fact, general principles. See the quotations of Is 29^{13} in Mt $15^{8.9}$ Ac 13^{41}; and Heb 13^{5} from Jos 1^{5}.

Double fulfilments.—Predictions, properly so called, may thus have a **double fulfilment**; a fact of which various explanations have been given. Compare § 146.

Sometimes, for example, (1) the persons or things are types, one of the other; (2) sometimes they are, in certain aspects, identical; and (3) sometimes the events referred to are so closely blended as to be scarcely distinguishable.

1. The promise to Abraham, for example, that he should be the father of a numerous seed, is applied literally by Moses, Dt 1^{10}; by Paul it is applied to those who are partakers of his faith, Ro 4^{18}. To this class belong such passages as Ex 12^{46} (the Paschal lamb, Jn 19^{36}), and the promise concerning Solomon, 2 Sa 7^{14}, with the corresponding psalms, as 132^{11}.

2. In another epistle, Paul says expressly that the seed in whom the nations are to be blessed is *Christ*, and then, that all who are Christ's are the seed and heirs of the promise, Gal $3^{16.29}$. To this second class belong such passages as Ps 8^{2-6}, applicable first to man as the chief of God's creatures, and thence to our Lord, Who is in this respect identified with us, or (it may be said) our antitype: Ps $91^{11.12}$, applicable first to all who 'say of the Lord, He is my refuge' (verse 2), and peculiarly, therefore, to Christ; and various psalms which, originally descriptive of the afflictions of individual believers, have their fullest accomplishment in our Lord, Pss $69^{9.21.25}$ 109^{8} 41^{9} $118^{22.25.26}$.

3. Such are the predictions in Is 40^{3-5}, where the coming of our Lord in the flesh, and the final extension of His truth, are blended; in Mal 3^{1-3}, where we have the same double reference, and in Joel 2^{28-32}. Compare the New Testament quotations. Of the same character are the predictions of the destruction of Jerusalem in Mt 24, 25, where are represented also some of the awful transactions of the last judgement.

If it be said that this double fulfilment (whatever the explanation) weakens the evidence of prophecy, it should be remembered in reply, that the facts on which it is founded—the typical nature, for example, of the earlier economy, with the complete identity of Christ's interests and those of His Church—themselves supply both evidence and consolation; while many of the psalms[a], and predictions of our Lord taken from the Prophets, cannot be satisfactorily interpreted apart from Him.

On the subject of this chapter, Surenhusius, *The Book of Reconciliation*, 1713, is still the standard treatise; Randolph, *Prophecies and other Old Testament Texts cited in the New Testament*, 1782, is also valuable. Horne's

[a] Psalms 2, 22, 45, 110; and probably 40, 16, and 72. Psalms 22, 40; embody the experience of the suffering Messiah; 2, 45, 72, and 110 describe His victories and glory.

Introduction, Dr. Davidson's *Hermeneutics*, Gough's *New Testament Quotations*, 1855, and Turpie's *Old Testament in the New*, 1868, all contain complete lists of the parallel passages in Hebrew, Greek (LXX and New Testament), and English, with comments.

Scripture Difficulties

'In divinity many things must be left abrupt and concluded with this:—"O the depth!" . . . For the inditer of Scripture did know four things which no man attains to know,—the mysteries of the kingdom of glory, the perfection of the laws of nature, the secrets of the heart of man, and the future succession of all ages.'—BACON.

158. Difficulties to be expected.—The Bible was written 'for our learning,' and by 'inspiration of God,' and yet it is confessed that its general clearness is obscured by 'things hard to be understood.' Christians are often harassed by objections deduced from them, and unbelievers make them an excuse for rejecting the authority of revelation. What, it may be asked, is their origin, their solution, their use, and how far are they consistent with the character and aim of the Bible as an inspired book?

The Bible consists, it may be answered, of many separate books. Their origin is manifold. The languages in which they were composed are disused; they are distinct from each other, and different from our own. The expressions, images, and thoughts that the Bible contains belong to different ages, countries, and persons; the manners and customs it describes have passed away; its topics are the most various and comprehensive, including the history, in part, of all nations and of all times; and it contains disclosures and precepts which refer to both worlds, expressed necessarily in terms taken from one only; and the whole revelation is included in a brief volume. Let these and kindred facts be remembered, and it will be seen at once that, to give within so narrow a range, and even to give at all, to mortal, finite minds, a revelation that shall be free

from difficulty is impossible. Difficulties there must be, such as need a larger amount of inquiry than any one man can give, and such as will leave, after the utmost inquiry, much to be hereafter explained.

Unreal and imaginary difficulties.—Many, however, are *unreal*; and it is important to make sure, at the outset of inquiry, that the difficulty *really exists*. Perplexities and doubts may, in numberless cases, be removed by a better knowledge of the text of Scripture, by the correction of inaccurate translation, by an acquaintance with the manners and customs of the age and country in which a book was written, and by a wider application of historical facts. Such difficulties are met, to a great extent, in the sections of the present work devoted to these special subjects [a]. Some difficulties, however, not thus foreclosed may still arise in connexion with particular passages, as well as with the spiritual and moral teaching of Scripture.

159. Difficult phrases and passages.—Thus there are phrases and passages of which the meaning is obscure. This obscurity, in many cases, is due to our ignorance of some special illustrative fact, or of the exact meaning of words; and many a misunderstood text has been cleared up by larger knowledge and deeper study.

Such, however, as the following still remain.

Jn 1[16], 'grace FOR (*ἀντί*, "instead of") grace,' has created difficulty. 'For the benefits of the Law we have the blessings of the gospel,' Chrys., Beza, Erasmus: 'additional grace for grace properly used,' Le Clerc: 'grace on account of the grace of Christ,' Grot.: 'grace upon grace,' i. e. abundance, so most moderns: 'each blessing appropriated becomes the foundation of a greater blessing. To have realized and used one measure of grace, was to have gained a larger measure as if in exchange for it' (Westcott).

[a] On the text, see Ch. IV throughout; on translation, Ch. VII, especially the sections on the R. V.; on history, chronology, and the notions and usages prevalent in Scripture lands and times, the different parts of Ch. IX.

Heb 12^{17}, 'though he sought *it* carefully with tears.' Sought what? *Repentance* (his own or his father's) ?—grammatically the nearer antecedent; or the *blessing* of his father?—the remoter antecedent. The latter interpretation best agrees with the history, Gen 27^{34}.

1 Cor 11^{10}, 'For this cause ought the woman to have power (properly "authority") on her head, because of the angels.' 'To have power on,' that is, probably, to have a veil-covering (the sign of man's authority), although the word never has this meaning elsewhere. So Bishop Ellicott renders: 'For this cause ought the woman to bear [the sign of] authority [resting] on her head.' With this the R. V. nearly concurs. 'Because of the angels,' i. e. either *evil* angels, who will be gratified by indecency, or *good* angels who observe her conduct, Eccl 5^{6}; or, the *teachers* of the churches, Rev 2, 3; or, *spies* sent by the pagans. The second explanation is now generally adopted.

In poetic and figurative language, the difficulty is often increased.

Is 52^{8}, 'They shall see, eye to eye, when the Lord returneth to Zion.' This is often quoted as denoting unity in conviction and belief. The meaning seems to be that the watchers on the walls for the far-off deliverance will now behold Jehovah returning to Zion, 'as near as one man is to another when he looks into the other's eye with his own' (Delitzsch). Comp. Num 14^{4}.

Ps 104^{4}, 'Who maketh His angels spirits, His ministers a flame of fire.' Rather, 'Who maketh winds His messengers (angels), flames of fire (lightnings) His ministers.' That is, the forces of nature are themselves the ministers and angels of Jehovah. Comp. Heb 1^{7}.

Hag 2^{7}, 'The desire of all nations shall come.' Often quoted as a prophecy of the Messiah's advent, an interpretation aided by the use of a capital letter in 'Desire.' But the word 'desire' is feminine, collective. So in R. V., 'The desirable things of all nations shall come' to adorn the Temple of Jehovah. Comp. Is $60^{6-9.13}$. [As other illustrations of needless exposition by capital letters, see A. V., Zec 3^{8} Jer 23^{6}, but not 33^{16}.]

Hab 2^{2}, 'That he may run that readeth it.' The reference is probably not, as often quoted, to the distinctness of the writing: 'that he who runs may read,' but to its warning to hasten from the threatening danger, 'that he who reads may run.'

2 Pet 1^{19}, 'a more sure word of prophecy'—than what? 'Surer than fables,' verse 16, Chandler; others, than the Transfiguration, Sherlock; but better, 'the word of prophecy *confirmed*' (R. V. '[made] more sure'), either by the Transfiguration, or rather by New Testament fulfilments. Prophecy was as a lamp in a dark place, the fulfilment in Christ is as the dawn.

Of the difficulties of *authorship* and *scope* the Book of Job and the Song of Songs may be taken as illustrations. See the Introductions to these books in Part II.

160. Difficult allusions.—When the meaning of words has been fixed, it is sometimes difficult to understand **the custom to which they refer** and the reasons for it.

Eccl 11^1, 'Cast thy bread upon the waters: for thou shalt find it after many days'; 'Give bread to those in affliction,' Gill. 'Sow thy corn without hope of harvest,' that is, 'be disinterested in your liberality,' Jebb; 'Be liberal while you can,' Boothroyd. Rather, 'exercise a large faith in God; act in your gifts and efforts as the husbandman, who casts his rice upon the waters, and waits for the crop; the rice-grounds being inundated from seed-time till nearly harvest,' Dr. Clarke.

Various customs are mentioned in the following passages in Isaiah, and create difficulty; all of them, however, are capable of explanation: Is 3^{16} $49^{16.23}$ $50^{1.6}$ 51^{23} 52^2 57^{6-9} $65^{3.4}$.

Difficulties in **chronology** and **history** are various.

In Gen 4^{17} the early building of a city by Cain has created difficulty, and it has been asked—'who inhabited it?' A little calculation, however, will show that even 500 years after the Creation, the descendants of our first parents must have amounted to many hundred thousand in all.

Difficulties in chronology and in numbers generally have often arisen, as we have seen, from false readings, the similarity between different numeral letters, and from the use of different modes of reckoning.

So among profane authors. Cyrus reigned thirty years (Cicero, *de Div.*), i. e. from his joining Cyaxares; nine years (Ptol. *Canon*), i. e. from his taking Babylon; seven years (Xen. *Cyropædia*), i. e. from his becoming sole monarch. This last is perhaps Ezra's reckoning, Ezr 1^1 (Shuckford).

Historical difficulties are of two kinds: such as arise on comparison of different parts of Scripture, and such as arise from the comparison of Scripture with profane records.

161. Apparent discrepancies.—Comparing **parallel** and **apparently contradictory** narratives of Scripture, the following solutions are important:—

1. Apparently contradictory narratives may record different facts.

In Mt 1^{1-16} we have our Lord's genealogy through Joseph in the royal line; in Lu 3^{23-38} perhaps through Mary in the natural descent. See Introduction to Gospels, Part II.

The call of the first Apostles in Mt 4^{18-22} and Lu 5^{1-11} are different accounts of the same transaction; and are both different in place and subsequent in time to the call to discipleship, Jn 1^{35-42}.

The Lord's Prayer, again, was perhaps given on two different occasions: to the multitude upon the mountain, Mt 6^{9-15}, and to the disciples alone, Lu 11^{2-4}.

From Jn 19^{14} it appears that our Lord was before Pilate's tribunal 'about the sixth hour.' In Mt 27^{45} Mk 15^{33} Lu 23^{44} we read that 'about the sixth hour' He was hanging on the Cross, when the darkness came on. The probable explanation is that John calculated the hours of the day differently from the other Evangelists, counting (according to a Roman method) from midnight and noon, while they reckoned from sunrise and sunset. The sixth hour with him, therefore, was 6 a.m.; with them it was noon. Compare Jn 1^{39} $4^{6.52}$ (Westcott).

2. In giving the same narrative, different historians relate different circumstances, some giving more, some fewer than the rest: the fuller account includes the shorter, and the shorter does not contradict the fuller.

Compare Lu 2^{39} with Mt $2^{22.23}$, where they agree: in all the preceding verses they differ, though without contradiction.

Compare, on the two demoniacs, Mk 5^{1-21} Mt 8^{28-34} Lu 8^{26-40}; and on the blind men healed at the gate of Jericho, Mt 20^{30-34} Mk 10^{46-52} Lu 18^{35-43}. Several explanations of the occurrence have been given, any one of which would solve the difficulty. To decide between them is unnecessary, perhaps impossible.

3. The same remark applies to the narrative of what was *said* on some particular occasion, one historian giving the very words and another the sense, or each a different part of what was said, or varying the order for a particular reason.

The two different accounts of the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5-7 Lu 6^{17-49}). The simplest explanation is that it was delivered on 'a level place' (Luke, R. V.) in this mountain range.

The connexion of the Last Supper with the Passover feast has

created a difficulty. According to the first three Evangelists, 'the Synoptics,' the Supper appears to have been eaten at the regular time of the Passover; but John seems as plainly to intimate that the Paschal feast had not as yet been celebrated at the time of our Lord's trial on the following morning, Jn 13^{29} 18^{28} $19^{14.31}$. Various explanations have been proposed, of which the chief are (1) that Jesus and His disciples *anticipated* the feast by a day (see Lu $22^{15.16}$), or (2) that the Jewish celebration had *really taken place* on that night, the passages quoted from John referring to other and subsequent observances connected with the festival. The weight of evidence appears in favour of the former solution; so that Christ, the True Passover, was sacrificed at the very time when the Paschal lamb was slain. For this view, see Westcott, *Comm.* in loc.; for the latter, Dr. Edersheim, *Life of Jesus the Messiah*.

See also, as instances of *verbal* divergence similarly explicable, the words of the Supper, Mt $26^{6.27}$ Mk 14^{22-25} Lu $22^{19.20}$, and the titles on the Cross, Mt 27^{37} Mk 15^{26} Lu 23^{38} Jn 19^{19}.

4. Things said to be done by one man are elsewhere said to be done by another, who, however, acted on his behalf[a], and sometimes the plural is used when the remark is applicable to one only[b]. Here there is no contradiction.

5. Narratives of what was spoken or done may create difficulty from the fact that general expressions are to be limited by particular ones, obscure expressions to be explained by those that are plain.

Mt 10^{10} Mk 6^{8} Lu 9^{3}.

6. The narratives of Scripture are compiled on different principles and for different purposes. Some are written chronologically, on the whole or in particular passages; others give incidents in groups. The principle of arrangement must be studied, and the whole harmonized in accordance with it.

The order of Mark and Luke is generally chronological. Matthew gives facts and parables in groups. Sometimes, however, Matthew gives the true order, and indicates the fact by the terms employed.

[a] Mt $8^{5.6}$ Lu $7^{2.3}$ Mk 10^{35} and Mt 20^{20}.
[b] Mt 26^{8} and Jn 12^{4}; Mt 27^{44} and Lu 23^{39-42}.

In the history of the Temptation, for example (4^{3-10}), he affirms the order: 'then,' 'again'; Lu 4 gives a different order, but the order is not affirmed.

In Gen 1^{27}, the creation of man is mentioned briefly. The second account, 2^{7-21}, narrates the fact at greater length.

The order of the Lord's Supper, with the betrayal of Judas, is given by John, Matthew, and Mark; between Mt 26^{25} and 26^{26} Jn 13^{26-35} must be inserted, and Luke's order will be, Lu 22^{21-33} 19.20.

So the true order of Is $38^{21.22}$ may be gathered from 2 Ki $20^{7.8}$.

In some cases passages appear to have been displaced from their true connexion, as 1 Sa 16^{14-23}. See *Introduction* to 1 Sa, Part II.

7. Sometimes there is an apparent discrepancy between an original narrative and the reference made to it elsewhere.

Ac 7^{16}, 'which *Abraham* bought'—but Jacob bought it, Gen 33^{19} Jos 24^{32}; and Jacob, moreover, was buried in Hebron, not in Sychem, Gen 50^{13}. Read, probably, 'our father,' i.e. Jacob, and omit 'Abraham.' Or, the memory of Stephen may have confused the facts.

8. Sometimes the reference contains more than the original narrative, and the difficulty is removed by remembering that the earlier inspired historians do not relate all that happened.

Joseph fettered, Ps 105^{18}; the saying of our Lord, Ac 20^{35}; an appearance of Christ to James, 1 Cor 15^{7}; the marriage of Salmon and Rahab, Mt 1^{5} (not recorded in the Old Testament). So Ju 9.11 and Rev 2^{14}.

162. Alleged contradictions to Secular History.—Comparing the narratives of Scripture with **secular history**, we find difficulties, many of which, however, have long since yielded to fuller knowledge.

Daniel mentions four kings of Babylon and Persia—Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Darius the Mede, and Cyrus. The first is well known; the second is identified as the son of Nabonidus (the Labynetus of Greek historians) son of Nitocris (Herodotus, i. 185–188), who may have been a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar. Hence Belshazzar is spoken of in Daniel (5^{18}) as Nebuchadnezzar's son[a]. 'Darius the Mede' has been variously regarded as Astyages the last Median king, or Cyaxares II

[a] See *The Old Testament in the Light of Historical Records*, by Theophilus G. Pinches, LL.D., 1902.

his son (after the absorption of Media into the Persian Empire[a]). A modern theory, on which see § 192, p. 316, identifies him with Gobryas (Gubaru), the general of Cyrus, left in Babylon as his viceroy. Cyrus was succeeded by Cambyses (or Ahasuerus, Ezr 4^6); he by Smerdis (or Artaxerxes, Ezr 4^7), and he by Darius Hystaspes, Ezr 6^1, whose successor was his son Xerxes (the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther), succeeded by his son Artaxerxes Longimanus, the Artaxerxes of Nehemiah. Another Artaxerxes, and two other kings of the name of Darius, filled the throne before the empire was subdued by Alexander, B.C. 331. The identity of the names creates several difficulties, but careful study reconciles most.

In Lu 2^2 it is said that a taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria. Probably as R. V. 'this was the first taxing (enrolment) made when Cyrenius,' &c. Publius Sulpitius Quirinius (here called Cyrenius) was governor of Syria A. D. 6, when a registration or enrolment (Acts 5^{37}) was ordered on the deposition of Archelaus. Our Lord was then about ten years of age. The Evangelist was, of course, perfectly familiar with this enrolment, as he himself recorded Gamaliel's speech. He must therefore have referred, in his Gospel, to an earlier event of the kind; and explanations have been offered, sometimes by proposing a different translation; as 'this enrolment took place *before* Cyrenius was governor'; or 'this enrolment *took effect* when Cyrenius was governor,' having been postponed until then. But such explanations are now shown to be needless, by evidence recently discovered that Quirinius was *twice* in authority in Syria; the former occasion having been at the time stated by the Evangelist.

See other instances in Paley's *Evidences*, Part II, ch. vi, Religious Tract Society, p. 260. The works of Lardner give the completest view of the accordance of sacred and profane records.

163. Seeming contradictions in Scripture statements. There are apparent contradictions in language which sets forth **the truths and precepts** of Scripture. Between a literal and a figurative expression there is sometimes an apparent contradiction, which is removed by fair explanation.

1. Sometimes the words of one passage must be explained figuratively.

'Ye *will not* come,' Jn 5^{40}; 'no man *can* come except the Father draw him,' Jn 6^{44}. The first implies, when compared with other passages, that to have eternal life, every one who hears the gospel is

[a] See Prideaux, *Connection*, Book II.

bound to believe it; that men are so depraved that they will not believe, and that therefore they are condemned. The second affirms that men cannot come. What, then, does this mean? Is it want of power, which is the proper sense of 'cannot,' or is it want of will, which is the figurative sense? Both senses are found in Scripture. 'Ahijah *could not* see, by reason of age.' So Jon 1[13]. 'Joseph's brethren *could not* speak peaceably to him.' 'How *can* ye, being evil, speak good things?' where the dominion of a strong propensity is implied. It is to this latter our Lord refers; nothing less than special Divine agency will subdue this propensity; and, being in the *will*, it is our sin.

So in all the passages which speak of God in expressions accommodated to the weakness of human conceptions.

Compare also Mt 11[14] with Jn 1[21].

2. Sometimes general assertions in one text are to be restricted by others.

In Lu 16[18] Mk 10[11.12] divorce is forbidden absolutely, but in Mt 5[32] 19[9] it is allowed, though for adultery only, while in 1 Cor 7[15] the believing party is said to be free to leave the unbelieving husband or wife who is determined to separate.

Restrict and explain in the same way Gen 13[17] 23[17.18] Ac 7[5].

3. Sometimes the same terms are used in different senses in different texts, and it is difficult to know how to restrict them in each.

In Mt 18[21.22] forgiveness is enjoined absolutely; in Lu 17[3.4] on repentance; either the condition of repentance is presupposed in Matthew, or the phrase in Luke means, as often as one seeks forgiveness give it.

A man is justified by faith without the deeds of the Law, Ro 3[28]; 'by works a man is justified, and not by faith only,' Jas 2[24]. Paul speaks of the justification of the *ungodly* in relation to their *acceptance* by God, James of the justification of the *godly* in relation to their *approval* by God—Fuller. Or Paul of justification in the sight of God, James in the sight of man—Hoadley and Taylor. Or Paul speaks of faith with its effects, James of mere assent—Grot., Macknight. According to James, faith without works is dead; according to Paul's teaching, it would be no faith at all.

So in 1 Cor 10[33] Gal 1[10] Pr 26[4.5].

Ex 20[5] Eze 18[20], 'visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children'; 'the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father.' Either God's plan towards the close of the Jewish dispensation was changed:

at first the fathers were spared, but at last fathers and sons, and not sons only, were to suffer—Fuller. Or the first description applies only to those '*who hate Him.*' If Judah, therefore, in the days of Ezekiel had been righteous, they would not have gone into captivity for the sins of Manasseh. In both passages men are spoken of, not as individuals, but as members of society, and both refer only to this life.

4. Sometimes the same action is ascribed to different agents, and sometimes different and apparently inconsistent descriptions are given of the same object; in which case either the action is described in terms which are used in different senses, or there is a sense in which the terms are true; but it is sometimes difficult to ascertain which is the correct solution.

Christ intercedes, Ro 8^{34} Heb 7^{25}, as does the Spirit, Ro $8^{26.27}$, the one in heaven and the other in our hearts. Christ is called the Comforter (or Advocate), 1 Jn 2^{1}, as is the Spirit, Jn 16^{7}. The one is within, and the other above.

The teaching of Scripture on the coming of our Lord involves nearly all the difficulties of interpretation to which we have referred.

Difficulties in the Revelation itself.

164. After all these difficulties of interpretation have been solved, there are others which apply to the **things revealed or commanded** in Scripture; and it is in objections founded upon those difficulties that men most indulge.

Many passages have been placed under this head which properly involve questions of **interpretation only.**

Lev $27^{28.29}$ has been quoted as authorizing human sacrifices, as has Jephthah's treatment of his daughter, Judg 11^{34}; but human sacrifices were expressly forbidden, Dt $12^{30.31}$ Lev 20^{2} Ps $106^{37.38}$. All who even touched a dead body were unclean; and, moreover, no devoted thing could be sacrificed. Jephthah may have devoted his daughter to perpetual virginity; and, at all events, the act is not commended.

Expressions in the Old Testament seem to imply vindictive feeling:

but some of the expressions are figurative, Ps 10^{15}; some are predictions only, the tenses being indicative future, not imperative; and others are the denunciations of Divine justice against transgressors, Dt 28.

Some actions alleged to be done by prophets are said to be ridiculous or immoral: but they were either symbolical, or were represented in vision only, or were merely related by the prophet. Is 20^{3} 'naked,' i.e. without his upper garment, Lowth; or in vision, Rosenm. Jer $13^{4.6}$ a vision (Lowth), Eze 4.

Precepts and statements are interpreted without the necessary restriction or explanation: Jn 6^{51-58}, eating Christ's flesh; Mt 12^{36}, 'idle words' pernicious, calumnious; Mt 19^{23}, 'rich man'; Mk 10^{24}, 'one who trusts in riches'; Mt 5^{30}, cut off a right hand; 5^{39}, 'whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also,' both spoken comparatively—rather do this than commit a sin.

Illustrations.—Of difficulties in **the sense of Scripture** the following may be taken as a sample:—

i. There are alleged contrarieties between the Old Testament and the New, and between the teaching of our Lord and the teaching of His Apostles.

ii. There is said to be much that is impossible in the history of creation, and in the attempt to trace all mankind to a common origin.

iii. Some of the miracles—the history of the Fall, of Balaam, the demoniacal possessions in the New Testament, for example—are said to be incredible.

iv. Much was wrong in the applauded characters of Old Testament saints.

v. Extraordinary commands were given to them, as to Abraham, and to the Israelites.

vi. The punishment of idolatry with death seems to sanction persecution, and many of the institutions of the Law are unaccountable.

vii. Passages from the Old Testament are quoted in the New in altogether unnatural senses.

viii. Some of the moral and spiritual doctrines of the gospel as a remedial system are mysterious.

165. Preliminary questions to be settled.—In addressing ourselves to the examination of difficulties like these, certain preliminary questions should be fully met. And, first of all, Are such difficulties, supposing them unsolved, sufficient to neutralize the evidence for the inspiration and Divine authority of Scripture?

Now it is quite clear that, apart from any such details, the Bible reveals, in passages innumerable and unmistakable, **the essential principles of truth and duty.**

We have but to open the New Testament in almost any of its pages to draw forth a scheme of holiness. The spirituality of the Divine nature, and of all acceptable worship (Jn 4^{24}); repentance and remission of sins in Christ's name (Lu 24^{47}); salvation through no other (Ac 4^{12}); the duty of all men everywhere to repent and believe (Ac 17^{30} Mk 1^{15}); eternal life through the Son; eternal death as the consequence of unbelief (Jn 3^{36}); the necessity of holiness (Mt 7^{21}); the assurance of the help of the Spirit to control our corruption and to aid our infirmities. In every age, moreover, the great end of the Bible as a religiously instructive book, the repository of saving truth, has been answered. Contrast the creed of the meanest Jew, in relation to God and law, with the errors and uncertainty of the wisest of the heathen, the first *Tusculan Disputation* of Cicero with the commonest Christian treatise on immortality and the resurrection, and the difference will at once appear. The heathen philosopher falters at every step, and dreads the very conclusions to which his reasonings lead him; while the opinion of the Christian is already formed; his only difficulty being to impress his own heart and the hearts of others with the truth. By the leading and undoubted precepts of Scripture the guiltiest may be 'throughly furnished for every good work,' and by its doctrines all men may be made 'wise unto salvation.'

But, it is asked again, do not these difficulties affect the authority of the Bible, and at least impair the evidence of its inspiration? Could a revelation be of universal authority which contains so much that is unintelligible; and is it really a revelation where so much is concealed?

In answering this question, it might be said that whatever we know of the works of God in nature is liable to the same objection. Bishop Butler has shown most conclusively

that natural religion, revealed religion, and the providence of God, together with every known law of human duty, are all exposed to the same difficulties. There is in all an obscurity of meaning and deficiency of evidence, a mysteriousness of arrangement and treatment that bespeak our state to be one of incessant discipline. In truth these objections apply much less forcibly to Scripture than to our daily practice; and the reasoning which seeks to set aside the Bible would, if true, rob God of all His authority, and man of all motives to virtue.

Difficulties a support to Faith.—But we go further. The very difficulties of Scripture, philological and historical, afford **cogent internal proof** of the genuineness and authenticity of the Bible.

The solution of these difficulties has been gradual, and that for the best reasons. Each age has its own temptations to infidelity, and each has its peculiar evidence. Let any one read the *Credibility* of Lardner, a work which could not have been written in the age of the Apostles, for the facts on which it is founded were later than their times; or the *Horæ Paulinæ* of Paley, or the *Horæ Apostolicæ* and *Horæ Evangelicæ* of Birks, on the apparent discrepancies and real agreement between the statements of profane and sacred history, between the Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles, or between the different Gospels, and he will at once perceive that the difficulties of Scripture create an internal evidence even more decisive than the external: it is, throughout, the apparent discrepancy between the writers themselves and profane records, and their obvious independence of one another and of everything but truth, that forms the argument. We can dispense with nothing, not even with difficulties. Every element (the apparent discrepancy among the rest) is essential to the force of the whole.

And if it be said that these difficulties are too numerous, or that the solution of them has been too slow, it may be answered that this gradual solution supplies to each age fresh evidence, and excites continued interest in Scripture, while the fact proves that the evidence of the Bible, like its doctrine, is for all time.

166. Doctrinal Difficulties. — These remarks apply especially to philological and historical difficulties. We now proceed to investigate the doctrinal—the great mysteries of godliness and iniquity, 'the hard things' connected with salvation, and the veiled or dimly disclosed future. How obvious are such remarks as these: men are fallen; our nature is depraved; our intellect is darkened. A revelation, just such as our moral taste approved, could not fail to have marks of an origin much lower than heaven. We are finite: what more natural than that an omniscient Being, when He speaks on matters which refer to eternal interests, should speak occasionally what we but partially comprehend? Certainly the absence of difficulty in a communication from what professed to be infinite Wisdom would have had thrown upon it by that circumstance a strong, if not an unanswerable suspicion. See Objection viii, p. 269.

Let it be added that these difficulties have dignified every kind of human learning, by rendering all eligible to the service of religion. Historically, the study of classical literature in modern times began with the study of the Bible; and ever since, sound religion and true learning have been linked in inseparable bonds. All knowledge is thus sanctified; and, however individual Christians may have exposed themselves to the charge of being enemies of mental improvement, it becomes impossible to include the Christian religion itself in this rebuke.

No doubt it may be affirmed, in reply to these reasonings, that the existence of Scripture difficulties is attended with one inconvenience: they are liable to excite distrust in the minds even of Christians, that is, they try our faith. But is not this again an evidence in their favour? What are all the dispensations of God but our discipline? What is life but a walking by faith? that is, by habitual reliance on Him Whose ways we cannot understand, and in circumstances that require such a trust. Perhaps inspiration *might* have removed all difficulties from Scripture, though we cannot tell how; but certainly we should have lost much, and gained little by the change.

General Answers.—Without, then, attempting to answer all objections in detail, let the following rules be marked and applied.

1. We must interpret Scripture, its announcements, and disclosures, **in accordance with what it professes to be** —an inspired volume designed to set forth the scheme of salvation by Christ, and to bring men unto God. So far as it is like other books written in the language of man, it must be interpreted by the same laws as other books; we must ever look at the words, the context, the speaker, and the customs and history of his age; but so far as it differs from other books—being inspired and intended for all time, every part of it foreshadowing or plainly exhibiting the Cross—we must give to its phrases and intimations a plenary and spiritual significance.

The offerings ordained by the Law, for example, considered in themselves alone, were sanguinary. They certainly contain no intimation that they prefigured the death of our Lord. Their ultimate purpose, however, is unquestioned; and in the meantime they taught the great doctrine of sacrifice, to some probably most plainly; and they impressed the hearts of men with some of the same sentiments as are now awakened by the Cross. The promise to Abraham, again, has no such terms as point exclusively and clearly to the coming of the Messiah; and such a promise found in Virgil or in Homer could not fairly be interpreted as having such a reference. But the Christian cannot doubt its meaning. If the writers of the Scriptures did not foresee all the truths which might be drawn from their words, God the Holy Spirit foresaw them; and the business of interpretation is to learn *His* purpose and end in what was revealed. To explain, therefore, the inspired Scriptures in all respects as if they were human compositions, with no wider range and no spiritual rule, is, as Lord Bacon has expressed it, to 'dishonour the Scriptures and injure the Church.'

2. Scripture must be regarded as **a system from beginning to end**; and the different books and sentences must be interpreted as the component and connected parts of a great whole. All the light which the first page throws upon the last, or the last upon the first, may be freely used for purposes of illustration and defence; not, of course, to prove that every passage has the same meaning, but to prove that all have the same end.

This rule, it will be observed, does for facts and truths what the kindred rule on the comparison of parallel passages does for the interpretation of the words. See § 129. 'From him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath,' for example, is the sentence of our Lord. Separate these words from the context, from the parallel passage in another Gospel, from the principle of the Divine government which they illustrate, and we miss their sense; explain them connectedly and the whole is clear. So of other truths. The sacrifice and the death of Abel, viewed in themselves, seem not more significant than the good deed and untimely end of any good man; but view his death as the firstfruits of sin, and his sacrifice as an evidence of the true nature of every acceptable offering; as a proof, moreover, how conscious demerit expressed itself in the first age, and how deeply it felt the need of vicarious suffering, and the whole narrative assumes an aspect of importance and dignity. Explain in the same way the ordinances of the Law, the personal history of many ancient saints, and incidents in themselves trivial become fresh marks of internal credibility, and even lessons for the instruction of the Church throughout every age.

3. As it is important to study Scripture connectedly, it is even more important to **study it in its true connexion**, and in that alone. A false system may be more mischievous than no system at all.

If idolatry, for example, be regarded as mental error merely, or if the Jews be regarded as an ordinary community, the punishment of that sin with death may seem severe. In reality it was a penalty inflicted only on the apostate Israelite, who had repeatedly accepted Jehovah as his chosen King. In a *theocracy* idolatry was civil treason; and the penalty of treason was therefore awarded.

To find fault with the acts of ancient saints, and to conclude that the record of their faults is as inconsistent with the Divine origin of the Bible as the acts themselves were derogatory to true religion, implies a false theory. Suppose, for example, that the object of the Bible be the revelation of God and the improvement of man, and the objections cease.

Take, as an instance, the deception of Jacob, Gen 27^{18-35}, and mark its lessons in relation to God and to ourselves. His superiority over his brother and his inheritance of the promise had been foretold at his birth. Isaac, Rebekah, and Jacob himself all probably knew of this prediction, although Isaac, in spite of it, made Esau his favourite, and destined for him the blessing. Jacob, again, had so little faith in the Divine promise, that he needlessly removed the difficulty of

his brother's priority by purchase: Rebekah, with no more faith, induced her son to practise the deception which obtained him the blessing. The guilt and folly of this whole transaction soon bore their appropriate fruits. The weakness of Isaac was punished by the alienation and dispersion of his children. Rebekah's unbelief ended in her becoming dependent upon the son she had wronged: her favourite son she never again saw. Jacob was driven from his home —was himself robbed and defrauded by Laban; the wife he despised became the mother of the chosen tribe, and in the deception of his own children he learned the grievousness of his sin. The punishment, in fact, was complete: nor less so is the lesson. It may be said that, nevertheless, he inherited the blessing; and this is true: for the gifts of God are without repentance, and the choice of His servants is founded upon no personal merit, but on reasons which, in most cases, as in this, He has seen it fit to conceal.

4. Let no man attempt or expect **the explanation of every difficulty.**

'Of the dark parts of Scripture,' says Warburton, 'there are two sorts, one which may be cleared up by the studious application of well-employed talents, the other which will always recede within the shadow of God's throne, where it would be impiety to intrude.' 'The last step of reason,' says Pascal, 'is to know that there is an infinitude of things which surpass it.' After all difficulties have been solved, and every word of the Bible explained, the weightiest difficulties of all will remain. The origin of evil, the mystery of Divine foreknowledge and free agency, and much of the scheme of redemption will still exercise our faith. We shall say even then, as it is our wisdom to say now, 'O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are His judgements, and His ways past finding out!'

CHAPTER IX

INTERPRETATION. PART II.

On the Use of External Helps

'The Bible resembles an extensive garden, where there is a vast variety and profusion of fruits and flowers, some of which are more essential or more splendid than others; but there is not a blade suffered to grow in it which has not its use and beauty in the system. Salvation for sinners is the grand truth presented everywhere, and in all points of light: but the pure in heart sees a thousand traits of the Divine character, of himself, and of the world; some striking and bold, others cast as it were into the shade, and designed to be searched for and examined.'—Cecil, *Remains*, p. 198.

Thoroughly to understand the Scriptures, to harmonize apparent contradictions, to gather up all the truth it contains, and sometimes even to enable us to select, out of several meanings, the one which is most consistent with the Divine plan, it is often necessary to seek **some external or collateral help.** We need to know the facts of general history, of chronology, of natural history, of geography, with the opinions and ideas prevalent among the people to whom the various parts of Scripture were addressed, and especially the manners and customs of Eastern nations. The illustrations derived from these several sources often throw a flood of light upon the sacred text.

I. Geography

167. Importance of Geographical Study. A knowledge of Geography, especially that of the Holy Land, is essential, in order to give local colour to our conceptions. By such

help, the histories become more vivid, the prophecies more expressive, the allusions in Bible poetry more intelligible.

The value of this study is illustrated by the subjoined examples—a few only out of multitudes. But first it will be useful to give in outline the chief geographical facts. To Bible students a good atlas is indispensable.

Lands of the Bible. The Bible directs us to the high parts of Armenia, 'the land of Ararat,' and the fertile plains between the Tigris and the Euphrates, as the first settlement of mankind after the Flood. In the subsequent dispersion, SHEM and his descendants occupied the south-westerly districts of Asia; HAM, Africa, with the land of Canaan and part of the Arabian peninsula; and, after some time, JAPHETH, Europe and part of Asia.

Going south-westwards from Ararat, we come to the mountain ranges of Lebanon, 'the White Mountain[a],' on the outskirts of Palestine. Lebanon proper extends from the north, where it reaches its highest elevation (about 10,000 feet), for about 90 miles, to the great gorge of the Litâny (Leontes) above Tyre; and Anti-Lebanon ('Lebanon towards the sunrising,' Jos 13^5) for 60 miles in a nearly parallel direction, until it culminates southwards in Mount HERMON[b]. Between the two ranges there lies the broad uneven plain called by the Greeks Cœle-Syria ('the Valley of Lebanon,' Jos 11^{17}, where Baal-gad is probably Baalbek, the heathen City of the Sun). Looking from either Lebanon

[a] 'White,' either because of the snows which for the greater part of the year cover the summits; or, as more generally explained, from the limestone cliffs and 'scaurs' which gleam in the sunlight.

[b] Hermon (9,200 feet), also called Sirion ('breastplate'), Senir (perhaps 'coat of mail'), and Sion ('elevated,' an entirely different word from Zion in Jerusalem), is distinguished by three summit-peaks, nearly equal in height. Hence 'the Hermons,' Ps 42^6 (not 'the Hermonites,' as A. V.). See, for the different names of this mountain, Dt 3^9 Ct 4^8 Eze 27^5 Dt 4^{48}. It is visible from almost every part of Palestine, terminating the view to the north. Probably it was on this 'high mountain' that our Lord was transfigured, Mt 17^1 Mk 9^2.

or Hermon (see Ct 4^8) we have around us 'the lands of the Bible.' On the left, far over the Syrian desert, are the Euphrates and the Tigris, which, taking their rise in Armenia, run into the Persian Gulf, and, as they flow, enclose the country called Mesopotamia ('between the rivers'). On the banks of these rivers, men first associated themselves in organized communities; on the Euphrates rose the city of Babylon, and on the Tigris, the city of Nineveh.

Between the Euphrates and the table-land east of Jordan, is the great Syrian desert; southward, Arabia Petræa (the rocky), including the peninsula of Sinai and the land of Edom (Mount Seir), with Petra as its capital. Southward still, and reaching to the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, is Arabia the fruitful, including 'Sheba' ('Seba' was in Africa on the opposite side of the Red Sea), whence (or through which) came the gold and spice of Eastern story.

Southwards, below Hermon, lies PALESTINE; having on its northern seaboard Phœnicia ('the coasts of Tyre and Sidon'), and, on its southern, Philistia. To the east there extends the wide, but undefined region of Syria (Aram, the highland), including Aram-Damassek, 'Syria of Damascus,' Aram-Zobah, 'Syria of Zobah,' Aram-Naharaim or Mesopotamia, 'Syria of the Two Rivers,' and Paddan-Aram, the 'Plain of Syria.' Through the whole of Palestine run two mountain ridges, that on the left being lost in the Red Sea, that on the right in the peninsula of Sinai, the scene of the wanderings of the Israelites during forty years.

To the west of this latter region we find EGYPT.

Beyond the plain which stretches away to the left is the ancient and famous city of Damascus; on the right are the blue tideless waters of the Mediterranean, connecting the traffic of Europe with the marts of the East; and in succession, Cyprus, Crete, Malta, and Sicily—'the isles

of the sea.' Of these, Cyprus is the only one visible from this point, far over the waste of water—the outpost of the western Gentile lands [a]. If now we carry our eye in a line with our right hand, we look toward the coast of ASIA MINOR, whose various provinces are mentioned in the Acts. Westward, across the Ægean Sea, is Hellas, or Greece ('Achaia'), having Macedonia on the north, and Thrace on the north-east. From Macedonia, Illyricum stretches away to the north-west. Across the Adriatic is the port of Brundisium (Brindisi), in Italy, whence a route over the Apennine Hills conducts to ROME, on their western side. Thence over the Alps, or, by the Gulf of Genoa, France (Gaul) is reached; and from France, over the Pyrenees, is the way to SPAIN, and, proceeding southwards, to 'Tarshish [b].'

168. Palestine.—Returning from these general views to Palestine itself, as the centre of all interest, we may enter into more special detail. Many passages, of both the Old and the New Testaments, will thus receive illustration.

Its Names.—The country was early inhabited by the descendants of Canaan, the grandson of Noah (Gen 11). It was thence called the land of *Canaan*. Or, as Canaan signifies 'the low region,' the name may be used in opposition to the highlands of Lebanon and Gilead (so *Gesenius*), as referring to the western side of Jordan only, Num 33^{51} Jos 22^{32}, &c. From the descendants of Jacob, it was called the land of *Israel*, 1 Sa 13^{19} 1 Ch 22^{2} 2 Ch 2^{17}; until the name

[a] See Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, pp. 115, 406. Cyprus is the 'Kittim' of the Old Testament, Num 24^{24} Is $23^{1.12}$ Jer 2^{10} Eze 27^{6} Dn 11^{30}. Compare Ac 11^{19} 13^{4}, &c.

[b] The most probable identification of Tarshish is with the Tartessus in the south of Spain (Cadiz), the western limit of the known world. 'Tarsus,' in Cilicia, has been proposed, but is untenable. 'Ships of Tarshish' was probably a general term, indicating any ships adapted for long voyages (as formerly 'Indiaman' in English), but not necessarily destined for the west. See 1 Ki 22^{48}.

was restricted to the northern kingdom after the Disruption. See 2 Ch 30^{25} Eze 27^{17}. From the covenant into which God entered with Abraham and his posterity, it was called the *Land of promise*, Gen 12^{7}, 13^{15} Ex 15^{7} Heb 11^{9}; and from the Philistines (strangers or immigrants), who inhabited its southern coasts, *Palestine*. But it is observable that this term is never employed in Scripture for the land as a whole. Where it occurs in A. V. it signifies, and should be rendered, *Philistia*, denoting simply the south-west coast. See Ex 15^{14} Is $14^{29.31}$ Joel 3^{4} (see R. V.), and compare Pss 60^{8} 83^{7} 87^{4} 108^{9}. All these, it will be observed, are poetical passages.

The *Holy Land*, Zec 2^{12}, the *Land of Jehovah*, Ho 9^{3}, and the *Glorious Land*, Dn 11^{41}, are also terms employed in Scripture. Sometimes the country is mentioned simply as 'the *Land*,' as Ru 1^{1} Lu 4^{25} 23^{44} Jas 5^{17}.

Its boundaries.—The boundaries of the land are variously stated at different periods in the nation's history. A distinction must also be drawn between the *ideal* and the *actual* extent of the territory. The promise to Abraham, Gen 15^{18} ('the Nile to the Euphrates'), reached its nearest fulfilment in the days of Solomon. North and south, the borders of Israel were from time to time affected by its amicable or hostile relations with 'the nations round about.' Westwards, the Mediterranean, and eastwards, the great Syrian desert, gave distinct lines of demarcation.

It is very noticeable that in Hebrew the usual name for the west was 'sea' (יָם, *yām*). For south, the word was generally *nĕgeb* (נֶגֶב, 'dry' or 'parched'), denoting the character of the region. Sometimes, also, the south was expressed by a name signifying 'at the right hand,' dependent on the usage of the word for east, *qĕdem*, signifying 'front,' the spectator being regarded as having his face towards the sun-rising. The north was the 'hidden' or 'dark' quarter (*tsāphôn*). Hence the 'points of the compass' with the Israelites were literally *Gloom*, *Dryland*, *Front*, and *Sea*.

The familiar phrase '**from Dan to Beer-sheba**' (in

Chronicles 'Beer-sheba to Dan') occurs in nine passages: Judg 20^{1} (a gathering of the tribes), 1 Sa 3^{20} (extent of the prophet's fame), 2 Sa 3^{10} 17^{11} $24^{2.15}$ and 1 Ch 21^{2} (David's dominion), 1 Ki 4^{25} (Solomon's dominion), 2 Ch 30^{5} (Hezekiah's summons). Dan, in these passages, is in the region at the foot of Hermon, with its chief city of the same name (or Laish). Beer-sheba is the place of Seven Wells, so celebrated in the patriarchal history, with its immense pastures extending to the Negeb.

But another specification of the northern and southern boundaries was in the repeated phrase, **'from the entrance (or pass) of Hamath to the brook of Egypt,'** Num 13^{21} 34^{8} 1 Ki 8^{65} 2 Ki 14^{25} 1 Ch 13^{5} 2 Ch 7^{8}. This carried out the boundary-line considerably further in each direction. In the north, instead of starting from the foot of Hermon, it extended to the depression between the northern point of Lebanon and the lower mountain range of Bargylas, continuing to the valley of the Orontes[a]. This depression opened up the way from the Mediterranean eastwards to the small but powerful kingdom of Hamath in the upper Orontes valley, upon the 'north border,' Num 34^{9}; visited by the spies, Num 13^{21}; allied with David, 2 Sa 8^{9-12}; made tributary by Solomon, 2 Ch 8^{4}; subdued by Jeroboam II after a brief period of independence, 2 Ki 14^{25-28}; and finally absorbed in the Assyrian empire, 2 Ki 18^{34} Is 10^{9}. See Am 6^{2}. The '*brook* of Egypt'—the southern boundary (not *river*, as in A. V., which would mean the Nile)—is the *Wady el-Arish*, a winter torrent which carries the waters of the Negeb into the Mediterranean, about 40 miles south of Gaza.

[a] An older explanation, now generally abandoned, is that the 'entering in of Hamath' was in the Lebanon valley, or Cœle-Syria, at the watershed formed by the screen of hills across the plain between the Orontes to the north and the Leontes (Litâny) to the south. See Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, Appendix, vol. iii, for a convincing discussion of the subject.

Care must be taken to distinguish between the various words translated 'river' in the Old Testament (A.V.). The Hebrew נָהָר, *nāhār*, denotes a perennial river, as the Euphrates; and the 'river of Egypt,' where this word is used, is the Nile (see Gen 15^{18}). But נַחַל, *nāchāl*, may stand for a mountain-torrent, partly or wholly dried up in summer, or for the valley down which such a torrent flows (in Arabic, *wady*). The Kishon, the Kidron, the Arnon, the Jabbok, and many smaller valley-streams, are denoted by this word. So the 'brook of Egypt' (as the R. V. reads in 1 Ki 8^{65} 2 Ki 24^{7} 1 Ch 13^{5} 2 Ch 7^{8} Eze 48^{28}) was the extreme south boundary of the Land of Promise. The distance from Dan to Beersheba was 143 miles, that from the entrance to Hamath to the brook of Egypt 277. The breadth of western Palestine, from Jordan to the Mediterranean, averages about 50 miles, so that the country was about the size of Wales.

169. Its main divisions.—The divisions and chief features of Palestine may be most clearly shown by a rough parallel arrangement[a], thus:—

North.				
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
The Sea.	Seaboard Plain.	Mountain Regions.	Valley of the Jordan.	Beyond Jordan.
(Mediterranean.)	Akka (*Carmel*). Sharon. The Shephēlah.	Galilee (*Esdraelon*). Mount Ephraim. Judæa—Hill country. Judæa—Wilderness.	Waters of Merom. Lake of Gennesaret. The Salt Sea. The Arabah.	Bashan and Gilead (*Perœa*).

Notes on the above Table.

1. **The unbroken coast.**—The great characteristic of the Palestinian seaboard is its unbroken character—an almost straight line without creeks or harbours. This tended greatly to isolate the land; it was 'shut in' by the sea.

2. **The Western Plain.**—This great level extended southwards from the Phœnician frontier to the promontory of Carmel—then along

[a] See Dr. George Adam Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 49.

the flowery vale of Sharon to the Shephēlah or 'lowland,' the Philistian plain, stretching inland in a series of low hills to the foot of the Judæan mountains. The word *shephēlah* ('plain' A. V., 'lowland' R. V.) is applied to this region in 1 Ch 27^{28} 2 Ch 9^{27} Jer 17^{26} Ob [19] Zec 7^{7}.

3. **The Highland Region.**—The Galilean highlands (the 'mountains of Naphtali')—limestone hills, rocky, often flat-topped, with innumerable clefts and precipices—descend on the south to the Plain or Valley of Jezreel (in the later Greek form of the word, **Esdraelon**[a]), an irregular triangle, with its base on the eastern side, about 15 miles, its north side below the Galilean hills 12 miles, and its south side 18, its apex being near the sea where the Kishon, 'that ancient river,' Judg 5^{21}, which drains the valley, forces its way through a gorge below Carmel. This plain was the great battle-field of Palestine. Here the Canaanite hosts were defeated by Barak, and the 'Amalekites, Midianites, and children of the east' by Gideon (Judg 6^{33} $7^{20.21}$). Here also, on Mount Gilboa, Saul and Jonathan fell before the Philistines (1 Sa 31 1 Ch 10), and at Megiddo Josiah was defeated and slain by Pharaoh-Necho, 2 Ki 23^{29}. To this region belong some of the most famous Bible lyrics—the Song of Deborah, the Elegy of David, and the lamentations of 'the singing men and singing women of Judah' at Hadad-Rimmon (Zec 12^{11}) over their pious hero-king. Such events were to the Apocalyptic seer a type of the final world-conflict between good and evil to be fought out at Har-Magedon (R. V.), 'the mountain of Megiddo,' Rev 16^{16}. Around this famous plain were places of familiar name. Tabor and Gilboa were its outstanding hills, making the base-line of the triangle; and among its towns and villages were Shunem and En-dor, Cana, Nain, and NAZARETH.

Beyond this plain to the south rises **Mount Ephraim**, the name not of a single eminence, but of an irregular range of hills, interspersed with fertile plains. Among these, the vale of Shechem, between the rocky uplands of Ebal and Gerizim, is pre-eminent. The beautiful Tirzah, and Samaria, with its 'crown of pride,' were successively the chief places of this part of the land; its sanctuaries were Bethel and Shiloh.

Southwards, again, with scarcely a break or mark of division, the mountains of Samaria merge into the more precipitous and rugged **hills of Judæa.** Among them, in a position of unique strength, stands the mountain-city of JERUSALEM.

A graphic description may here be quoted:—'At a point exactly opposite to the extreme north of the Dead Sea, i. e. due west from it,

[a] Judith 3^{9} 4^{6}. But the LXX generally transliterates the Hebrew word as Ἰεζραήλ.

where the mountain ridge has an elevation of about 2,710 feet, and close to the saddle of the ridge, a very remarkable feature of this rocky process, so to call it, occurs. The appearance is as if a single but vast wave of the sea of rock, rising and swelling gradually from north to south, had been suddenly checked in its advance, and, after a considerable subsidence below the general level, left standing perfectly isolated from the surrounding mass, both as to its front and sides. Add that about the middle of this wave there is a slight depression, channelling it from north-west to south-east, and you have before you the natural limestone rock which forms the site of Jerusalem[a].' For Divisions 4 and 5 see §§ 172, 173.

170. Jerusalem.—The Tel el-Amarna letters give the form Ierusalim, 'City of Salim' or 'of peace.' The name of the city, in the days of Abraham, was Salem[b], and it was called Jebus at the time of Israel's entrance on the Holy Land[c]. Its Jewish name was perhaps suggested by these facts, and means 'the foundation of peace.' Part of the city belonged to Benjamin, and part to Judah. The name of Jerusalem first appears Jos 10^{1}. A deep valley surrounds three sides, the valley of Jehoshaphat, through which the brook Kidron flows, on the east; and Hinnom, in a rocky gorge on the south and west. Beyond the valleys are lofty hills; so that the city is not easily visible till the traveller is near it. The soil is very stony, and the country round is dry and barren.

The extent of the city differed at different times. It was largest at the time of its final overthrow by Titus. It then included Zion, Acra, Moriah, and Bezetha. Zion, the ancient stronghold of the Jebusites, was on the south-western side of the city; and immediately north of it was Acra. Zion was the higher of the two (2,550 feet above the sea-level); the part of Jerusalem which was built upon it was called the upper city, and the part built on Acra, the lower. They were divided by a high wall, first erected by David, who resided on Mount Zion. The name of Zion was often used

[a] *Christian Remembrancer*, new series, vol. xviii. pp. 425, 426.
[b] Gen 14^{18} (Ps 76^{2}). [c] Jos 15^{8} 18^{28} Judg $19^{10.11}$.

in later times to denote the whole of Jerusalem, Pss 87^2 149^2 Is $33^{14.20}$, &c.

Moriah (where it is generally held that Abraham was about to offer Isaac, when the angel stayed his hand) lay to the east of Acra, and was the site of the Temple. The valley between it and Acra was nearly filled up, that access to the Temple might be more easy. With Zion, Moriah was connected by a bridge and terrace. It is now the site of the Mosque of Omar. To the north was the hill Bezetha, which Agrippa joined to the city. The whole circumference of the walls was, at the time of their greatest extent, about 4 miles (33 stadia, Josephus, *Wars*, v. 4, § 3). The total extent of the modern walls is between $2\frac{1}{4}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The population in 1899 was about 28,600 (Moslems 7,700, Christians 10,900, Jews 10,000).

To the east of Jerusalem, across the valley of Jehoshaphat, lay the Mount of Olives. This valley has been for more than 3,000 years, and is to the present day, used as a burial-place.

In the Valley of Hinnom (Gehenna) the Jews had once worshipped Moloch, and offered to it in sacrifice their own children. When Josiah recalled them to the worship of the true God, the valley was made the receptacle for the filth of the city, and for the bodies of criminals who had been executed, 2 Ki 23^{10} 2 Ch 28^3. To consume these substances fires were kept continually burning, and hence the place was used as an emblem of future punishment, Mt 5^{22}. On the south declivity of the valley lay the Potter's Field, afterwards called, from the circumstances of its purchase, the Field of Blood.

At the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, A. D. 70, more than a million of the Jews perished, and 97,000 were taken prisoners. About sixty years afterwards, the Jews, who had begun to gather round their ancient home, were all banished, their return prohibited on pain of death, and the site of the Temple ploughed up. Several hundred years afterwards, the city was again rebuilt. In 614 the

Persians captured it, and 90,000 Christians were slain. In 637 it was taken by the Saracens, who kept it till 1079, when the Turks became its masters. Its modern name in Arabic is *el-Kuds*, 'The Holy.'

After the capture of Jerusalem by Titus, many of the Jews removed to Tiberias, which was long the chief seat of their literature and learning.

The Southern Hill-country.—Southward of the Holy City, the hill-country continues to BETHLEHEM (6 miles), with its terraced slopes leading down to cornfields and pastures; then, 14 miles further, to Hebron (or Kirjath-Arba), one of the most ancient cities in the world, in its mountain valley, near the vineyards of Eshcol. Here was the grove of Mamre, Abraham's Amorite friend, where the patriarch conversed with angels: here, too, is Machpelah, the burial-place of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with their wives—one of the Bible sites that are positively known[a]. Hebron and its neighbourhood form one of the most fertile and beautiful districts in southern Palestine.

Twenty-five miles further south is Beer-sheba, also famed in patriarchal history. Two out of the wells there are still in use. The hills of Judæa here sink into the arid levels of the Negeb: and 'the South' is the natural boundary of the land.

171. Character of the highland region.—From northern to southern Palestine the highland region presents almost uniform characteristics. From the Plain of Esdraelon the hills to the south continue gradually rising, till at Jerusalem we reach a height, above the surface of the Dead Sea, of 3,900 feet. South of Jerusalem they reach a still greater height: eastward, the country falls rapidly, so that Jericho, which is but 20 miles from Jerusalem, is 3,406 feet below it: so accurate is the description given in the Bible, Lu 10^{30} Jn 7^{10} Ac 24^{1}. Compare Gen 26^{2} 46^{3}.

[a] See Stanley's *Jewish Church*, vol. i, Appendix, for a description of the visit paid to the mosque that covers the burial cave in 1862, in company with the Prince of Wales (King Edward VII).

Many of these mountains abound in caverns. Their sides afford large sheep-walks (Am 1^2), and the plains which are found on the summits of some are covered with corn. In the crevices of the rocks, and wherever there was any depth of earth, the olive flourished, and the fig. In peaceful times the hills were terraced with earth carefully banked up and renewed every year after the winter floods, so that where now the mountain-sides are bare and desolate there once were fertility and beauty. The vales were most luxuriant and fruitful, and the very deserts were largely formed of extensive pasture-land, unfit for the plough, but rich in grass and timber. The products of all climes were thus found in Palestine, and upon the same range of hills were often growing the fig and date of the tropics, with the oak and fir of the temperate zone. Watercourses were innumerable. East and west the torrents descended in the rainy season, the water being stored in reservoirs or 'cisterns' for summer use. In many places were fountains of 'living' or 'springing' water—a priceless boon! Such a fountain was called עַיִן, *ayin*, 'eye,' a word which appears in local names as *En*—'En-gedi,' 'En-gannîm,' 'En-rogel.' Distinguished from this is the Bĕ'er (בְּאֵר), a well or pit excavated in favourable situations to catch and store the water from whatever source. Thus the natural features of the land were eminently adapted to the circumstances of the Chosen People, exactly corresponding to the description of the Bible—'a good land, a land of brooks of water, that spring out of the valleys and hills.'

The Wilderness of Judah.—The hill-country of Judah, east and south of Jerusalem, passes into what is appropriately called 'the wilderness.' The limestone rocks become more rugged and precipitous, abounding in caverns. There is little vegetation of any kind, petty wandering tribes are its only inhabitants, with a few shepherds who roam with their flocks in search of the scanty herbage. Wild goats and

the 'conies' of the rocks here find their dwelling-place. This region is mentioned in Scripture Judg 1^{16}. From Jos 15^{61} it would appear that it had at one time a settled population. It was the scene of David's wanderings, the 'Carmel' on the western fringe of the district being the abode of the churlish Nabal, and En-gedi on the east, with its cave and fountain, the meeting-place on a memorable occasion between David and Saul.

Masada, to the south of En-gedi, on the shore of the Dead Sea, was occupied as a stronghold by Jonathan Maccabæus, and became in later days more memorable from a fearful tragedy at the close of the war under Titus. See Josephus, *Wars*, vii. 9, § 1. Some part of this wilderness, it has been generally believed, was the scene of our Lord's Temptation, tradition pointing to a mountain about 7 miles north-west of Jericho, called *Quarantana*, from the Latin word signifying *forty*.

172. 4. **The Jordan Valley.** The valley, or rather the deep gorge, of the Jordan forms the boundary of western Palestine. The ordinary word for river, *nahar*, is never applied to it in Scripture: it is always and only 'Jordan' (*Yardēn*), or 'the Jordan[a],' the *Descender*, as the word in Hebrew means. No name, indeed, could be more appropriate. Its remoter source is in a fountain of 'the Valley of Lebanon' (Cœle-Syria), where, under the name of the *Hasbâny*, it flows southward until it encounters the fuller stream from the sides of Hermon near Cæsarea-Philippi. Thence it passes to the 'Waters of Merom' (*el-Hûleh*), the marshy lake[b] near which northern Palestine was won, Jos 11^{5-9}. Hence it flows to the Lake of Chinnereth (perhaps 'harp-shaped'), Num 34^{11} Dt 3^{17} ('Chinneroth,' Jos 11^{2} 12^{3} 1 Ki 15^{20}); in the New Testament **the Sea of Galilee** ($12\frac{1}{2}$ miles by 8 in extent), or 'of Tiberias,' or 'L. of Gennesaret'—so memorable in the Gospel history. Before reaching this lake the Jordan has already begun to 'descend,' the

[a] Always with the definite article, except Job 40^{23} Ps 42^{6}.

[b] See Macgregor's *Rob Roy on the Jordan* for a vivid description of this lake, with its vast growth of the papyrus-plant.

surface level being 680 feet below that of the Mediterranean. From the outlet of the lake it pursues its swift, muddy, generally shallow course until it loses itself in the Dead Sea, called in Scripture the 'Sea of the Plain,' Dt 4^{49} 2 Ki 14^{25}, the 'Salt Sea,' Dt 3^{17} Jos 3^{16} 12^{3}, and the 'East Sea,' Joel 2^{20} Eze 47^{18} Zec 14^{8}. The name by which it is now generally known does not occur in Scripture or in any of the ancient Jewish writers. The Arabs generally call it *Bahr Lût*, the 'Lake of Lot.'

The distance between the Lake of Galilee and the **Salt Sea** is, in a straight line, 65 miles, but the many windings of the Jordan make the whole length of the river about 200 miles. As the surface of the Salt Sea is 1,292 feet below that of the Mediterranean, the total descent in that distance is somewhat more than 600 feet. The width of the river varies from 45 to 180 feet. Its margin on both sides is filled by an alluvial deposit on which tropical vegetation rankly flourishes. In time of harvest (April) the melting snows from the Lebanon swell the stream to a great width and depth, dislodging wild animals from their lairs by the bank and driving them into the higher country.

The Salt Sea, 16 miles from Jerusalem, overhung by barren mountains, which rise precipitously from a lonely, desolate shore, received that name from the mineral matters which it holds in solution, and which give to its waters a specific gravity of from 20 to 25 per cent. greater than that of sea-water. No form of organized life can survive in its depths, and the fish carried down to it from the Jordan immediately die. To these facts many travellers' fables have been added, as that birds cannot fly over it, nor wild animals live upon its shores. The sea has no outlet; the waters of the Jordan, as well as of the wâdys that descend from the surrounding hills (six millions of tons per day, it is estimated), are carried off by the enormous evaporation.

The Arabah.—South of the Salt Sea, a steep and rocky track, identified by some with the 'Ascent of Akrabbim,' or 'Scorpion Pass,' leads to the great desert plateau of which the **Wilderness of Zin**, west of the Edomite Mount Seir, forms a part. Known as the Arabah, and extending to the Gulf of Akaba on the Red Sea, it was the 'Plain' along which the Israelites in the last year of their wanderings made their toilsome way.

It may be noted that different words are translated 'Plain' in the A. V. of the Old Testament. Thus, Gen 12^{6} 14^{13}, and similar passages, the word (*'elon*) is 'oak' or 'terebinth tree': in Dt 3^{10} Jos 13^{16} it is more correctly 'table-land' (*mîshor*): in Dt $1^{1.7}$ 1 Sam 23^{24}, and many other passages, it is *Arabah* as above; and in 1 Ch 27^{28} Ob 1^{1}, &c. it is *Shephēlah*, or 'lowland,' as previously noted, § 169. For the most part, the R. V. makes these distinctions clear. See Young's *Analytical Concordance* for the passages.

173. 5. **Beyond Jordan.** The region east of Jordan, between the river and the Syrian desert, comprised in its northern portion the fertile territory of **Bashan**, an undulating and well-watered table-land between two mountain ranges. It is mostly of volcanic rock; the pulverized lava being an excellent foundation for pasture land. Hence the cattle of Bashan became proverbial for size and strength.

In the north-east of this region was the extraordinary district of Argob—afterwards Trachonitis, 'the rough country,' in Arabic *Lejah*, 'the Retreat'; a mass of basaltic rock 22 miles by 14, studded with towns and large villages. See 1 Ki 4^{13}. Many of these remain, although in ruins[a]. The territory was assigned to the 'half tribe of Manasseh,' a pastoral people. With Ephraim, it cast in its lot with the Northern Kingdom at the time of the Disruption: but was subject to the incursions of Syria (2 Ki 10^{33}), and became largely infected with the idolatry of its heathen neighbours. It was among the first of the tribes to be taken captive by Assyria (1 Ch 5^{26}), and so vanishes from history. Bashan was subsequently divided into the districts of Batanæa (from the original name), Trachonitis, Auranitis (the *Hauran*, afterwards *Iturœa*), and Gaulanitis (*Golan*, Jos 20^{8}).

South of Bashan were the verdant hills and rich pastures of **Gilead**, held by the tribe of Gad until the Assyrian invasion. At Ramoth-gilead was the battle-field where Ahab fell. The territory was watered by the Jabbok. This region embraced the greater part of the Peræa—the 'beyond Jordan' of the gospel history.

Still south, and extending along the upper eastern shore of the Dead Sea, rose the mountain fastnesses of **Moab**, to

[a] See Porter's *Giant Cities of Bashan*. Many of these remains, it is now proved, are Roman; but primæval relics are yet traceable.

the east of which lay broad pasture and forest lands. Among these mountain heights were Peor, from which Balaam surveyed the 'goodly tents' of Israel, and Pisgah, whence Moses viewed the Promised Land before his death. The region was allotted to the tribe of Reuben; and the river Arnon, by which it was bounded, was the southern frontier of the Holy Land. To the watercourses which fertilized the country, and the indisposition of the prosperous settlers to warlike enterprise, Deborah refers in her triumphal ode on the defeat of the Canaanites, Judg $5^{15.16}$ (see R. V.).

Beyond the Arnon, on the south, the Moabite territory was diminished by the conquests under Joshua; becoming alternately independent and tributary to Israel. The famous 'Moabite stone' was discovered at Dibon, in the Reubenite country. The **Ammonites**, whose diminished kingdom lay between Mount Gilead, with the Reubenite territory, on the west, and the Great Desert on the east, for some time maintained a precarious existence, but were finally amalgamated with the general Arab population. So with the **Edomites** or Idumæans, between the wilderness of Judæa and the Sinaitic peninsula.

174. Successive Inhabitants of Canaan: Political Divisions.—The Canaanites, at the dawn of their history, seem to have formed ten nations. They afterwards dwindled to seven, Gen 15^{18-21} Dt 7^{1}; of whom the Amorites were the most powerful, their name being sometimes used for the whole, Gen 15^{16}. The Philistines, Moabites, Midianites, Ammonites, and the children of Amalek and Edom, were residing, when the Israelites entered Canaan, in its immediate vicinity, and some of them within its borders.

Joshua divided the country into **twelve parts**, giving one to each tribe; Ephraim and Manasseh being reckoned among the tribes, and Levi having his portion among the rest.

In the *North* dwelt Asher, Naphtali, Zebulun, and Issachar: afterwards 'Galilee of the Gentiles,' and Galilee proper.

In the *Middle*, Ephraim and half of Manasseh: afterwards 'Samaria.'

In the *South*, Judah, Benjamin, Dan, and Simeon: afterwards 'Judæa.'

Beyond Jordan, Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh : afterwards 'Peræa,' &c.

Under the reign of Solomon, the kingdom was greatly extended, and the distinction of tribes became less marked. The whole of his territory was therefore divided afresh into twelve districts, each under its own officer, 1 Ki 4^{7-19}.

On the death of Solomon, ten tribes revolted from his son Rehoboam, and formed the **kingdom of Israel**, of which Sychar, or Shechem, was at first the capital, afterwards Tirzah (1 Ki 15^{33} 16^{23}), until Omri built Samaria (1 Ki 16^{24}). The tribes of Benjamin and Judah, with parts of Dan and Simeon, formed the kingdom of Judah, whose chief city was Jerusalem. This division ceased, however, on the overthrow of the kingdom of Israel by Sargon the Assyrian, after it had continued for about 220 years. The southern kingdom was conquered by the Babylonians under Nebuchadnezzar about 120 years afterwards, and the people were carried into captivity, which endured until the subjugation of Babylon by Cyrus, when permission was given to return. Syria and Palestine now remained **a province of Persia** until the conquests of Alexander, after the division of whose empire among his generals Palestine became subject to the rulers of **Egypt** and **Syria** in turn. Then followed the period of the Maccabæans and the final conquest by the Romans. See Part II, Ch. XVII.

From the Captivity onwards, the term Israel was applied to the surviving part of the whole nation, who were also called Jews, or Judæans, without regard to the old tribal distinctions. The name of Judæa as applied to the country is first found Ezr 5^{8} Dn 5^{13}.

In the time of our Lord, Palestine, a Roman proconsulate under the governor of Syria, comprised **five divisions**: (1) Galilee, which included most of the scenes of His personal ministry, and whence most of His disciples were chosen, Is 9^{1} Mt $2^{22.23}$ Lu 4^{14} Mt 26^{69} $28^{7.16}$. This district was despised by the Jews because of its distance from Jerusalem, its connexion with the Samaritans, and the impurity of the

dialect spoken by the people, Mk 14^{70}. (2) Samaria, which included the middle division of the kingdom, and separated Galilee from Judæa, Jn 4^{4}. (3) Judæa, which was nearly co-extensive with the ancient kingdom of Judah. (4) The district of Peræa (or *beyond* Jordan), which included Abilene, where Lysanias was tetrarch, Lu 3^{1}, Trachonitis, Ituræa or the Hauran [a], Gaulanitis [b], Batanæa (the ancient Bashan, but less extensive), Peræa proper (between the Arnon and the Jabbok), where John was beheaded, and Decapolis (or the district of the Ten Cities). (5) Idumæa, a province which was added by the Romans. It comprised the extreme south parts of Judæa, with a small part of Arabia.

It will facilitate the study of sacred Scripture to note the divisions of the country and the changes of the government in the time of our Lord.

Dominions of Herod the Great, from B.C. 37 to B.C. 3.

Judæa. Samaria, Idumæa.	Galilee, Peræa Proper.	Trachonitis and Ituræa.
Revenue, 400 talents (about one million sterling).	Revenue, 200 talents.	Revenue, 100 talents.
These he bequeaths to his son,	These he bequeaths to his son,	These he bequeaths to his son,
Archelaus, who is banished, and the province is put under procurators, of whom one of the chief was	*Herod Antipas*, who beheaded John.	*Philip Herod* (Jn 4).
Pontius Pilate, A.D. 7 to 36 (dies 36).	Herod Antipas banished (40).	Philip dies (37).

Herod Agrippa (grandson of Herod) made king of the whole (Ac 12) A.D. 41–44.

Procurators: Fadus; Alexander; Ventidius; Felix; Festus.	Agrippa), tetrarch of	Agrippa (son of H. Trachonitis, is made tetrarch of Galilee also. Paul pleads before him at Cæsarea (Ac 25, 26).

[a] 1 Ch 1^{31} (from Jetur); Eze $47^{15,18}$ Hauran. [b] Jos 20^{8}.

In later times these divisions have undergone various changes. In the fifth century A. D. the country was divided into three parts: Judæa and Samaria; Galilee and Trachonitis; Peræa and Idumæa. In the time of the Crusades episcopal sees were established in the principal cities. Under the modern Turkish authority, the whole country is divided between the pachaliks, or governments, of Beyrout, Damascus, and Jerusalem.

175. Climate of Palestine.—Under Physical Geography are included climate, weather, seasons, &c.; and a knowledge of these will often throw light on Scripture.

The heat of the climate of Judæa in summer is intense, and frequently proves fatal. Near Mount Tabor, many soldiers of the army of Baldwin IV died from this cause (A. D. 1186), at the very place (Shunem) where the child died in the days of Elisha, 2 Ki 4^{18-20}. How impressive the figure of the prophet, 'A man shall be as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land'! Is 32^{2}.

During the summer there is no rain in Palestine (hence the marvel recorded 1 Sa 12^{17}); but in the evening the mist (called 'dew' in A.V.) falls heavily and suddenly, often wetting the incautious traveller to the skin. It is as suddenly dried up on the following morning. Compare with this fact the following passages, Ps 133^{3} Ho 6^{4} 14^{5} 2 Sa 17^{12} Pr 3^{20}.

The early rains fall in the month of Tisri (Sept.–Oct.), replenishing 'the streams in the south' (Ps 126^{4}); the latter rains, in the month Nisan (Mar.–Apr.). The former quickened the seed, the latter filled the ears. It was at the time of the Passover, when the Jordan had been swollen by the early rains, that the Israelites crossed the Jordan, Jos 3. Compare the CALENDAR, § 216.

Philo tells us that there are no rains in Egypt; and it is certain that rain in that country is exceedingly rare [a]. Hence the evidence of the miracle mentioned Ex 9^{18-26}, and the hardness of heart displayed by Pharaoh in resisting the message of Moses.

[a] Zec 14^{18}.

Rain is generally preceded by a squall of wind. Compare 2 Ki $3^{16.17}$ and Pr 25^{14}.

Winds.—The east wind of Palestine is very hurtful to vegetation. In winter it is dry and cold, and in summer dry and hot. It carries off the moisture of the leaves too rapidly, and withers them [a]. When it sweeps over the Mediterranean it is peculiarly dangerous [b]. It was this wind—Euroclydon, or Euro-aquilo (east by north), called by sailors 'Levanter'—which proved so fatal to the ship in which Paul sailed [c]. The west wind brings showers, and, after a long drought, heavy rain [d]. The north wind is cold and drying [e]. The south wind brings heat [f] and whirlwinds.

Compare Is 17^{13} Ho 13^{3} Mt 7^{27}.

Wells.—The value of wells in the East can be fully appreciated only by those who know the scarcity of water in the summer season. These wells were a source of strife between Abimelech and Isaac, Gen 26^{18-21}; and Moses commemorates God's bounty in giving the Israelites wells which they digged not, Dt 6^{11}.

Travellers crossing the deserts sometimes go as much as 80 miles without finding water. The wells are often very deep, many of them 160 feet, and then filled only with rain-water. In going to Jerusalem the devout Israelites went from strength to strength, the rain filling the pools, Ps 84^{6}. The comparison of false teachers to wells without water is thus seen to be peculiarly just; bitterly disappointing the hopes of their hearers, 2 Pet 2^{17}. The *mirage*, or glowing watery appearance of distant sand, is also a figure expressive of disappointment. Camels and travellers are both deceived, and when they reach what seemed a sheet of water they find burning dust. See Is 35^{7} Job 6^{15} Jer 15^{18} marg.

Temperature of the nights.—Between the days and nights of Europe, there is no very great difference as to the qualities of heat and cold. In the East it is quite

[a] Gen 41^{6} Eze 17^{10} 19^{12} Ho 12^{1}. [b] Ps 48^{7}. [c] Ac 27^{6-14}.
[d] Lu 12^{54} 1 Ki $18^{44.45}$. [e] Pr 25^{23} Job $37^{9.22}$. [f] Lu 12^{55} Zec 9^{14}.

otherwise. In the height of summer the nights are often as cold as at Paris in the month of March, and the days scorchingly hot. Compare Gen 31^{40} and Jer 36^{30} Is 49^{10} Rev 7^{16}.

176. Applications of Geographical facts.—A knowledge of geography will often explain and reconcile the statements of the Bible, show the beauty and truthfulness of particular passages, confirm the authenticity of the narrative by the accuracy of the local colouring, and bring out the sense which might otherwise remain concealed.

Local characteristics yield many an allusion and figure to the poetry of Scripture: thus 'the glory of Lebanon,' the noble cedar forests; 'the excellency of Carmel,' its wide-spreading woods; 'and of Sharon,' the profusion of spring flowers; 'the pride of Jordan' (A. V. 'swelling'), the luxuriant and brilliant jungle-growth upon its banks affording many a lurking-place for wild beasts. See Is 35^{2} 60^{13} Jer 12^{5} 49^{19}, and the Psalms throughout. Note especially the prayer of the returning exiles: 'Turn again our captivity as the streams in the South,' the watercourses of the Negeb refilled after the summer drought. With regard to 'the South' it may also be noted that it so completely became the designation of a certain region that it was not incongruous to speak of going to the South when in fact the journey was northward. So with the spies, Num $13^{17.22}$.

The word 'sea' is often applied in Scripture to great rivers. The Nile is so called, Nah 3^{8}, where the prophet is speaking of No-Ammon or Thebes, the ancient capital of Egypt, built on both sides of the Nile, and 300 miles from the Mediterranean: see also Is 27^{1} and Jer 51^{36}, where the Euphrates is so called. The Nile is still called by this name, *el-Bahr* (the sea). It should be noted that the word 'coasts,' as often used in the A.V., means borders or districts, Mt 2^{16} 15^{21}. In the R.V. the word is assimilated to modern usage; as 'borders,' 'regions,' &c. In Matthew, Mark, and John the Lake of Gennesaret is spoken of as 'the *Sea* of Galilee.' Luke (5^{1}) has the more correct designation, 'lake.'

In Is 28^{1} Samaria is called 'the crown of pride,' and her glory is compared to the fading flower of the drunkard. The custom referred to in this passage (which is also mentioned in Wisd $2^{7.8}$) is that of wearing chaplets in seasons of festivity. Samaria, moreover, was built on the top of a round hill, and the fact suggested the appropriate image of a wreath of flowers bound round the head of the drunkard.

The chief city of Edom (Sela) is described, with equal truth, as dwelling in the clefts of the rock, and holding the height of the hill, Ob [3]: a most accurate description of the wondrous city of Petra, whose ruins were first explored in modern times by Burckhardt, in 1812, and have been repeatedly visited since. See Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, vol. ii, also Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, and Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*.

The expression in Jn 4^4, 'He must needs go through Samaria,' has sometimes been taken to imply that the 'needs be' was founded upon the Divine purpose. The fact is, that Samaria lay in the direct route between Galilee and Judæa; although the longer way by the east of Jordan was often taken, because of the enmity between Jews and Samaritans.

In the time of our Lord the Jews called all civilized nations, except themselves, Greeks, Ac 19^{10} 20^{21} Ro 1^{16} $2^{9.10}$ 10^{12}; as the Greeks called all, except themselves, Barbarians. Hence the woman whom Matthew calls a Canaanite is called by Mark a Greek and a Syro-phœnician, Mt 15^{22} Mk 7^{26}; the prefix 'Syro-' being intended probably to guard Roman readers (for whom his Gospel was designed) against supposing that she belonged to Carthage, a 'Phœnician city.'

On comparing Lu 24^{50} with Ac 1^{12}, it seems that our Lord led His disciples as far as Bethany; and yet He ascended from the Mount of Olives. In fact, the Mount of Olives has on the side of it next to Jerusalem the Garden of Gethsemane, and on the other side, the village of Bethany. The top of the mount overlooks them both, and the two passages are quite consistent.

'Asia' means in the New Testament a small part of Asia Minor (known as Proconsular Asia) of which Ephesus was the capital: hence when the Apostle was forbidden to go into Asia, he felt himself free to go to Bithynia, one of the provinces of Asia Minor, Ac 2^9 1 Cor 16^{19} Rev 1^4.

The word 'Grecian' or 'Hellenist' refers to *Jews* who for the most part resided out of Judæa, and used the Greek language and manners, Ac 6^1 9^{29}. On the reading of Acts 11^{20} see p. 80.

177. Glossary of Arabic local names.—In using a modern atlas of Palestine, the following table will be of use:—

Ain, *pl.* ayûn—fountain.	Bir—well.
Arabah—plain, or desert.	Birkeh, *pl.* burak—pool.
Bâb—door, gate.	Burg—castle.
Bahr—sea, or lake.	Deir—convent.
Beit, *pl.* buyût—house.	El, en, er, &c.—the.

Ghôr—valley between two mountains.
Hajr—great stone.
Hammâm—bath.
Jebel, *pl.* jebâl—mountain.
Jisr—bridge.
Kabr, *pl.* kubûr—tomb.
Kefr—village.
Khân—inn.
Khulat, Kusr—castle.
Kurn, *pl.* kurûn—horn.
Merj, *pl.* murûj—meadow.
Mesjed—mosque, temple.
Mukam—tomb of a saint.
Nahr, *pl.* anhûr—river.
Nukb—pass.
Râs—cape, or head.
Tel, *pl.* telûl—hill.
Wâdy—valley, or water-course.
Wely—saint's tomb.

History

178. Value of the Study.—The history of the 'nations round about' Palestine affords copious illustration of Scripture, as well as remarkable confirmations of its truth. Difficulties have been removed, allusions explained, narratives supplemented, and *data* for a sure Bible chronology secured. This branch of study has been pursued with especial success since the middle of the nineteenth century, aided by large discoveries of monumental records; and almost every year adds something to the store of ascertained facts.

Starting-point.—The starting-point in the history of the Chosen People is the departure of Abraham, at the Divine call, from 'Ur of the Chaldees,' that is, from his home in Shinar or southern Babylonia[a], to Haran, and eventually to Palestine. The vast alluvial plain to the north of the Persian Gulf, surrounding the lower course of the Tigris and Euphrates and the confluence of these two rivers, was the abode of one form of early civilization, as Egypt was of another. In his eventful life Abraham became conversant with both. The main connexion, however, of Babylon with his descendants belongs to the later

[a] Now *Mugheir*. The older identification with Urfa or Edessa is now generally abandoned.

history, as will be hereafter shown. Only once we have a glimpse of the first Babylonian empire in Abraham's day; when Amraphel, King of Shinar, with other chieftains, invaded the Holy Land, Gen 14. The monuments suggest the probable identification of this king with Khammurabi, who ruled in Babylonia before 2000 B. C. The cuneiform inscriptions also connect his name with that of his contemporary, Eri-aku of Larsa (Arioch of Ellasar); while 'Chedorlaomer' is the Elamite name Kudar-lagamar, 'servant of Lagamar,' one of the principal deities of the great kingdom east of the lower Tigris. His name has been read on a tablet of Khammurabi [a]. It was several centuries before the land of Israel was again brought into connexion with Shinar.

Egypt

179. The 'Shepherd-Kings.'—Meanwhile EGYPT became, in a special sense, the cradle of Israel [b]. A notable fact throws much light on the patriarchal history. When Abraham went down into Egypt, and afterwards in the immigration of Jacob and his family, the country was under the hated rule of the Hyksos, or 'Shepherd-Kings [c],' chiefs of an Arabian tribe that had vanquished the native rulers, and held the country for a little over 500 years. Hence the cordial reception at the Pharaoh's court, first of Abraham, afterwards of Jacob, and the assignment to Israelites of a separate district, shepherds being 'an abomination to the Egyptians,' Gen 46^{34}.

[a] See Sayce in Hastings' *Dict. Bible*, vol. i. p. 375, and *Monument Facts*, ch. iv; and Prof. Driver in the *Guardian*, March 11, 1896.

[b] See Ho 11^{1}. The history of Israel, in this aspect of it, found a parallel in the history of the infant Saviour, Mt 2^{15}.

[c] See the fragment of Manetho in Josephus, *Against Apion*, i. 14. The occupancy of Egypt by the Hyksos is dated by Prof. Flinders Petrie at about B. C. 2098–1587 (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. (5th ed.) p. 233).

180. The great Oppression.—The 'new king, which knew not Joseph,' Ex 1^{8}, was one of the dynasty (numbered eighteenth in the history of Egypt[a]) which succeeded the expulsion of the Hyksos; and the Pharaoh of the great oppression is shown by concurrent evidences to have been Ramses II (of the nineteenth dynasty), the Sesostris of the Greeks, the ruins of whose 'treasure cities' (Ex 1^{11}) remain to this day, bearing the recorded boast that they were built entirely by the labours of an alien people. The bricks, both with and without straw, still further illustrate the history[b].

It is true that, in the words of Prof. Sayce, 'there is no direct mention of the Israelites in Egypt on the monuments or in the papyri, neither is there any representation of their servitude; but the references and allusions in the Bible to Egypt are perfectly accurate. The *amu*, the representatives of the Semitic race generally, are depicted as brick-makers, and literally hewers of wood and drawers of water; hence, none need expect that every family or tribe of this numerous and wide-spreading race would be portrayed on the temples, or walls, or tombs. Also, there is no mention of the plagues which came upon the oppressors; but the nations of antiquity were not given to chronicle the misfortunes that overtook them[c].'

181. The Exodus and settlement in Palestine.—The **Exodus**, in all probability, took place in the reign of Meneptah, son and successor of Ramses[d], who, in fact, explicitly mentions Israel—the only known instance of the kind on the Egyptian monuments. To what period it belongs is uncertain[e]. The interpretation of the hieroglyphs

[a] The list of dynasties may be found in Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, also in Sayce's *Dwellers on the Nile* (R. T. S.), in Prof. Flinders Petrie's *History of Egypt*, and the various Biblical dictionaries. There is still some divergence in the chronology, but the tendency is to approximation.

[b] See Sayce's *Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments*, pp. 59, 60.

[c] *Dwellers on the Nile*, pp. 93, 94. [d] See Brugsch, ch. xiii.

[e] It is alleged by some to prove that Israelites were in Palestine *before* the Exodus—an unhistorical conclusion. Others suppose 'Israel' to be a mistaken reading.

is, 'The Israelites are ruined; their crops are destroyed.' After the settlement of Israel in Canaan, the relations of Israel and Egypt appear to have been amicable for some generations. It was through an Egyptian that David recovered the spoil from the Amalekites (1 Sa 30^{11-20}). Solomon had a treaty with Egypt, partly for commercial purposes (1 Ki 3^{1} $10^{28.29}$); he also married an Egyptian princess, daughter, there is little doubt, of the last king in the twenty-first dynasty, Paseb-chanen. Egypt afterwards became a place of refuge for the disaffected, 1 Ki 10^{28} 11^{17} 12^{2}. The first king of the twenty-second dynasty, Sheshank or Shishak, had some cause of offence against Rehoboam, and attacked and plundered Jerusalem, 1 Ki 14^{25-27}, 2 Ch $12^{9.10}$.

In the inscription on the walls of the great temple at Karnak, Sheshank is represented in colossal proportions, dragging his captives. In the enumeration of his conquests reference is made to his successful invasion of Palestine, and there are sculptured figures of captives with Jewish features. One of these 'bears the inscription, *Yudeh Malk*, and represents either the captive Judæan kingdom or Rehoboam himself[a].' Prof. R. Poole's article upon *Shishak* in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible* contains a transcription of the names of the cities or tribes conquered, among which some have been identified as Jewish. See also R. C. Ball, *Light from the East*, pp. 131, 132.

182. Palestine between great empires.—In later times, during the struggle for supremacy between Egypt and the great Asiatic kingdoms on the north, Palestine, lying between, was in continual unrest. It was an intrigue with the Egyptian Savakha or So of the twenty-fifth dynasty (2 Ki 17^{4}) that led to the downfall of Hoshea, the Israelite king, and to the captivity of the Ten Tribes. For many years the mighty struggle continued between Tirhakah 'the Ethiopian,' latest king of the twenty-fifth dynasty, and the kings of Assyria, who for the time prevailed, Is 37^{9} Nah 3^{8-10} 2 Ki 19^{9}.

A remarkable monolith of the Assyrian King Esar-haddon, dis-

[a] Rawlinson, *Hist. Anc. Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 423 (1881).

covered in the Taurus range (Hittite territory), represents that monarch with two suppliant figures at his feet, one of whom, in a kneeling attitude, is identified by the inscription as Tirhakah. The monument records the capture of Memphis (Noph), Is 19^{13} Ho 9^{6}, and explains the 'cruel lord' and 'fierce king' of Is 19^{4} as Esar-haddon. The Assyrian king holds a couple of chains, each attached to a ring in the captives' lips. See Is 37^{29}.

Egypt was again regained by Psammetichus II, of the twenty-sixth dynasty, who reigned fifty-four years: his son Neco adventured a march upon Babylon, for which purpose he traversed Palestine; King Josiah, resisting his progress, being defeated and slain at Megiddo. Neco placed Jehoiakim (Eliakim) on the Jewish throne, in place of Jehoahaz, the people's choice; but Nebuchadnezzar marched against the Egyptian king and inflicted upon him a decisive defeat at Carchemish, B.C. 605 (2 Ki 23^{29} 2 Ch 35^{20} Jer 46^{2}). This most important event practically decided the fate of Egypt, which became vassal to Babylon, afterwards to Persia, with occasional struggles and revolts. The series of dynasties ended with the thirtieth; Nectanebo being the last native ruler who has ever reigned over Egypt, so strikingly fulfilling the prediction in Eze 30^{13}. Compare Eze 29^{15} Zec 10^{11}.

Moab

183. Relations of Israel with Moab.—Before passing from the South to the great northern nations which had so much to do with the fortunes of Israel, reference may be made to **Moab**, a pastoral yet warlike people, with which the Israelites were sometimes friendly, oftener in collision. Ruth, ancestress of David, was a Moabitess. After the division of the kingdoms, Moab remained tributary to Israel, until after the death of Ahab. See the history in 2 Ki 3, as strikingly illustrated by the famous Moabite stone, discovered at Dibon, in 1868, by the Rev. F. A.

Klein, a missionary of the C. M. S. The stone was set up by the Mesha mentioned in the fourth verse as 'a sheep master.'

The original, as restored, is in the Jewish Court of the Louvre, at Paris; a facsimile is in the British Museum. Its record is supplementary to the passage in Kings referred to; it describes the successful revolt of Mesha and the revenge he took upon the Israelites for the former oppression of his country[a]. 'Chemosh' (the god), says Mesha, 'was angry with Moab, and Omri, King of Israel, oppressed the land for many days. And his son succeeded him, and he also said, I will oppress Moab. But I saw my desire upon him and his house, and Israel perished for ever.' The tribute exacted by Ahab was no doubt very burdensome, 'a hundred thousand lambs and a hundred thousand rams, with the wool,' 2 Ki 3^4 R. V. (marg.). But the boast of Mesha was premature!

Phœnícia

184. Relations of Israel with Phœnicia.—Passing northward, we reach **Phœnicia**, often termed also 'the district of Tyre and Sidon.' This country, comparatively small, became from its position on the seaboard and the convenience of its ports the great emporium of the East. Its people were of Hamite descent, though their language was Semitic.

The Phœnicians are known pre-eminently as Canaanite: compare Mt 15^{22} 'a Canaanitish woman' with Mk 7^{26} 'a Greek (or Gentile), a Syrophœnician.' The LXX renders 'Canaan,' 'Canaanite' by 'Phœnicia,' 'Phœnician,' in Ex 16^{35} Job 41^6. The land was allotted between Dan, Asher, and Naphtali, but was never wholly occupied by these tribes. Its relations, however, with Israel were for the most part amicable. Hiram, King of Phœnicia, was 'a lover of David,' 1 Ki 5^1. The western slopes of Lebanon, belonging to Phœnicia, furnished to Solomon the cedar and other materials for the Temple

[a] A full account of the stone, including text and translation, is given by Dr. Owen C. Whitehouse in the article Moab in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*, also a full translation in Prof. A. H. Sayce's *Fresh Light from Ancient Monuments*, and another by Prof. Driver in his *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel*. A convenient popular account is given by the Bishop of Ossory (W. Pakenham Walsh) in *The Moabite Stone*, 1883.

in Jerusalem, 1 Ki 5^{6-10} 10^{22}. In Pr 31^{24} 'Canaanite' is synonymous with 'merchant'; sometimes unfair in dealing, Ho 12^{7}. In Joel 3^{6} Tyre is denounced for selling Israelites into slavery, and in Am 1^{9} for betraying them to Edom. These acts were breaches of the brotherly covenant which had existed since David's time, as no king of Israel or Judah ever made war against Phœnicia. During the latter part of Solomon's life he tolerated Phœnician idolatry, 1 Ki 11^{5}, the worship of Baal, afterwards established in the kingdom of Israel by Jezebel. Tammuz, Eze 8^{14}, was a Phœnician deity, corresponding to the Greek Adonis. One of the most graphic and impressive descriptions of ancient commerce, in its fullness of pride, is in the poem on the overthrow of Tyre, Eze 27. A monumental inscription of Nebuchadnezzar should be read as a commentary on this wonderful dirge. Tyre had been besieged by the Chaldean monarch for thirteen years before it capitulated; the country subsequently fell under the power of Persia, and its ruin was completed by Alexander [a]. In New Testament times Phœnicia reappears—a *Gentile* land visited by our Lord, Mt 15^{21} Mk 7^{24}. Many of its inhabitants resorted to His ministry, Mk 3^{8}, and in apostolic times there were Christian churches at Tyre and Sidon, Ac 21^{4} 27^{3}.

Syria and Hamath

185. Petty northern states.—These countries have already been described in the Geographical Section. **Syria** was for the most part a collection of petty states, striving with one another for supremacy, but with indeterminate results. The kingdom of Damascus was the chief; and, after the days of Abraham, it first appears in the Bible history as confederate against David with Hadadezer, King of Zobah (2 Sa 8^{5}). The result was that Syria submitted to David; but in the days of Solomon it revolted under Rezon of Zobah, who also captured Damascus (1 Ki 11^{23-25}). From that time the Syrian kingdoms were independent of Israel, with which they had repeated wars under the 'Hadad' dynasty, notably in the siege of Samaria, so marvellously frustrated (2 Ki 6, 7).

[a] Students of prophecy have noted the *literal* fulfilment of the prediction that the rock of Tyre should become a place for 'the spreading of nets,' Eze 26^{14}.

Hazael afterwards murdered the Syrian king and usurped the throne, greatly harassing Israel, but was overcome in turn by Joash (2 Ki 12^{22-25}). Jeroboam II followed up the advantage; and in a subsequent reign the Syrian kingdom under Rezin is found in alliance with Israel against Ahaz, King of Judah. See the remarkable passage, Is 7^{1-6}. The issue of the conflict was that Ahaz invoked the aid of the Assyrian Tiglath-pileser against the confederate kings, and the swiftly following series of events led to the defeat and death of Rezin and the absorption of Damascus in Assyria. From that time the Syrian states ceased to have any independent existence, but became a part of the great Assyrian empire, from which they passed to the Babylonians, the Persians, and the generals of Alexander, who for the first time consolidated them into a great and prosperous kingdom. The inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser commemorate the fall of Damascus, the overthrow of Rezin (mentioned by name), and give the name of Hadad as that of the Syrian divinity[a].

Syria in New Testament times.—In New Testament times, Syria, as a Roman province, included Palestine, which, however, had a separate governor or procurator. Thus at the birth of our Lord the 'legatus' of Syria was C. Sentius Saturninus, followed by P. Quintilius Varus and P. Sulpitius Quirinius. At the date of the Crucifixion, M. Calpurnius Piso was legate, and Pontius Pilate procurator.

The Hittite Empire

186. A great forgotten empire.—That the *Hittites*, or 'sons of Heth,' held an important place in the Eastern world is suggested by many passages. In the time of Abraham there was a Hittite settlement at Hebron (Kirjath-Arba) in southern Palestine (Gen 23)[b], but their chief seat was in the north, their territory being defined as 'from the Lebanon to the Euphrates,' Jos 1^{4} Judg 1^{26}. The enumerators of David's census reached 'Kadesh of the Hittites[c],' a city

[a] See Ball, *Light from the East*, pp. 170, 181.

[b] See also Gen $26^{34.35}$ (Esau's Hittite wives) and the fears of Isaac and Rebekah concerning Jacob, 27^{46}.

[c] For so, according to the best interpreters, the unintelligible Tahtim-hodshi (2 Sa 24^{6}) ought to be read, the LXX supplying the clue.

on the Orontes, close to the Lake of Horus. Uriah, husband of Bathsheba, was a Hittite, probably of the southern branch. Solomon trafficked for horses with the 'kings of the Hittites' as well as of Egypt and other nations, 1 Ki 10^{29}. In the days of Elisha the Syrians, smitten with a panic in besieging Samaria, imagined that the Israelites were being reinforced by 'the kings of the Hittites and the kings of the Egyptians,' 2 Ki 7^{6}.

All this betokened an important people, but was dismissed as 'unhistorical' by critics who argued that there was no evidence of the Hittite power having ever been so considerable. But now the evidence of the monuments, in Egypt, Assyria, and Asia Minor, has abundantly confirmed and illustrated the Bible records. 'A great, forgotten empire' has sprung to light. It is proved that the origin of the people was in the mountain region of the Taurus, that their settlements and conquests embraced the provinces afterwards known as Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Lycaonia; while even in the west of Asia Minor, in the Pass of Karabel, not far from Smyrna, a monument believed by Herodotus to represent the Egyptian Sesostris (Ramses II of Egypt) is shown to be that of a Hittite warrior. Similar monuments confirm the conclusion that at one time the whole country (including the 'Asia' of the Acts of the Apostles) was under Hittite domination. In the Tel el-Amarna tablets, there are repeated references to the Hittites as a warlike and formidable people. From their early abodes the people extended their empire to the Euphrates, where Carchemish became their capital; and southwards by Hamath to northern Syria, where they established themselves at Kadesh as above mentioned. So powerful, in fact, was the nation, that the Assyrians applied the name of 'Hittite' to all the nations west of the Great River. Jerusalem itself is described as the daughter of a Hittite, Eze $16^{3,45}$, that is, as we should say, an original Hittite settlement, or colony.

The Hittite monuments, depicting a people of a marked Mongolian or Hamite type (Heth, a grandson of Ham, Gen 10^{15}), bear inscriptions which were long the despair of decipherers; but an important clue was suggested in 1903, chiefly through the labours of Professor Sayce[a]; and it is more than probable that these records, like those of Egypt and Babylon, may eventually be laid open to the student. Meantime, it is not too much to say, with Dr. Sayce, that

[a] See a paper by Dr. Sayce in the *Monthly Review*, September 1902, and the third edition of his book on *The Hittites* ('By-Paths of Bible Knowledge,' R. T. S., 1903).

'light has been cast upon a dark page in the history of western Asia, and therewith upon the sacred record of the Old Testament; and a people have advanced into the forefront of modern knowledge who exercised a deep influence upon the fortunes of Israel, though hitherto they had been to us little more than a name. . . . The friends of Abraham, the allies of David, the mother of Solomon, all belonged to a race which left an indelible mark upon the history of the world, though it has been reserved in God's wisdom for our own generation to discover and trace it out.'

See further *The Empire of the Hittites*, by Dr. W. Wright, 1884; Schrader, *Keilinschriften*, Eng. trans., vol. i. p. 107; and Col. Conder, *The Hittites*, 1898; a Tract on *The Hittites* by Dr. L. Messerschmidt, 1903, condensing the results of research to that date; also the great Bible dictionaries.

Assyria

187. Assyrian Kings mentioned in the O. T.—The kings of **Assyria** mentioned in Scripture are (1) in connexion with the Israelitish kingdom, Shalmaneser II, B.C. 858, Shalmaneser III, 781, Pul, otherwise Tiglath-pileser III, 745, Shalmaneser IV, 727, and Sargon, 722; (2) in connexion with the kingdom of Judah, Sennacherib, 715, Esar-haddon, 681, and Asshur-bani-pal, 'the great and noble Asnapper,' Ezr 4^{10}. The monuments brought to light, especially at Nineveh, by Botta, Layard, and other explorers, abound in most interesting and valuable elucidations of Scripture.

The earliest Israelite king expressly mentioned on these monuments is Omri, the conspicuous character of whose reign is shown by the fact that in inscriptions of Shalmaneser II, Tiglath-pileser III, and Sargon, the Northern Kingdom is referred to as 'the house' or 'land' of Omri. On the celebrated Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser, discovered by Mr. Layard in 1846, and now in the British Museum, Jehu, though the destroyer of Omri's dynasty, appears as his son. Another inscription of this Assyrian monarch, found at Kurtch on the Tigris, and now in the British Museum, records his important victory at Qarqar on the Orontes over twelve allied kings, led by Ben-hadad of Syria, and including Ahab [Akhabbu] of Israel, who contributed to the forces 700 chariots, 700 horsemen, and 10,000 men [a]. Here no doubt we

[a] Sayce, *Assyria, its Princes, Priests, and People* ('By-Path' Series, R. T. S.), p. 147; C. J. Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 165.

see a sequel to the brief alliance made between the kings of Israel and Syria, so sternly denounced by the prophet Elijah, 1 Ki $20^{34.42}$. This was in the sixth year of Shalmaneser: in his eleventh year we find him (in the inscription on the Black Obelisk) again in conflict with Syria, now under Hazael; and Jehu is mentioned as among the tributary kings; see 2 Ki 10^{32}. 'A series of bas-reliefs in the second row, extending round the four sides of the monolith, represents the payment of tribute by "Yaua (Jehu), the son of Khumri (Omri)," who brought silver, gold, lead, and bowls, dishes, cups, and other vessels of gold.' Further, 'from a paper-squeeze in the British Museum we learn,' writes Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge, 'that Shalmaneser II received tribute from Jehu during the expedition against Hazael' (*Brit. Mus. Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, p. 25 (1900)).

In the annals of Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, it is recorded (2 Ki 13) that the kingdom was oppressed by Syria, under Hazael and his son Benhadad III. It is parenthetically added (verse 5) that Jehovah 'sent a deliverer,' so that 'the children of Israel dwelt in their tents as aforetime.' Of this deliverance, and the power by which it was effected, the sacred historian tells nothing more; but we can now read it on the monuments. The 'deliverer' was the King of Assyria, Rimmon-nirari III (grandson of Shalmaneser II).

In a long inscription of his we read 'To the land of Damascus I went; I shut up Marih, King of Damascus, his royal city. The fear of the brilliance of Assur, his lord, overwhelmed him, and he took my feet; he offered homage, 2,300 talents of silver, 20 talents of gold, 3,000 talents of bronze, 5,000 talents of iron, garments of damask and linen; a couch of ivory, a sunshade of ivory I took, I carried to (Assyria). His spoil, his goods innumerable, I received in Damascus, his royal city, in the midst of his palace[a].'

188. Aggressions of Tiglath-pileser.—The references in the Assyrian inscriptions to the expeditions of Tiglath-pileser against Syria and Israel are equally striking. Thus, in the annals of Menahem, 2 Ki 15^{19}, we have a brief reference to the invasion of Israel by 'Pul,' another name for the Assyrian king, with the tribute exacted.

[a] Sayce, *Assyria, its Princes, Priests, and People*; Schrader, *Keilinschriften*, Eng. trans., vol. i. p. 203.

The name of Menahem appears among that of other tributaries of Tiglath-pileser III on the hexagonal clay-cylinder of Sennacherib, known among Assyriologists as the Taylor Cylinder, from the name of a previous owner, but now among the treasures of the British Museum. Also on a much mutilated fragment of the annals of Tiglath-pileser III appear the names of Rezin of Damascus, Menahem of Samaria, and Hiram of Tyre as tributary kings. According to the Assyrian inscriptions, three or four years, not ten, must have been the extent of the reign of Menahem, viz. B.C. 741–737 [a].

The son and successor of Menahem was slain by Pekah, who usurped his throne, and in whose days Tiglath-pileser, in a fresh descent upon the Israelite kingdom, took several cities and transported the inhabitants to Assyria, 2 Ki 15^{29}. This also the Assyrian king has chronicled in an account of his expedition against Philistia.

'The towns of Gil(ead) and Abel-(beth-Maachah) in the province of Beth-Omri [Samaria], the widespread (district of Naphta)li to its whole extent I turned into the territory of Assyria. My (governors) and officers I appointed (over them).

'The land of Beth Omri . . . a selection of its inhabitants (with their goods) I transported to Assyria. Pekah their king I put to death, and I appointed Hoshea to the sovereignty over them. Ten (talents of gold . . . of silver as) their tribute I received, and I transported them (to Assyria).'

It is observable that the sacred historian, 2 Ki 15^{30}, ascribes the death of Pekah to a conspiracy by Hoshea; whereas Tiglath-pileser claims to have slain Pekah and to have raised Hoshea to the throne. No doubt there was a Syrian party in Samaria as well as an Assyrian; Pekah belonging to the former, Hoshea to the latter. Hence the act of Hoshea may have been virtually that of the Assyrian king.

The siege of Damascus by Tiglath-pileser is recorded 2 Ki 16^{9}. From the Assyrian inscriptions we learn that the city stood a two years' siege; that Tiglath-pileser, not being successful the first year (B.C. 733),

[a] See article on 'Chronology of the Old Testament,' by Dr. E. L. Curtis, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*; Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Eng. trans., vol. i. p. 265.

returned in the next. Of a mutilated inscription referring to the event, a few lines are : 'He betook himself, to save his life, alone to flight. . . . Into the chief gate of his city I entered, his superior commandants alive . . . I caused to be crucified [impaled], his land I subjugated.' Upon a now lost tablet Sir Henry Rawlinson found a reference to the death of Rezin.

At Damascus, according to the Assyrian records, Tiglath-pileser gathered twenty-three kings to do him homage. This illustrates 2 Ki 16^{10}, 'Ahaz went to Damascus to meet Tiglath-pileser.' Hoshea would be another of these kings, although not expressly mentioned either in the history or the inscriptions.

189. Shalmaneser and Sargon.—The Assyrian king mentioned in 2 Ki 17^{3} 18^{9} was Shalmaneser IV. He besieged Samaria for three years, at the end of which time 'they took it.' The form of expression, omitting any reference to the king, is explained by the monuments. Shalmaneser died before the siege was completed, and the city was actually taken by his successor, Sargon, who thus records the achievement :—

Fall of Samaria.—'(In the beginning of my reign) the city of Samaria I besieged, I captured ; 27,280 of its inhabitants I carried away ; fifty chariots in the midst of them I collected, and the rest of their goods I seized ; I set my governor over them and laid upon them the tribute of the former king (Hoshea)[a].'

The removal of the people of Samaria, and the repeopling of their land, is confirmed by such inscriptions of Sargon as the above, and the following : 'I assigned abodes to the inhabitants of the countries taken by me,' and allusions to those whom he 'transported to the midst of the land of Beth-Omri . . . setting them in the city of Samaria[b].'

Conquests of Sargon.—The name of Sargon occurs but once in Scripture (Is 20^{1}), in connexion with an expedition against Ashdod conducted by his general. Ashdod was the key to Egypt ; and from inscriptions which recount Sargon's prowess, we find that the Assyrian monarch, having added

[a] Sayce, *Assyria, its Princes, Priests, and People.* There is another rendering in Schrader, vol. i. p. 264.

[b] Sayce and Schrader, as above.

Hamath to his dominions, and overturned the Hittite empire in the capture of Carchemish (see Is 10^9), was advancing to the south-west, taking Palestine in his way, and, as he asserts, capturing Jerusalem. His approach to the capital, from village to village, from hill to hill, is vividly depicted by the prophet in a familiar passage; and in 'the burden of the valley of vision,' ch. 22, the picture is repeated, as from within the city[a]. But Sargon withdrew, leaving Jerusalem tributary, but still hankering after alliance with Egypt, the source of many subsequent troubles.

Probably Sargon was hindered from pressing his advantage against Judah by the troubles in Babylonia, then a small and struggling province, intent upon casting off the Assyrian yoke. Merodach-baladan, the Babylonian chieftain, sought the alliance of Hezekiah by an embassage sent ostensibly to congratulate him on recovery from a dangerous illness. See Is 39, to be placed, with ch. 38, *before* the account of Sennacherib's invasion. That invasion appears to have been in the twenty-fourth year of Hezekiah, B.C. 701. The fourteenth year was the date of *Sargon's* invasion, B.C. 711[b].

190. Sennacherib and the kingdom of Judah.—On the death of Sargon, B.C. 705, murdered by his soldiers, and the accession of his son Sennacherib, Hezekiah, relying upon the co-operation of Egypt, endeavoured to cast off the Assyrian yoke, refusing the customary tribute. Sennacherib, after three years' delay, set out upon the memorable expedition related at large, Is 36, 37 and 2 Ki 18, 19 (the same account).

The story is also told on the Assyrian monuments, from Sennacherib's

[a] Before the discovery of the monuments that have thrown light upon Sargon's reign, it was supposed by all expositors that the prophet's representations referred to the invasion of Sennacherib. Some still adhere to this view. An obvious difficulty is that Sennacherib advanced from the south-west (from Lachish), whereas the description in Is 10 represents the invader's approach as from the north-east, the way by which Sargon would come. But see the discussion of Is 36^1 in the work of Principal Douglas, *Isaiah One and his Book One*, pp. 405–407.

[b] On this part of the history, see Sayce's *Fresh Light from Ancient Monuments* (1900), pp. 112–114.

own point of view. After narrating the siege and ruin of Lachish[a] (2 Ki $18^{13.17}$ 2 Ch 32^{9}), his account, preserved upon the Taylor Cylinder, in a most interesting way supplements the Biblical account; although it makes no mention of the great disaster so impressively recorded by the Jewish historian (2 Ki 19^{35}). Like the Egyptians and some other nations, the Assyrians often ignored their defeats and exaggerated their victories. Sennacherib's narrative, at any rate, is not that of a decisive success: the campaign closed suddenly and without the usual long list of spoil—a lack which he attempts to supply by representing that the presents offered by Hezekiah were sent to Nineveh.

The following is one of the latest versions of the portion referring to Hezekiah, as given by Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge in his *Guide to the Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum*, p. 195 (1900):—

'I then besieged Hezekiah of Judah, who had not submitted to my yoke, and I captured forty-six of his strong cities and fortresses and innumerable small cities which were round about them, with the battering of rams and the assault of engines, and the attack of foot soldiers, and by mines and breaches (made in the walls). I brought out therefrom two hundred thousand and one hundred and fifty people, both small and great, male and female, and horses, and mules, and asses, and camels, and oxen, and innumerable sheep I counted as spoil. (Hezekiah) himself, like a caged bird, I shut up within Jerusalem his royal city. I threw up mounds against him, and I took vengeance upon any man who came forth from his city. His cities which I had captured I took from him and gave to Mitinti, King of Ashdod, and Padî, King of Ekron, and Silli-Bel, King of Gaza, and I reduced his land. I added to their former yearly tribute, and increased the gifts which they paid unto me. The fear of the majesty of my sovereignty overwhelmed Hezekiah, and the Urbi and his trusty warriors, whom he had brought into his royal city of Jerusalem to protect it, deserted. And he dispatched after me his messenger to my royal city Nineveh to pay tribute and to make submission with thirty talents of gold, eight hundred talents of silver, precious stones, eye-paint . . . ivory couches and thrones, hides and tusks, precious woods, and divers objects, a heavy treasure, together with his daughters, and the women of his palace, and male and female musicians.'

[a] This siege, with its barbarous details, is represented upon a series of sculptured slabs from Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh, in the Assyrian saloon of the British Museum. Engravings and descriptions will be found in Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh* and *Nineveh and Babylon*; also in *Light from the East*, by C. J. Ball, pp. 190, 191.

The discrepancy between the Biblical text of 300 talents of silver, and the 800 as referred to in the Assyrian account, may be explained by the different standards of the Palestinian and Babylonian currency and perhaps by monumental exaggeration.

Destruction of Sennacherib's army.—It should be noted that the Egyptian tradition of the catastrophe of Sennacherib's host, as recorded by Herodotus (ii. 141), places the event near Pelusium, where the Assyrian army suddenly found itself defenceless, through innumerable field-mice having during the night gnawed their bowstrings and the thongs of their shields, rendering them useless. It is certain that Sennacherib was at the time on his march to Egypt (Is 37^{25}), taking Jerusalem and Libnah in his way. Herodotus no doubt saw some hieroglyphic illustration of the disaster, in which a *mouse*, the emblem of pestilence, was gnawing at a *bow*, the symbol of military force. See Driver, *Isaiah*, p. 82.

In 2 Ki 19^{37} and Is 37^{38} the assassination of Sennacherib by two of his sons is related : and an inscription found at Kouyunjik, Nineveh, now in the British Museum, refers to Esar-haddon's receipt of the news of the unnatural crime of the two brothers :—'From my heart I made a vow ; my liver was inflamed with rage. Immediately I wrote letters, saying that I assumed the sovereignty of my father's house.' He then lifted up his hands in prayer to his gods, and marched upon Nineveh. He was opposed, but by whom is not certain, as the end of the tablet, as well as the beginning, has been broken off. See *Records of the Past*, vol. iii. p. 103 (First Series).

Esar-haddon and Manasseh of Judah.—Several important cylinders have been discovered referring to the historical events of Esar-haddon's reign. Upon one of them is the statement that he assembled 'the kings of Syria and of the nations beyond the sea'—among whom we find mentioned—'Manasseh, King of Judah.' The inscription in part runs as follows :—'I assembled the kings of Syria and the land beyond the (Mediterranean) Sea, Baal, King of Tyre, Manasseh, King of Judah, Kaus-gabri, King of Edom, Migri, King of Moab, &c.[a]'

[a] Sayce, *Assyria, its Princes, Priests, and People*, p. 152.

Mention has already been made of Esar-haddon's triumph over the Ethiopic-Egyptian King Tirhakah.

His reign is chiefly remarkable from his completing the capture of Babylon. In fact, he was the only Assyrian monarch who actually ruled in that city. This explains what has sometimes caused a difficulty in 2 Ch 33^{11} : 'The captains of the host of the king of *Assyria* took Manasseh and carried him to *Babylon*.' Why not to *Nineveh*, the Assyrian capital? But the narrator shows his perfect accuracy, as confirmed by the monuments.

Asshur-bani-pal.—The Assyrian records of this son of Esar-haddon, now identified with 'the great and noble Asnapper' of Ezr 4^{10}, show him to have been a very able and powerful monarch. He founded the great library of Nineveh which has furnished so many treasures to the British Museum. The fact that it was he who peopled Samaria with colonists from the conquered nations, is in accord with all we know of his character and with the policy of the greatest Assyrian kings[a].

The Assyrian empire fell B.C. 606 before the armies of Nabopolassar, the revolted vassal-king of Babylonia in alliance with the Medes. See Eze 31^{3-14} for a description of the empire's fallen greatness, and the prophecy of Nahum throughout for the premonition of its final ruin; compare Zep 3^{15}.

Babylon

191. The later or **Second Babylonian Empire** was founded by Nabopolassar, who wrested the sovereignty from the long dominant power of Assyria. Nebuchadnezzar, or more correctly *Nebuchadrezzar*, son and successor of Nabopolassar, first showed his prowess in warfare as his father's general, by his decisive victory over Egypt at Carchemish as already noted. Before the death of his father, he had captured Jerusalem, making Judæa tributary to

[a] See Ball, *Light from the East*, p. 200.

Babylon, and afterwards completed his conquest by crushing the rebellion of Jehoiakim, who fell ignominiously in the struggle[a]. The brief reign of Jehoiachin, his long captivity in Babylon, and the ten years' reign of his uncle Zedekiah, with its terrible close in the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile of its people, are recounted by the inspired historian[b]. It is observable that the prophet Jeremiah ($32^{4.5}$ 34^{3}) had foretold the deportation of Zedekiah to Babylon, while Ezekiel (12^{13}) predicted that he should not see the city. Both prophecies were literally fulfilled, Zedekiah being cruelly blinded before he was carried thither.

The **reign of Nebuchadnezzar** was chronicled by Berosus, 'the Manetho of Chaldæa.' His writings have mostly perished, but, as in the case of the Egyptian historian, Josephus in his treatise *Against Apion*[c] has preserved a fragment which at least illustrates Nebuchadnezzar's boast, recorded Dn 4^{30}, 'Is not this great Babylon which I have built?' This is also the burden of the 'East India House' inscription of the king, discovered among the ruins of Babylon in 1803[d].

The list of public works which the king had undertaken for the improvement of Babylon is amazing. They comprised more than twenty temples, with strengthened fortifications, the excavation of canals, vast embankments by the river, and the celebrated hanging gardens. Another inscription, on two barrel cylinders in the British Museum, gives a very similar account of the architectural works by which this great monarch enriched his metropolis and kingdom[e]. All through Babylonia the discovery of bricks enstamped with Nebuchadnezzar's name attests his enterprise as well as his opulence and taste. On a cylinder disinterred from the ruins of Abû Habbah is an inscription recording the restoration of the Temple of the Sun. The words read almost like a heathen version of Solomon's address and prayer at the dedication of the Temple in Jerusalem. In the Book of Daniel the sequel of Nebuchadnezzar's boast was his attack of madness and his seclusion from public affairs. Neither Berosus nor any

[a] Josephus, *Ant.* x. 6, § 3. See Jer $22^{18.19}$.

[b] See 2 Ki 24^{8}–25^{21}. [c] Book i. 19.

[d] See a representation of this inscription in Ball's *Light from the East*, p. 207. A facsimile of the inscription is in the British Museum.

[e] A translation of this will be found in Dr. Wallis Budge's *Babylonian Life and History*, pp. 16–22.

of the hitherto-discovered inscriptions refers directly to this fact[a]; which need excite no surprise, as references to what was inglorious and humiliating were out of the line of such monumental records.

192. The **narratives in Daniel** accord in many ways with the representations given of Babylon and its customs. That no mention has been as yet discovered of Daniel himself, who for a time played so great a part in Babylonian affairs, is not surprising. Great kings did not name their subordinates when recording the glory of their deeds. The honour and renown they arrogated to themselves[b].

Not a few **difficulties** that have arisen in the comparison of the Bible history with the monumental records have been cleared away by larger knowledge. Thus **Belshazzar**, termed a king in Dn 5 (also 7^1 8^1), Nebuchadnezzar being his father (verses 2, 18), does not anywhere appear in the Babylonian lists of kings; Evil-merodach having been Nebuchadnezzar's son and successor, 2 Ki 25^{27}. Hence there has been much discussion as to Belshazzar's personality, some critics even doubting his existence, until the discovery by Sir H. Rawlinson of an inscribed cylinder of King Nabonidus, expressly naming him (Bêlu-sharra-usur) as his eldest son. Another cylinder of the same king states that the son of Nabonidus was appointed commander of his forces. The difficulty thus vanishes. Nabonidus was an able and accomplished ruler, and has left many records of his eighteen years' reign. But he was of a placid, inert disposition, and averse from the cares of state. Belshazzar, accordingly, acted as his father's viceroy, practically king, being a 'son' or descendant of Nebuchadnezzar[c] through the marriage of Nabonidus into that great king's family. Both father and son died in the same year (B. C. 538), Belshazzar falling in Babylon, and Nabonidus, who had fled to Borsippa before the approach of the army of Cyrus under Gobryas, dying five months afterwards[d].'

Another difficulty in the Book of Daniel is the reference to '**Darius the Mede**' as 'king' in Babylon after the capture of the city by Cyrus (Dn 5^{31} 6). No such name appears on the monuments or in secular history. That Cyrus placed **Gobryas**, governor of Kurdistan,

[a] For some time it was supposed that a passage in the king's great inscription, interpreted of his temporary seclusion from public affairs, might refer to this malady; but the reading is now believed to be mistaken.

[b] See Dr. Wallis Budge, p. 71.

[c] See the full and convincing discussion of the facts in Canon Rawlinson's *Egypt and Babylon*, 1885, ch. ix. Herodotus (i. 185–188) speaks of Nabonidus under the slightly altered form of *Labynetus*.

[d] Berosus.

in charge of Babylon until he himself could assume the sovereignty, appears from the Babylonian chronicle; and it has been conjectured that he was the 'king' or 'vice-king' in question. The difficulties of such identification are great. There is no evidence that Gobryas was a Mede[a], and his assumption of the name Darius cannot be satisfactorily explained. Another explanation is that he was **Cyaxares II**, uncle to Cyrus[b]; but this also has many improbabilities. If it be accepted, 'Ahasuerus' in 9[1] must be a Hebrew form of 'Astyages.' The supposition that **Darius Hystaspes** is intended, although upheld by some scholars, is quite inadmissible. That he was a Median nobleman, otherwise unknown, has also been suggested. On the whole, the identification of this Darius must, for the present, be placed among the unsolved problems of sacred history awaiting elucidation by further discoveries.

A cylinder of **Cyrus** himself, unfortunately imperfect, now in the British Museum, describes from his own point of view the capture of Babylon. Its inscription may well be compared with the narratives of Scripture and of Herodotus, which it supplements in a most interesting way. Among other references to the respect paid by Cyrus, an evident latitudinarian, to the national deities, the king goes on to say, 'the gods that abode in the (conquered) lands I restored to their place, and settled in an eternal abode; all their populations I gathered together, *and restored to their own dwelling-place.*' The words very strikingly illustrate the permission given to the Jews to return to their own country, and to reinstate the worship of Jehovah the God of Israel. It was 'no isolated act of clemency, but a part of the general policy of the Persian conqueror towards the foreign populations who had been deported to Babylonia by Nabopolassar and his successors[c].'

[a] According to Xenophon, *Cyrop.*, he was an Assyrian.

[b] Evidently the opinion of Josephus. 'He (Darius) was the son of Astyages, and had another name among the Greeks' (*Ant.* x. 11, § 4).

[c] See a representation of this cylinder in Dr. Budge's *Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum*, Plate XXXI. The inscription, so far as it is unbroken, is given, with the comment here quoted, in C. J. Ball's *Light from the East*, p. 224.

Thus, to the very close of the Old Testament history, the written word and the monumental records of many nations cast light upon each other, enabling us to read and understand with more comprehensive knowledge, as well as to believe with a deeper assurance.

193. New Testament and Secular History.—The New Testament records also touch the annals of the world's empire at many important points, which, however, may be better noted under the head of CHRONOLOGY. See § 202.

194. Illustrative historical facts.—Many incidental illustrations of the New Testament, as well as valuable lessons, may be gained by reference to the general history of the times.

Thus Mt $2^{2.3}$ is explained by the fact that there was a general impression at that time throughout the East that a great prince was about to appear and govern the world (Tac. *Hist.* 5. 13; Suet. *Vit. Vesp.* c. 4).

In Mt $24^{15.16}$ our Saviour warns His disciples to quit Jerusalem before the siege began; and history tells us that they profited by His instructions, for before the city was surrounded by the Roman armies, they retired to Pella, on the eastern side of the Jordan.

The 'rest' spoken of in Ac 9^{31} is explained in contemporary history. It must not be ascribed to the conversion of Saul, for the persecution continued three years after; but to the circumstance that at that time (A. D. 40) Caligula attempted to set up his statue in the Holy of Holies. The consternation of the Jews at this threatened profanation diverted their attention from the Christians, and so 'the churches had rest.'

In Ac 17^{16} Athens is said to be 'full of idols.' Ælian (A. D. 140) calls it the altar of Greece; and Pausanias, the Greek historian (A. D. 174), speaks of altars to 'unknown gods' (*Attica*, i. 4).

Many incidental references in Acts are strikingly illustrated by the history. Thus in Macedonia, Philippi is 'a colony' (16^{12}) with its magistracy on the Roman model; while Thessalonica, a free city, has its 'politarchs' (17^{6}), a *local* office, as now proved by monuments. Achaia is governed by a 'proconsul' (18^{12}), a title which, a little earlier or a little later, would have been inaccurate. At Ephesus, again, there are 'Asiarchs,' an appellation equally exact. For further correspondences, see Bp. Lightfoot, Smith's *Dict. Bible*, art. 'Acts,' and Prof. W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, throughout.

Light from heathen religions.—A knowledge of the religious opinions of the nations by whom the Israelites were surrounded is often useful.

Among the *Egyptians*, for example, a lamb or kid was an object of veneration, and the male, as the representative of Ammon, was worshipped.

The plagues of Egypt were all inflicted on objects of Egyptian worship, and thus they became a rebuke to idolatry, as well as an evidence of Divine power.

At solemn festivals, the *Phœnicians* ate of the raw flesh of their offerings; part of it they roasted in the sun, and part was sodden for magical purposes, the intestines being used for divination, and the fragments for charms and enchantments. All these practices were forbidden to the Jews, and though no doubt other solemn lessons were taught by the burning of the victim in the fire, it was also intended to teach them to avoid the rites of the heathen.

See also Lev 19^{28} Ps 16^{4} Jer $44^{17.18}$.

Among the ancient *Persians* it was held that there were two deities of equal power, Ormuzd and Ahriman. Jehovah, in His address to Cyrus, claims authority over them both: '*I* form the light, and create darkness: I make peace, and create evil,' Is 45^{7}.

The study of *Babylonian* beliefs is especially interesting and valuable as bringing into strong relief the contrast between the heathen corruption of primitive beliefs and the authentic records of the Word of God.

Light from ancient philosophies.—Many who had embraced the *Oriental* philosophy became Christians, and attempted to blend their former tenets with the doctrines of Christ. Some of them (the Valentinian Gnostics for example) held the opinion that there were several emanations of the Godhead, called the Word, the Life, the Light, &c.: opinions the germs of which existed very early. See in Jn 1^{1-18}, where all those titles are claimed for our Lord.

From their principles, many of them deduced a loose morality, and others justified the imposition of unreasonable austerities. To the speculative opinions of those sects are opposed such passages as these, 1 Jn $1^{1.2.7}$ $2^{22.23}$ $4^{2.3.9.14.15}$ $5^{1-5\ 9-20}$; and to their practice, 1 Jn $1^{5.6}$ $2^{2.6}$ 3^{4-10} $5^{18.21}$. The deeds of the Nicolaitanes were probably of the same order, Rev 2^{6}.

In Europe the *Greek* philosophy was most prevalent, and the Greek character showed its tendency in subtle disquisition. Two only of the Grecian sects are mentioned in Scripture, the Epicureans and the Stoics. The first held that God took no concern in the affairs of the

universe, but dwelt in some distant region ; and the second held that He was the soul of the world. They agreed, however, in maintaining that the Greeks were superior to all other nations. The Apostle Paul rebuked both, Ac 17^{18-32}, alternately correcting their errors, and revealing to them the great doctrines of the Resurrection and the atonement of Christ. A knowledge of their views explains his appeal, rebukes 'reserve' in the exhibition of the gospel, and illustrates the simplicity and dignity of truth.

The Divinity of our Lord, and the inutility of the ceremonial law, are both taught in the Epistles of Paul. It is a confirmation of this view that the *Ebionites*, who observed the Law and maintained the simple humanity of Christ, rejected those epistles, and received only a mutilated copy of the Gospel of Matthew.

Many of the discourses of our Lord contain special reference to the views of the various Jewish sects. The reader will find those views noticed in Part II, Ch. XVII.

Here, again, a *caution* is needed. The errors referred to in the passages which are thus made clear by this knowledge were often local and temporary. They generally sprang, however, from some deep-seated tendency of human nature, and are apt to show themselves under different forms ; and the refutation of them, given in Scripture, always embodies truths of permanent and universal application.

Chronology : the Old Testament

First Period.

195. Antediluvian Period.—For the first period the genealogies in Gen 5 are the only authority, as no contemporary records exist. The sum of years is found by adding together the ages of the antediluvian patriarchs, each at the birth of his eldest son ; Noah's age being taken at the time of his entrance into the ark. The Hebrew text differs from the Septuagint and the Samaritan, as shown in the table annexed.

Authority.		*Hebrew.*	*Septuagint.*	*Samaritan.*
		Years.	Years.	Years.
Gen 5^{3} .	Adam	130	230	130
,, ^{6} .	Seth	105	205	105
,, ^{9} .	Enos	90	190	90
,, ^{12} .	Cainan . . .	70	170	70
,, ^{15} .	Mahalaleel . . .	65	165	65
,, ^{18} .	Jared	162	162	62
,, ^{21} .	Enoch	65	165	65
,, ^{25} .	Methuselah . .	187	187[a]	67
,, ^{28} .	Lamech . . .	182	188[b]	53
,, 7^{11} .	Noah at the Deluge .	600	600	600
		1656	2262	1307

Josephus makes the total 2,256, agreeing in Lamech with the Hebrew, and elsewhere with the LXX.

It need hardly be added that, whatever the number of years from Adam to the Deluge, the computation affords no basis for a date B. C. This must evidently depend on the length of the succeeding periods. The estimate therefore of 4,004 years from Adam to Christ must be discarded as unsupported. In fact there are as many different views of the date of Creation as there are chronological systems. No fewer than 140 different dates have been variously assigned; the shortest being that of the rabbis, who give only 3,483 years as the time of the world's duration before the Christian era.

Second Period.

196. The second period, in like manner, is calculated from the Bible genealogies, but includes the beginnings of secular history.

[a] Some copies, 167. [b] Josephus, 182.

From the Deluge to the Call of Abraham.

Authority.		*Hebrew.*	*Septuagint.*	*Samaritan.*
		Years.	Years.	Years.
Gen 11^{10} .	Shem after the Flood .	2	2	2
,, ^{12} .	Arphaxad . . .	35	135	135
LXX and Lu 3^{36}	Cainan II . . .		130	
Gen 11^{14} .	Salah	30	130	130
,, ^{16} .	Heber	34	134	134
,, ^{18} .	Peleg	30	130	130
,, ^{20} .	Reu	32	132	132
,, ^{22} .	Serug	30	130	130
,, ^{24} .	Nahor	29	179	79
Gen 11^{26}, 32 12^{4}	Terah	130	130	130
Gen 12^{4} .	Abraham . . .	75	75	75
		427	1307	1077

The different computations.—The discrepancy between the Hebrew text and the others is here specially noticeable, and has led to much discussion, as between the longer and the shorter chronology.

The longer is by many considered to be best entitled to confidence, for the following reasons, among others:—

1. The Hebrew is deemed more likely to have been shortened than the LXX to be lengthened, as, for some time after the Christian era, the Jews had a motive for diminishing the period between the Creation and the birth of Jesus, in order to make it appear that the time which their own expositors had fixed for the appearance of the Messiah had not arrived; whilst, on the other hand, no motive so strong can be supposed to have existed on the part of the Jewish translators of the Septuagint: nor could there have been an opportunity to alter the Greek version after it was made; for it was in extensive circulation, and in constant public use, both among Jews and Christians.

2. The length of time assigned by the Septuagint, the Samaritan text, and Josephus, to the period between the Deluge and the birth of Abraham (about 1,100 years), is deemed more consistent with historical facts than the shorter time assigned by the Hebrew (about 350 years), which appears insufficient for the great multiplication and extended dispersion of Noah's descendants over immense tracts of country, extending from India and Assyria to Ethiopia, Egypt, and Greece:

for the establishment of the organized and powerful monarchies of Babylon, Nineveh, and Egypt; besides the lesser chieftaincies of Canaan, which seem to have been founded by descendants of Ham, after the expulsion of earlier settlers; and for the spread and prevalence of idolatry. In fact, it is difficult, in the face of the records of ancient empires brought to light by research during the nineteenth century, to suppose that this growth of nations could have taken place even in the period which the LXX allows. The subject is one that requires still further elucidation.

Those who adhere to the shorter computation urge, principally, the following considerations:—

1. The general accuracy of the original Hebrew text, which was preserved by the Jews with most jealous care.

2. The facilities afforded by the shorter chronology for the safe and rapid transmission of revealed truth in the earliest ages; Lamech being contemporary both with Adam and with Shem, whilst Shem was contemporary with Abraham.

3. The objection drawn from the shortness of the interval between the Deluge and the birth of Abraham, compared with the apparent populousness of the earth, is more than met by the increase of mankind in newly peopled districts in modern times, and by the fact that the Hebrew text gives at least as many generations as the LXX; while, on the supposition that men generally married as early as the ages assigned in the Hebrew text, it implies a larger population.

4. It is argued that the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Chaldæan records are too seriously discredited by the fables with which they are intermingled to be taken as the basis of a sound chronology. This objection, however, loses force in the view of ever-accumulating evidence, which renders it more and more practicable to separate between the fabulous and the authentic.

Third Period.

197. From the call of Abraham to the Exodus.—The third period is calculated, first, from the lives of the three great patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; and, secondly, from the Scripture statements regarding the duration of the Israelites' abode in Egypt, thus:—

Authority.		*Hebrew.*	*LXX & Sa.*
		Years.	Years.
Gen 21^5 . .	Abraham (until Isaac's birth)	25	25
,, 25^{26} .	Isaac	60	60
,, 47^9 . .	Jacob, on entering Egypt .	130	130
Ex $12^{40.41}$, LXX, Gal 3^{17}	Israelites in Egypt . .	430	215
		645	430

Disputed passage in the LXX.—With regard to this period, there is again a serious discrepancy between the different estimates; arising in this instance from the addition in the LXX of an important clause in Ex 12^{40}. The Hebrew reads, 'The sojourning of the children of Israel, which they sojourned in Egypt, was 430 years'; the LXX, the Samaritan, adding after *Egypt*, 'and in the land of Canaan,' thus including the years of the previous patriarchal abode in Palestine (215 years). This was evidently the 'received chronology' in apostolic times, and as such is adopted by the Apostle Paul; while it certainly seems to be supported by the genealogies.

See the authorities in the above table. Ussher, Hales, and the older chronologers generally seem to concur; but the decided tendency is now to support the longer estimate, in conformity with the Hebrew text, as well as with the prophetic intimation, Gen 15^{13} ('four hundred years' in round numbers; compare Ac 7^6). Bishop Lightfoot well remarks that 'the difficulties which attend both systems of chronology need not be considered here (on Gal 3^{17}), as they do not affect St. Paul's argument, and cannot have entered into his thoughts.'

Fourth Period.

198. From the Exodus to Saul.—In this fourth period, the reckoning begins with the forty years in the wilderness; and the statement, 1 Ki 6^1, that from the Exodus to the building of the Temple there were 480 years, seems to

afford a sure basis for computation. But many difficulties have arisen regarding this statement, which have baffled chronologers.

The LXX reads 'the 440th year'; but this may be simply from the omission of the forty years' wandering. In 2 Ch 3^2 (the parallel passage) there is no date. Josephus, and others who have left systems of chronology, seem to have been ignorant of this computation, which is first mentioned in the fourth century by Eusebius; and he does not adopt it. St. Paul, again, seems, according to the received text, to assign 450 years as the time from the division of Canaan 'until Samuel' (Ac 13^{20}), and if so, the whole period must have been 579 years at least[a]. There is, however, a doubt about the reading of this passage. See R. V., which places the 450 years before the period of the judges, dating from the gift of the land to Abraham. Ussher supposes the 450 years to refer to the time between the birth of Isaac and the entry upon Canaan, a somewhat forced construction. Josephus mentions for the whole period 592 years (*Ant.* viii. 3, § 1), 632 (x. 8, § 5), and 612 (xx. 10, 1); and Hales supposes his true reckoning to be, after obvious corrections, 621 years. Petavius reckons 519 years; Greswell, 549 years; Jackson, 579 years; Clinton and Cunningham, 612 years.

In turning to the history in Judges, and reckoning up the periods named, the questions raised by these different views are not solved. Six servitudes are mentioned, extending over 111 years; and fourteen judges (not including Joshua, Eli, or Samuel), extending over 279 years, or 390 in all. Adding to this number 46 and 83 as in the note [a], we have an entire period of 579 years. But here are various elements of uncertainty. Are these servitudes and judgeships to any extent contemporaneous? Ussher thinks they are. Hales, supposing that Judg 2^{18} applies to all, concludes that they are not. Again, nothing is told us of the length of Joshua's government, or of the government of the elders who survived him, except in the case of Othniel, his son-in-law. The question is further complicated by the estimate of Jephthah, Judg 11^{26}, of the time between the entrance on Canaan and his own day as 300 years; but this may be only a rough and perhaps an inaccurate calculation. Further, it is not clear whether Eli was a political ruler, or simply a civil judge, as Ussher describes him. If the latter, he is not to be reckoned chronologically among the

[a] viz.

In the wilderness, and till the land was divided	46	years.
Judges including Eli and Samuel . . .	450	,,
Saul 40, David 40, 3rd Solomon 3 . . .	83	,,
	579	

judges. And lastly, we cannot gather from Scripture what time elapsed between the death of Samson and the accession of Saul. Eli judged Israel forty years, but Ussher makes him contemporary of Samson, and not his successor. He reckons between Eli's death and Saul's election twenty-one years, though Samuel could hardly have been in that case 'old and gray-headed' (1 Sa 12^2). Eusebius reckons forty years for Eli, and includes Samuel in Saul's reign: Josephus reckons fifty-two years for Eli and Samuel; Hales allowing for them seventy-two. Clinton supposes St. Paul's reckoning to end with the beginning of Samuel's judgeship, and adds for that thirty-two years. On the whole, therefore, it may be said that if we set aside the reading in 1 Ki 6^1, and are uncertain of the precise meaning of Ac 13^{20}, we have not materials for solving the difficulties which this fourth period involves.

Fifth Period.

199. Period of the Kingly History.—For the fifth period, the main source of information from Scripture is in the lists of the kings of Israel and Judah respectively, compared with the annals of surrounding empires. The difficulties in the computation arise first from the fact that **the two series of reigns differ in their totals**; those of Judah, from the death of Solomon to the fall of Samaria, seeming to amount to 259 years; those of Israel, during the same period, to 241 years. Different methods of explaining this variation have been adopted: one by assuming unrecorded intervals of anarchy in Israel; another, by showing that in Judah there were instances of associated sovereignty, so that the same years were counted both to father and son. The results are shown in the Chronological Appendix, based upon the calculations of different chronologers.

A second source of occasional difficulty is in **the adjustment of the annals of other nations** to the Bible chronology. Yet, whatever the apparent discrepancies, the main result is very remarkably to confirm and illustrate the statements of Scripture. In fact, for full understanding of the Bible history it is needful to know that of the surrounding peoples, from a judicious use of the aids that have been so copiously furnished by the discoveries of recent times. Comparative chronology is one of the most fascinating as well as important studies connected with the Bible history.

In the latter part of this fifth period the synchronisms with the known dates of secular history make it for the first time possible definitely to give the year B. C.

It should be especially noticed here that certain **peculiarities of reckoning** cause occasional difficulty.

(*a*) Jewish historians, for example, speak of the reign of a king which is continued through one whole year and parts of two others as a three years' reign. It may be two years and ten months, or it may be one year and two months.

(*b*) They sometimes set down the principal number ; the odd, or smaller number, being omitted, as in Judg 20^{35} : see verse 46.

(*c*) As sons frequently reigned with their fathers in ancient monarchies, the time of the reign of each is sometimes made to include the time of the other, and sometimes to exclude it. Thus Jotham is said to have reigned sixteen years, 2 Ki 15^{33} ; and yet, in verse 30, mention is made of his twentieth year. For four years he seems to have reigned with Uzziah, who was a leper. So 2 Ki $13^{1.10}$ 24^{8}, compared with 2 Ch 36^{9}. A similar principle explains Dn 1^{1} Jer 25^{1} : Nebuchadnezzar being king with his father when Jerusalem was besieged.

This peculiarity of reckoning has been applied, with great advantage, to explain the chronological tables of Egypt and other Eastern countries.

(*d*) It not unfrequently happens that different modes of reckoning are adopted in reference to the same transaction. See Gen 15^{13} and Gal 3^{17} ; Moses speaking of 400 years from the birth of Isaac to the Exodus ; Paul, of 430 years from the call of Abraham to the giving of the Law, which occurred three months after the Exodus. See § 197.

Sixth Period.

200. From the Captivity to the Advent.—The sixth period, covering the time of the later prophets, the close of the Old Testament Canon, and the interval before the Advent, is definitely marked out by the annals of the several nations. About this part of the chronology there is practically no doubt. The dates are given in the CHRONOLOGICAL APPENDIX: the history of the Jews between Malachi and John the Baptist, as detailed in Part II, Ch. XVII, should be especially studied.

201. Chronological Eras.—It should be added that with respect to the synchronisms with secular history in the fifth and sixth periods we have certain fixed eras or starting-points of reckoning, with 'Canons' or lists following.

1. **Assyrian Eponym Canon.**—Four different records have been discovered, in substantial agreement; defects in any one of them being supplied by one or more of the rest. In these the years are numbered by the names of officers annually appointed from B. C. 893 to 659. The known date of a solar eclipse mentioned in these records (June 15, B. C. 763) affords a key to the rest. See for the lists George Smith's *Assyrian Eponym Canon*, 1863.

2. The **Babylonian era of Nabonassar,** B. C. 747.—Nabonassar (Budge, *Babylonian Life and History*, p. 59) was a Babylonian king of whom nothing more is known than that the celebrated Canon of Ptolemy, the Egyptian astronomer (about A. D. 150), begins from his reign, extending from B. C. 747 to A. D. 137. This Canon, of which the accuracy has been well tested, is the chief source of information on the period to which it relates.

3. The **Olympiads,** or periods of four years, reckoned by the Greeks from the recurrence of the Olympic games, beginning with B. C. 776, are likewise a source of accurate information.

4. The **Year of the building of Rome** (*Annus Urbis Conditæ*), generally quoted as A. U. C., B. C. 754–753, is employed in Roman calculations, as also are the names of the consuls in each year from B. C. 509 to A. D. 476.

5. The **Seleucid era** begins with the occupation of Babylon by Seleucus Nicator, after the death of Alexander's son, B. C. 312. It is useful in studying the Books of Maccabees, where it is termed 'the era of kings.'

6. **Scripture itself** seldom reckons from fixed points. An exception is in the prophet Ezekiel's constant reference to the date of Jeconiah's captivity, B. C. 597. The 'thirtieth year,' however, in ch. 1[1], belongs to a different computation, and possibly refers to the prophet's own life, or else, as has been conjectured, to the accession of Nabopolassar, father of Nebuchadnezzar, in B. C. 625.

Years beginning at different times.—The above epochs severally begin on different months and days: the Assyrian year commencing (like the Jewish) at the new moon before the vernal equinox; the era of Nabonassar on Feb. 26; the Olympiads about July 1, the day of the full moon following the summer solstice; A. U. C., April 21; the Seleucid era, Sept. 1. This has to be borne in mind in comparing the several chronologies.

New Testament Chronology.

202. New Testament Chronology.—This is fixed by **a few important dates**; the Consular lists of the Roman Empire being an accurate guide.

It must be noted that the 'year of our Lord,' the conventional era, from which the dates before and after (B. C. and A. D.) are all reckoned, is only an *approximation*. The year was fixed by the calculations of Dionysius the Little, a Roman monk in the days of the Emperor Justinian, as A. U. C. 753 (see § 201, 4). As it is certain, however, that our Lord was born before the death of Herod the Great (A. U. C. 750), the calculation was plainly incorrect by at least three years, and although certainty as to the exact time of Christ's birth is unattainable it was probably about A. U. C. 749, i. e. in **B.C. 4 or 5**. The question, however, is not important, and the conventional landmark of time will no doubt be always retained.

The New Testament gives but few **direct notes of time.** Such as are specified are mainly connected with the Roman annals [a].

1. Lu 3^1, 'the fifteenth year of Tiberius,' i. e. from the time when Tiberius was associated with Augustus in the imperial government (A. U. C. 765). This gives A. U. C. 780 or A. D. 27 as the date of John's ministry. At the same time our Lord was 'about thirty years of age,' Lu 3^{23}—about thirty-three, therefore, at the time of His crucifixion, which for that and other reasons is generally assigned to A. D. 30.

2. Jn 2^{20}, 'Forty and six years' from the time of Herod's undertaking the restoration of the Temple. This work was

[a] See the full and careful discussion in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. 'Chronology of the New Testament,' by C. H. Turner, M.A.; also Harnack's *Chronologie*, 1897. These works review and in part reconstruct Wieseler's view (*Chronologie*, 1848). There is a brief and interesting paper on 'The Chronology of St. Paul's Life and Letters' in Bishop Lightfoot's *Biblical Essays* (1863), published after his death. Compare Prof. Ramsay's *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*; and, for the date of our Lord's birth, his later book, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* (1898).

begun, according to Josephus, in the eighteenth year of Herod's reign[a], or B. C. 19, which would give A. D. 27 or 28 for the date specified in the text.

3. Ac 12^{23}, the death of Herod Agrippa. This was A. D. 44. This date is useful, as throwing light upon the time of the conversion and mission of the Apostle Paul.

4. Accession of Nero, the 'Cæsar' of Ac $25^{8.12}$, &c., to the imperial throne, A. D. 54.

5. Ac 24^{27}. Appointment of Festus as successor to Felix, as procurator of Judæa, A. D. 60, according to the generally received view[b].

6. The great persecution under Nero, beginning A. D. 64, three or four years therefore after Paul's arrival in Rome, and about two years after his first trial and acquittal. During these two years, it is probable, the Apostle began a final and extended missionary journey.

With the help of the above *data*, **a tolerably certain New Testament Chronology** may be constructed, so far as relates to the general history. A question yet more important is that of the succession and the dates of the several New Testament books, especially of the Epistles. This must be settled chiefly by internal evidence. See the Introductions in Part II of the present work.

An outline of the Chronology of both Old and New Testaments will be found in the CHRONOLOGICAL APPENDIX.

203. The **incidental lessons** drawn from a comparison of dates are numerous and interesting. A few only can be mentioned here; but the study of the subject might be profitably extended.

The judgement against the house of Eli, in Shiloh, was first executed in the death of his sons, but it was not completed till eighty years

[a] Jos. *Ant.* XV. 11, § 1. Herod began to reign B. C. 37.

[b] See the discussion in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, where strong reasons are given for dating the appointment of Festus two years earlier.

afterwards, in the forfeiture of office by Abiathar (1 Ki $2^{26.27}$). God visits surely though slowly.

The sin that most dishonoured David's character was committed when he was fifty years of age. An instructive illustration of the power of temptation, continuing through the life even of a servant of the Lord.

From 2 Ki 23^{13} we learn that the places built to Ashtoreth remained till the days of Josiah, or for 350 years: Solomon may have died penitent; yet the consequences of his sin were felt for several generations.

The date of the First Epistle to Timothy, A. D. 64, nearly thirty years after the conversion of St. Paul, adds great weight to his declaration that he was the chief of sinners. He never ceased, it is plain, to cherish a deep sense of his sinfulness. We may measure our progress in holiness by the degree of our humility, 1 Tim 1^{15}.

Some commentators have supposed that 2 Cor 11^{25} refers to the events recorded in Ac 27; but, in fact, the epistle was written before those events took place. Others have unthinkingly connected the Apostle's fight with beasts at Ephesus, 1 Cor 15^{32}, with the tumult in the theatre, Ac 19^{31}, which occurred after the epistle was written. No doubt the reference is to some earlier and unrecorded conflict with infuriated opponents, hardly with beasts in the amphitheatre. It may be noted that the references here and elsewhere (as 1 Cor 4^{9}) are so vivid as to suggest personal experience.

The man of sin mentioned in 2 Th 2^{3} has been referred by Grotius and others to Caligula; but the epistle was not written till twelve years after that emperor's death.

The precept of Peter, 1 Pet 2^{17}, 'Honour the king,' derives additional force from the fact that the tyrant Nero was then emperor of the Roman world.

More than 600 years elapsed between the promise given to Abraham and its accomplishment under Joshua: and not fewer than 400 between the prophecy of Malachi and its fulfilment in John the Baptist. 'A thousand years are with the Lord as one day:' though the promise tarry long, we are to wait for it.

This knowledge is thus seen to be especially important in interpreting prophecy, both to enable us to ascertain the event foretold, and to perceive the accomplishment.

Natural History.

Many of the allusions and expressions of Scripture can be explained only by the aid of knowledge of natural history.

204. The vegetable world yields almost innumerable allusions, as will be seen by consulting APPENDIX II, 'Plants of Scripture.'

The Bride in the Canticles says, 'I am a rose of Sharon, a lily of the valleys.' The plain of Sharon was covered in the early spring with innumerable flowers, and the maiden in her humility likens herself to a wild flower of the plain, probably the common narcissus, or else 'the scarlet anemone which paints the plains of Palestine with its bright flowers from February to April' (Carruthers).

In Ps 92^{12} it is said that 'the righteous shall flourish like the palm,' and the habits of this tree beautifully illustrate the character of the righteous. The palm grows not in the depths of the forest, or in a fertile loam, but in the desert. Its verdure often springs apparently from the scorching dust. 'It is in this respect,' says Laborde, 'as a friendly lighthouse, guiding the traveller to the spot where water is to be found.' The tree is remarkable for its *beauty*, its erect, aspiring growth, its leafy canopy, its waving plumes, the emblem of praise in all ages. Its very foliage is the symbol of joy and exultation. It never fades, and the dust never settles upon it. It was therefore twisted into the booths of the Feast of Tabernacles (Lev 23^{40}), was borne aloft by the multitude that accompanied the Messiah to Jerusalem (Jn 12^{13}), and it is represented as in the hands of the redeemed in heaven (Rev 7^{9}). For *usefulness*, the tree is unrivalled. Gibbon says that the natives of Syria speak of 360 uses to which the palm is applied. Its shade refreshes the traveller. Its fruit restores his strength. When his soul fails for thirst, it announces water. Date-stones are ground for his camels. Its leaves are made into couches, its boughs into fences and walls, and its fibres into ropes or rigging. Its best fruit, moreover, is borne in old age; the finest dates being often gathered when the tree has reached a hundred years. It sends, too, from the same root a large number of suckers, which, in time, form a forest by their growth (Judg 4^{5}). What an emblem of the righteous in the desert of a guilty world! It is not uninstructive to add that this tree, once the symbol of Palestine, is now rarely seen in that country.

Another beautiful tree found in Palestine, and also an emblem of

the Christian, is the *cedar*. 'The righteous shall grow like the cedar.' This tree strikes its roots into the cloven rock. Like the palm, it loves the water; and if the wells near which it grows are dried, it withers, or ceases to grow. As its roots stretch away into the mountain, its boughs are spread abroad. Like the palm, it is an evergreen; though used to wintry weather, it is always covered with leaves. Its bark and leaves are highly aromatic, and the 'smell of Lebanon' has become a proverb for fragrance. The cedar is sound to the very core. It adorns the mountain's brow, and then does service in the Temple. After living a thousand years, it preserves all it touches, and gives beauty to the lintels and ceiling of the house of the Lord. Such is the character and influence of a resolute and consistent Christian.

In the parable of the Wheat and the Tares, the latter name denotes the darnel, a noxious plant which closely resembles wheat until in ear, so that it would be unsafe, perhaps impossible, to distinguish the two during the earlier stages of their growth. The darnel also reaches maturity before the wheat is ripe, so that the distinction becomes easier [a].

The 'oil' of the olive berry soothes pain, and by closing the pores of the body against noxious exhalations, promotes health. It was thought peculiarly successful in counteracting the effect of poison, and hence it is often used to describe the power of the gospel. Its medicinal properties (see Jas 5^{14}) made it of great commercial value: hence it is said that 'he that loveth oil shall not be rich.'

The 'myrrh' and 'balm' (or balsam) of the East are strongly aromatic gums, which flow spontaneously, or by means of incision, from the trees, and were in great request as articles of commerce. The balm of Gilead, Jer 8^{22}, was deemed a very valuable medicine, and the expression is used figuratively to indicate any great remedy or restorative.

205. The **animal kingdom** furnishes emblems equally striking.

In Dt 32^{11} God is said to have taught Israel as the *eagle* trains her young. When the eaglets are old enough to fly, she stirs up her nest, separates its parts, and compels the young birds to fly to some neighbouring crag; she then flutters over them, teaching them to move their wings and to sustain and guide themselves by their movements. Finding them weary or unwilling, she spreads her wings, takes her brood upon her back, and soars with them aloft. In order to exercise

[a] See Tristram's *Natural History of the Bible*, p. 487, and the article in Hastings' *Dict. Bible*, s. v.

their strength, she then shakes them off; and when she perceives that their pinions flag, or that an enemy is near, she darts beneath them with surprising skill, and at once restores their strength, or places her own body between her young and the danger that threatens them. The eagle is the only bird endowed with this instinct, and the whole of her procedure is suggestive of instructive lessons in relation to the dealings of God. In the history of ancient Israel, and in the history of the Church, it is found that He weans His people from their resting-place—in Egypt, in the world, and in their own righteousness—by means of affliction: He stirs up the nest. By the life and character of His Son, by the influence of His Spirit, by the example of the wise and good, He flutters over them; while His promises sustain their hearts, and make their happiness and safety as sure and unchanging as His own.

In mountainous countries like Palestine, the *ass* was often preferred, on account of its sureness of foot, to the horse. It was also much larger than in Britain, more like the ass in the south of Spain. Asses are consequently enumerated among the riches of Abraham and Job, Gen 12^{16} Job 42^{12}. Mephibosheth, the grandson of Saul, rode upon an ass; as did Ahithophel, the prime minister of David; and as late as the reign of Jehoram, the son of Ahab, the services of this animal were required by the wealthy. The Shunammite, for example, a person of high rank, saddled her ass and rode to Carmel, the residence of Elisha, 2 Ki $4^{8.24}$. In later times, however, and even from the reign of Solomon, the paces of the horse began to be regarded as more stately and noble. Solomon himself introduced a numerous stud of the finest horses—horses of Arabia; and after the return of the Jews from Babylon, their great men rode for the most part on horses or mules. It soon became, therefore, a mark of poverty or of humility to appear in public on an ass, and this was the impression generally prevalent in the time of our Lord. (Compare Zec 9^{9} with Mt 21^{4-6}.)

The Hebrews employed both the ox and the ass in ploughing the ground, Is 30^{24} 32^{20}; but they were forbidden to yoke them to the same plough, partly because of their unequal step, and partly because the animals never associated happily together. This prohibition may perhaps suggest the impropriety of intercourse between Christians and idolaters in social and religious life; but it was intended in the first instance, and chiefly, to protect the animals from cruel treatment.

Issachar is compared to an ass; and vigour and bodily strength are suggested by the comparison. It is said also that he should bow his shoulder to bear, and prefer the yoke of bondage to the difficult issues of war, and inglorious ease to just freedom, Gen 49^{14}: a prediction

fulfilled in the history of that tribe, who submitted successively to the Phœnicians on the one hand, and to the Canaanites on the other.

The tail of the Syrian *sheep* is much larger than in other breeds. In a sheep weighing seventy pounds, the tail will often weigh fifteen; and it is deemed the most delicate part of the animal. Hence, in the religious ritual of the Hebrews, the priest is commanded to take the *fat and the fat tail* (R.V., Lev 3^9), and present them in sacrifice to Jehovah. Both were to be placed on the altar, to indicate the completeness and the value of the offering. In its domesticated state, the sheep is a weak and defenceless animal. It is therefore dependent upon the shepherd both for protection and support. To the disposition of these animals to wander from the fold, and thus to abandon themselves (in a country like Judæa) to destruction, there are many touching allusions in Scripture, Ps 119^{176} Is 53^6. The Eastern shepherd calls his sheep, and they recognize his voice and follow him. His care of them, and their security under his protection, are beautifully set forth in Jn 10^{11}. It is plain that a knowledge of their habits is essential to a right appreciation of the imagery of Scripture.

The *lion* is remarkable for strength and fierceness. If he retreats from an enemy, he retreats, as if in angry defiance, with his face towards him. After he has killed his victim, he tears it in pieces, and devours it with the utmost greediness, Ps 17^{12} Ho 13^8. The young lion subsists, according to ancient naturalists, by hunting, and seldom quits the deserts; but when he has grown old he visits more frequented places, and becomes more dangerous to man. The lion thus became the special terror of pastoral people; and the extent and variety of its ravages are suggested by the fact that no fewer than five distinct words are used in the Hebrew Scriptures to describe the 'king of beasts.' See Appendix II, 'Natural History.' One of the coverts of this animal was in the low ground in the neighbourhood of the Jordan, which, like the Nile, overflows its banks every spring. At that season, therefore, the coverts were laid under water, and the wild beasts were all driven to the hills, where they often committed great ravages, Jer 49^{19}. 'Like a lion from the swelling of Jordan' thus became a proverb in Judæa, which comparatively recent discovery has enabled us to understand. The power of God to strike terror into the hearts of the impenitent, and to impart comfort to His people, is compared to the roaring of the lion, Joel 3^{16}. The savage disposition of the lion is sometimes referred to, and then always in a bad sense. In 1 Pet 5^8 Satan is compared to a lion, and the enemies of the people of Jehovah are represented under the same name, Is 5^{29}.

Manners and Customs of the Hebrews.

A knowledge of the manners and customs of the Jews is of great service in interpreting Scripture.

206. Habitations.—The founders of the Israelitish nation were a tent-dwelling people. **Tents** are mentioned in the earliest parts of the history, and seem naturally associated with pastoral life, Gen 4^{20}. The first tents were covered with skins, Ex 26^{14}, but the coverings of most of those mentioned in Scripture were of goats' hair, spun and woven by the women, Ex 35^{26}: hence their black colour, Ct 1^{5}: tents of linen were used only occasionally, for holiday or travelling purposes. The early tent was probably such as is still seen in Arabia, of an oblong shape, and eight or ten feet high in the middle. Sometimes a person of consequence had three or four tents: one for himself, another for his wives, a third and fourth for his servants and strangers, Gen 24^{67}; more commonly, however, a very large tent was divided by curtains into two or three compartments. The holy tabernacle was formed on this model, Ex 26^{31-37}.

Of huts, the intermediate erection between the tent and the house, we read but little in Scripture. Jacob seems to have used them to shelter his cattle, Gen 33^{17}, and we find them in later times erected in vineyards to protect those who watched the ripening produce, Job 27^{18} Is 1^{8}.

The Israelites probably saw good houses in Egypt; on entering Palestine, however, they occupied the houses which their predecessors had built, and afterwards constructed their own on the same model. Domestic architecture must have made progress during the monarchy. Solomon's palace, built by the aid of Phœnicians, no doubt suggested improvements. Jeremiah (22^{14}) indicates some grandeur in building, and in the days of our Lord the upper classes at all events had gathered instruction from the rules even of Grecian art.

The houses of the poor in the East were generally built of mud, and thus became appropriate images of the frailty of human life. The

walls were easily broken or 'digged' through, and the houses as easily destroyed, Job 24^{16} Eze 12^{5} Mt 6^{19}.

The houses of the rich were of a different order. They had generally four sides, of which one fronted the street, having only a door, and one or two small windows above. The door opened into a porch, and the porch led by a side door into a waiting-room, and the waiting-room into a four-sided court, open at the top, and surrounded by the inner walls of the house. There were often covered walks by the walls on the ground-floor; while above them was a gallery of the same dimensions. Opposite the passage leading from the waiting-room into the court, was the guest-chamber, Lu 22^{11}, where the master received visitors, and occasionally transacted business. The roof was flat, surrounded on the outside by a breast-work or battlement: and on the side next the court, by a balustrade of lattice-work. The stairs to the roof, and to each story of the building, were generally in a corner of the quadrangle nearest the entrance, so that each visitor ascended to the roof, and to each of the rooms, without passing through the rooms below. In summer the people slept on the roof, and at all times it was used as a place of devotion, of mourning, and of rest. At the Feast of Tabernacles tents were erected here, and during festivals or public rejoicings the guests often assembled in the square below, which was sometimes covered.

These facts explain the following passages, and many others: Dt 22^{8} 1 Sa 9^{25} 2 Sa 11^{2} Is 22^{1} Mk 2^{4} 13^{15} Ac 10^{9}.

The doors of Eastern houses were double, and moved on pivots: they were secured by bars (Dt 3^{5} Judg 16^{3}) of wood, or of metal, Is 45^{2}. Ancient locks were merely wooden slides, secured by teeth or catches. Ct 5^{4}. The street doors, as well as the gates of towns, were adorned with inscriptions taken from the Law, Dt 6^{9}. The windows had no glass, but were latticed: in winter they were covered with thin veils, or with shutters having holes sufficient to admit light, 1 Ki 7^{4} Ct 2^{9}.

No ancient houses had chimneys, though holes were sometimes made, through which the smoke escaped, Ho 13^{3}. In the better class of houses the rooms were warmed by charcoal, as is still the practice in the East, Jer 36^{22} Jn 18^{18}.

Furniture.—The articles of household furniture in use in the East have always been few and small. In sitting-rooms, little chairs or seats and sometimes tables appear, Mk 14^{54}. The seat was either a rug or mat, on which the people sat cross-legged, or with their knees bent under them, or a legged seat, such as chairs and stools, 1 Sa 1^{9} 1 Ki 2^{19}

Pr 9^{14} Mt 21^{12}. The beds consisted generally of mattresses and quilted coverlets; sheets, blankets, and bedsteads were not known, though on the house-tops a settee of wood, or a legged frame of palm branches or, in some cases, of ivory, was used, on which to place the bed, Ps 132^{3} Am 6^{4}.

The common domestic utensils were of earthenware, or of copper, and a few were of leather: they consisted of pots, kettles, leather bottles ('wine-skins,' R.V.), plates, cups, &c.; lamps fed with olive oil were used for giving light at night, and were of earth or of metal: in the houses of the rich they were placed upon stands (called in the A.V. candlesticks), and these had occasionally branches for several lamps, Gen 15^{17} Ex 25^{31-40}. A lamp was always kept burning at night, Job 18^{6} Pr 20^{20}. The bushel (note the def. article) or ephah (§ 212) was a customary piece of furniture in the house, Lu 11^{33}, &c.

207. Cities and Towns.—The towns of Palestine were small in size, but very numerous. Jerusalem, Samaria, and afterwards Cæsarea, seem to have been the only exceptions: from the want of temples and public buildings (except at Jerusalem), they must have had but a mean appearance, the streets being narrow, dull, and unpaved. Gates, implying walls, are mentioned as early as the days of Abraham, Gen 19^{1}. At the gates most of the public business was transacted, Gen $23^{10.18}$ Dt 21^{19} Ru 4^{1}: there also the markets were held so long as the business of the Israelites was confined chiefly to the sale of their produce or flocks, 2 Ch 18^{9} Ne $8^{1.3}$; but afterwards they had, in the large towns, bazaars, or covered streets of shops, such as are now usual in the East.

208. Dress.—The dress of the Jews consisted commonly of two garments: the one a close-bodied frock or shirt, generally with long sleeves, and reaching to a little below the knees, though later to the ankle: and the other, a loose robe of some yards in length, fastened over the shoulders, and thrown around the body. Within doors, the first dress only was often worn. It was regarded, however, as a kind

of undress, in which it was not usual to pay visits, or to walk out. Hence persons clothed in it alone are said in Scripture to be naked or to have laid aside their garments, Is $20^{2.4}$ Jn 13^{4} 21^{7}.

The sleeves were generally sufficiently long to cover the hands, and were used during visits of ceremony to conceal them. On occasions when great or continued effort was required or implied, the arm was 'made bare,' and the sleeve tucked up or removed, Is 52^{10} Eze 4^{7}.

The outer garment (a kind of mantle or plaid) sometimes served as a covering by night, or as a bed, Dt 24^{13} Ex 22^{27}. The Israelites, on leaving Egypt, folded their kneading troughs in it. Prophets and others wrapped it round their heads as an expression of reverence or of grief, 1 Ki 19^{13} 2 Sa 15^{30} Est 6^{12}, or sometimes as a protection from the rain or wind. When gathered round the middle of the body, the garment is called the lap, 2 Ki 4^{39}; when gathered round the shoulders, the bosom, Ps 79^{12} Lu 6^{38}. The skirt was used for the purpose of carrying, Hag 2^{12}. A considerable part of the wealth of Eastern nations consisted in these garments, which were easily exchanged, and were often given and worn as expressions of affection and respect, Gen 45^{22} 2 Ki 5^{22}.

For a single shirt, the wealthy classes sometimes substituted a shirt of fine linen and an outer one of coarser material, the mantle being worn as an additional garment. The beauty of these garments consisted not in their shape, which never varied, but in their whiteness, Eccl 9^{8}, and they were torn or rent in token of sorrow or repentance, Gen 37^{34} Job 1^{20}.

The inner garment was made of either linen or cotton, the outer garment generally of wool, or of wool and hair. The art of embroidery was evidently known, Ex 35^{35} Judg 5^{30}; and one family seems to have been peculiarly famous in the manufacture of fine linen, 1 Ch 4^{21}. White, blue, and various shades of red and purple were the favourite colours for clothes, and no others indeed are mentioned in Scripture.

Around the shirt, or inner garment, a girdle was sometimes worn, made of leather, fastened with clasps, 2 Ki 1^{8}, or of muslin, wound in many folds around the waist, Jer 13^{1} Mt 3^{4}; and still more commonly around the mantle. To have the loins girt in this way was especially necessary in travelling, or when engaged in strenuous effort of any kind. In the girdle a knife or sword was sometimes carried, or in the case of literary men, an inkhorn and pens, 2 Sa 20^{8} Eze 9^{2}: other

valuables were often put into it too, 1 Sa 25^{13} 2 Sa 18^{11} Mt 10^{9} (Greek).

Drawers were a part of the dress of the high-priest, and were perhaps used in later times by the people generally, Ex 28^{42}.

The feet were covered with sandals, consisting of soles of leather, or of wood, bound to the foot by thongs or latchets, Mt 3^{11}. In transferring land, or in passing to the next of kin any personal obligation connected therewith, it was customary to deliver a sandal, Ru 4^{7}, as in the Middle Ages a clod or piece of turf. To remove the sandals was an expression of reverence, Ex 3^{5} Dt 25^{9}. The operation being often performed by servants, to loose or to carry them was a familiar symbol of a servile or degraded condition, Mk 1^{7} Ac 13^{25} Mt 3^{11} Is 20^{4}. Thus, according to many interpreters (Perowne, Driver), the casting of the shoe to Edom (Ps 60^{8}, see R. V. marg.) signified the reduction of the people to servitude. Others, however, regard the phrase as symbolizing possession. Stockings were never in use, and the mass of the people went altogether barefoot, except in winter, or during a journey.

The neck was generally left bare, and very frequently the head; when covered, it was protected among the higher classes by a kind of turban, and among the common people by a piece of cloth confined by a fillet around the brows: in the case of women, this turban was connected with a veil covering the upper part of the person.

The Israelites allowed the hair of the head and beard to grow; the former was occasionally cut, and the use of the razor on the beard was not unlawful. Baldness was rare, and was despised, 2 Ki 2^{23} Is 3^{24} Jer 47^{5}. The beard, as the sign of manhood, was much respected; to shave it, to spit upon it, to pull it, even to touch it, except as a salutation, was a gross insult, 2 Sa 10^{4-6} 1 Ch 19^{3-6} Is 7^{20}, and for a man to neglect or maltreat his own beard was a sign of madness or of extreme grief, 1 Sa 21^{13} 2 Sa 19^{24} Is 15^{2}.

209. Food.—All the Easterns generally, and the Israelites, were simple and plain in their food, which consisted largely of bread, fruits, honey, milk, butter, and cheese. Meat was but little used, animal food being in some degree restricted by the Law, which allowed the flesh of no beasts to be eaten, but such as chewed the cud and parted the hoof, nor any fish but such as had both fins and scales, Lev 11^{1-28}. It was in this general way that the hog was forbidden, but as it was eaten in other parts of the East, this application of the prohibition of the Law attracted more attention than

the rest. Blood and fat, the large lobe of the liver, and the kidneys were also forbidden. Poultry was used but sparingly, pigeons and the common fowl being the only domestic birds kept in Palestine, except 'the fatted fowl,' provided for the tables of Solomon and Nehemiah, 1 Ki 4^{23} Ne 5^{18}. Eggs are only twice mentioned as articles of food. Though fish with fins and scales were allowed, it does not seem that much use was made of this indulgence: the operations of fishing were, however, well known. Job 19^{6} Is 51^{20} Job 41^{1} Is 19^{8}: fish-ponds are mentioned in Ct 7^{4}: fish were even brought by the Phœnicians across the country from the Mediterranean to Jerusalem. Ne 13^{16}, and one of the gates of the city, called the Fish Gate, seems to have been appropriated as the place of sale, 2 Ch 33^{14} Ne 3^{3}.

Among insects, it may be noticed that locusts were permitted to be eaten, Lev 11^{22}, and were a common article of food in the East, Mt 3^{4}.

Bread was not baked, as with us, in loaves, but in cakes, rolls, and large thin biscuits, each family baking its own, and that daily. It was baked outside the oven, not inside; the fuel being inside, Mt 6^{30}. The modes of baking were various: the thicker roll or cake was baked upon the heated hearth; the thin bread upon metal plates, or around the sides of earthenware vessels, or of a pit in the floor, Gen 18^{6} Lev $2^{2.4.5}$. This work, like that of grinding corn, was at first performed by the wives and daughters of families, Gen 18^{6} 2 Sa $13^{6.8}$ Jer 7^{18}; but was in time abandoned in some cases to servants, 1 Sa 8^{13}. The bread in common use was too crisp to be cut, but was broken, Is 58^{7} Lam 4^{4} Mt 14^{19}.

The Jews had generally two meals a day; one in the morning, between the third and sixth hours, and the other, their principal meal, about the eleventh hour, or five o'clock, in the cool of the day. At this meal, the guests all reclined on their left sides on couches, placed around a circular table. In this posture, the head of one guest approached the breast of his neighbour, upon whose bosom, therefore, he was said to lean. Hence Christ told John who was to betray Him, without the other disciples hearing His description, Jn 13^{23} Pr 26^{15}. The feet were stretched out from the table, and were of course first reached by any one entering the room, Lu 7^{38}. Hence it is said that

the woman who washed our Lord's feet stood *behind* Him. This practice was borrowed from the Persians : in earlier times the Jews probably used seats, or sat, as is the present custom in the East, round a table raised only a few inches from the ground.

The food was taken by the hand, without aid of knife or fork, and hence the practice of washing before and after meals, Mk 7^5. In very early times each guest had his own portion, Gen 43^{34} ; see 1 Sa 1^5 : but later, all ate from the same dish.

The ordinary beverage taken, not during the meal, but afterwards, was water, or wine diluted with water. A common acid wine diluted in this way is called in our English version 'vinegar,' and was the usual drink of labourers and soldiers, Ru 2^{14} Mt 27^{48}. This was what the soldiers gave our Lord when He cried, 'I thirst.' The beverage previously offered Him, 'vinegar and gall,' or 'wine and myrrh,' Mt 27^{34} Mk 15^{23}, was given to persons about to be executed, in order to stupefy them. Our blessed Lord refused to drink it. In full consciousness He endured the Cross.

The beverage with which each guest was supplied was in ancient times handed to him in a separate cup, ready mixed by the host : and hence the word 'cup' is frequently used to signify a man's lot or portion, Ps 11^6 Is 51^{22} Mt 26^{39}. 'Mixed wine,' in the English version, was not wine and water, but wine made stronger by spices, Pr 23^{30}. 'Strong drink' included a very inebriating liquor made from dates and various seeds, Lev 10^9 1 Sa 1^{15}.

Not unfrequently, precious oils were used at banquets for anointing the guests, Ps 23^5 45^7 Am 6^6. Christ was thus honoured by the woman, Mt 26^7. She broke the box or jar in proof of the purity of the oil ; the neck being sealed, to show that it was an imported perfume, Mk 14^3.

The principal meal, being in the evening of the day, was generally called supper. The light and joy within the house on such occasions were often employed to represent the happiness of heaven, while the darkness without, the 'outer darkness,' was employed to shadow forth the misery of the lost, Mt 8^{12}.

Taxation

210. Taxation and Tribute.—The system of taxation employed in Palestine before the days of the Romans is not clearly defined. The royal revenue, however, consisted in part in presents, 1 Sa 10^{27} 16^{20} 2 Ch 17^5 ; in the produce of the royal flocks, 1 Sa 21^7 2 Ch 26^{10} $32^{28.29}$; in lands and

vineyards either confiscated or reclaimed from a state of nature by the sovereign, 1 Ki 21^{9-16} 1 Ch 27^{28}; in tribute, probably a tenth of the income of the people, 1 Sa 8^{15} 17^{25} (see Gesenius); in the plunder of conquered nations, 2 Ch 27^{5}; and in payments imposed upon merchants passing through the territory, 1 Ki 10^{15}. Later still we find, probably in place of some of the above, a toll and a tax on articles of consumption, corresponding to our excise, Ezr $4^{14.19.20}$. Both these were of Persian or Assyrian origin. Of the system of taxation prevalent in the time of our Lord, we have more accurate information.

Soon after Judæa was reduced to a province of the Roman Empire, an enrolment was made of the names and fortunes of the citizens. This enrolment was made by households, after the Roman fashion, being prudently disguised by Herod by being made tribal also. On this enrolment was founded a **capitation tax** or 'tribute.' This tax was levied by the magistrates of each city. It occasioned much division of opinion in Judæa, and gave rise to more than one insurrection, Ac 5^{37}. Our Lord was urged to identify Himself with its advocates or opponents, Mt 22^{17}. The tax was paid to collectors, either in Roman money (the denarius, or penny) or in Grecian (the drachma). If paid in the latter, however, the coin had to be changed by the traders, or 'money-changers,' as Roman money only was received at the Roman treasury.

Besides this census or head tax, there were **customs duties**, or taxes on exports and imports, Mt 9^{9}. These were fixed by law, and were levied by revenue farmers through their servants. These servants are called publicans in the New Testament, and the farmers of the revenue, chiefs of the publicans. This system of farming the revenue proved a strong temptation to the publicans, who were generally unpopular.

The third public tax in Judæa was the **half-shekel**

required by the Law to be paid by every Jew into the Temple treasury (Ex 30^{13}). It was always paid in Jewish money, and by all Jews, even by those who lived out of Palestine. The money-changers who sat in the Temple provided this Jewish money in exchange for Greek and Roman coins, Mt 21^{12} Jn 2^{16}. This tax was regarded as paid to God: when therefore our Lord intimated to Peter that the children of kings are exempt from tribute, He implied that He Himself was the Son of the Father, Mt 17^{26}.

This distinction between the different kinds of taxes is always observed in the original of the New Testament, and generally in the English translations.

Modes of Reckoning

Jewish measures only approximate.—A knowledge of the modes of reckoning employed in Biblical times will illustrate many passages. The subject, however, has its uncertainties, from the want of precise and permanent standards, from the different usages of the Egyptians, Phoenicians, and Babylonians, by all of whom the Jews were in turns influenced, as well as from the various accounts given by the authorities, as (e.g.) by Josephus and the Rabbins. The following account, however, contains the nearest possible approximations.

211. Linear Measure. 1. Measures of Length. The shorter measures are taken from the human frame; see Dt 8^{11}, 'after the cubit of a man.' The finger (breadth), the hand-breadth or palm, and the span explain themselves. The cubit, which was the general standard, represented the length of the arm from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, and was therefore variously estimated at from 17 to 22 inches. There was an ancient cubit, 2 Ch 8^{3}, and in later times an extended cubit, Eze 40^{5} 41^{8}, but their respective lengths are unknown. The Siloam inscription

discovered in 1880 on the wall of 'Hezekiah's Tunnel,' from the Valley of Kidron through the cliff to the Fountain of Siloam[a], appears to state the length as '1,200 cubits.' It has been discovered by measurement to be 1.758 English feet. In Hezekiah's day, therefore, the length of the cubit was approximately $17\frac{3}{5}$ inches, or 450 millimetres. In New Testament times the cubit was certainly longer—say between 20 and 21 inches or 525 millimetres.

Table I.

The following table shows the proportion between the cubit and other dimensions:—

Digit or finger-breadth (Jer 52^{21}) = about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch or 19 mm.

Palm or hand-breadth = 4 digits (Ex 25^{25}), nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches or 75 mm.

Span = 3 palms (Ex 28^{16} 1 Sa 17^{4}), about $10\frac{1}{5}$ inches, 225 mm.

Cubit = 2 spans, at various times 17 to 21 inches, 450–475 mm.

Ezekiel's reed (ch. 40 throughout) = 6 long cubits, about 10 feet.

Fathom[b] = 4 cubits, between 6 and 7 feet, or about 2 metres. In New Testament only.

Furlong or stadium (Lu 24^{13} Jn 6^{19} 11^{18}) = 606 feet.

Mile (Mt 5^{41}) = 3,000 cubits or $7\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs, about 1,700 yards.

Sabbath-day's journey (Ac 1^{12} only), traditionally 2,000 cubits[c].

Indeterminate measures are expressed by the phrase 'a measure of distance' (Heb. *kibrath*), Gen 35^{16} 48^{7} 2 Ki 5^{19}, by some held to be definite, and to correspond to the Persian *parasang*; also by the designation 'a day's journey' (Old Testament frequent, New Testament Lu 2^{44}). This, no doubt, varied with the locality and occasion.

2. A **measure of Area** is once mentioned: the *tsemed*, 1 Sa 14^{14} Is 5^{10}, rendered 'acre' A. V. and R. V. It is defined as the area which could be ploughed by a yoke of oxen in one day. Compare the Lat. *iugerum*, acre, from *iugum*, yoke.

[a] See *Records of the Past*, vol. i. (new series) p. 168, and Sayce's *Fresh Light from Ancient Monuments*, p. 82.

[b] Originally the length between the extremities of the arm outstretched at right angles with the body.

[c] According to the Rabbins the distance from the extremities of the camp in the wilderness to the tabernacle in the centre. So *Jerus. Targ.* on Ex 16^{29}, 'Let no man go *walking* from this place *beyond two thousand cubits* on the seventh day.'

The Latin acre was 240 feet by 120, or 28,800 square feet; the English acre measures 43,560 square feet. Probably the *tsemed* was smaller than our acre in about the same proportion; but the exact dimensions are unknown.

212. Measures of Capacity.—Dry and liquid measures had some points in common. In both the standard was equal in contents. In liquid measure the bath, in dry the ephah, contained a little over 8¼ gallons or 36·36 litres. See Eze 45^{11}.

Table II. Liquid Measure.

Lōg (Lev 14 only), rather more than ⅝ of a pint, 0·505 litre.
Hin (often in Pent.) = 12 lōgs; 1 gal. 3 pints, about 6·6 litres.
Bath (1 Ki 7^{38} Eze 45^{10}) = 6 hins; 8¼ gals.; 36·36 litres.
Firkin in New Testament (Jn 2^{6} *metrētēs*) = Old Testament Bath.
Pot (Mk $7^{4.8}$), *sextarius*, nearly 1 pint.

Table III. Dry Measure.

It is observable that in Is 5^{10} the Heb. *ephah* is translated by the LXX *three measures*. This throws light upon Mt 13^{33}, as noticed below.
Qab (2 Ki 6^{25} only), 3½ pints nearly.
Chœnix (Rev 6^{6} only, tr. 'measure') = Old Testament Qab.
'Omer (Ex 16), tenth part of an ephah (see Lev 14^{10}, &c. R. V.).
Seah (Gen 18^{6} 1 Sa 25^{18}), third part of an ephah.
Ephah, the standard measure; see Bath above, 8¼ gals. nearly.
Homer (*chomer*, Pent. and Eze 45) = 10 ephahs; 82½ gals.; 363 litres.
Cōr (1 Ki 5^{11}), the same with *chomer*: also liquid.

213. Weights and Coins.—Here the shekel (*sheqel*)[a] is the standard: and payments were made by weight long before the coinage of money.

Aliquot parts of the shekel.	*Multiples of the shekel.*
Gerah (*bean*), one-twentieth.	Maneh (*portion*), fifty.
Beqa (*cloven*), one-half.	Talent (*circle*), three thousand.

The weight of the shekel varied at different times from

[a] The weight of the **sacred shekel**, 'shekel of the sanctuary,' Ex 30^{13}, is variously understood. The best opinion seems to be, not that it was different from the ordinary shekel, but that it was a *true standard* weight, preserved in the tabernacle and certified by authority.

218 to 224 English grains, 14·54 grammes. (The English pound avoirdupois, it will be remembered, contains 7,000 grains; the pound troy, 5,760.) Hence the following table.

Table IV. Weight.

Gerah (Ex 30^{13} Lev 27^{25} Num 3^{47} 18^{16}).
Beqa (Gen 24^{22} Ex 38^{26}) = ten gerahs.
Shekel (often), lit. 'weight' = 2 beqas; about ½ oz. avoird.
Maneh (1 Ki 10^{17} Eze 45^{12})[a], *μνᾶ*, *mina*, 'pound' = 50 shekels.
Talent (Ex $38^{24.25}$ &c., 2 Ki 5^{5}, &c.) = 3,000 shekels.
Pound in New Testament (Jn 12^{3} 19^{39}), the Roman pound, about 11 ounces.
Talent in New Testament (Rev 16^{21}), perhaps the Attic talent, about ½ cwt.

Money.

This was reckoned by weight, no coinage properly so called existing in Palestine before the Captivity. In Hebrew the verb 'to pay' is literally 'to weigh,' Gen $23^{15.16}$ 33^{19} Ezr 8^{25} Jer 32^{9}. The payment is called *qĕsîtah* in Gen 33^{19} Jos 24^{32} Job 42^{11}, explained by ancient interpreters as *lamb* (LXX and A. V. marg.), as though the figure of a lamb enstamped upon the metal were a sign of value (transition from a state of barter). But this explanation is now generally given up, and the word is taken to mean simply 'a piece of money,' value not stated, although sometimes estimated at 4 shekels.

The **shekel** was the standard of value, as of weight: so fully recognized that the word is often omitted, 'a hundred

[a] From a comparison of 1 Ki 10^{17} with 2 Ch 9^{16} it appears that 3 **manehs** = 300 shekels; hence 1 maneh = 100 shekels; while Eze 45^{12} seems to intimate that the maneh = 20 + 25 + 15, or 60 shekels. But the passage, as it stands, is obscure, and the Alex. MS. of the LXX reads the verse 'Five (shekels) shall be five and ten shekels ten, and fifty shekels shall be your maneh': that is, all your weights shall be genuine. Undoubtedly the later Jewish weight system gives the maneh as 50 shekels.

. . . of silver' meaning a hundred *shekels* of silver. It was first coined, as a mark of Jewish independence, in the time of Simon Maccabæus, about B.C. 140. Shekels, and half and quarter shekels, &c., were struck in gold, silver, and bronze, generally bearing the inscription in Hebrew letters, 'The Redemption of Zion [a].'

In the New Testament the word *shekel* does not occur; but the *stater* (Greek drachma) is taken as the equivalent. The half-shekel, accordingly (the amount of the Temple tax, Ex 30^{13}), appears in the Gospel as the 'double drachma,' Mt 17^{24}. The use of Greek and Roman with Palestinian coins occasioned many complications; and the calling of the money-changer was therefore necessary, especially in the precincts of the Temple, where the priests could accept only the native money. See § 210. (English readers will note in the table a further slight confusion through the rendering of two words expressing different values alike by *farthing*.)

Table V.

Mite (Mk 12^{42}), one-eighth of the Roman *as*.
'*Farthing*' (1) (Mt 5^{26} Mk 12^{42}), *quadrans*, 2 mites.
'*Farthing*' (2) (Mt 10^{29} Lu 12^{6}), 'assarion,' the Roman *as* = 4 farthings (1).
Penny (often), Lat. *denarius* = 16 *asses*.
'*Piece of silver*' (Lu $15^{8,9}$), drachma = Roman denarius.
'*Tribute money*' (Mt 17^{24}) = 2 drachmas ($\frac{1}{2}$ shekel).
'*Piece of money*' (Mt 17^{27}), a stater or shekel = 4 drachmas.
'*Pieces of silver*' (Mt 26^{15} 27^{3}), unquestionably *shekels*.

The monetary value of these coins cannot usefully be expressed by modern standards. Generally speaking, the denarius, drachma, or (silver) 'penny' is reckoned at about $8\frac{1}{2}d.$, the shekel or stater at about half a crown; the *as* therefore at a halfpenny, the *assarion* at half a farthing, the *quadrans* at the eighth of a farthing. But this says nothing

[a] See *The Money of the Bible*, by G. C. Williamson, D.Litt. ('By-Paths of Bible Knowledge' series, R. T. S., 1894).

as to the purchasing power of these coins[a]. The table shows only the mutual proportion of the different moneys.

214. The **Lessons** of the different tables are manifold:—

From Table V we learn to admire the noble disinterestedness of Elisha. Naaman offered him 6,000 pieces or shekels of gold, and ten talents (30,000 shekels) of silver, 2 Ki 5^5. This was the temptation under which Gehazi fell, and yet it did not excuse his guilt.

The same table illustrates strikingly the unreasonableness of an unforgiving spirit and the aggravations of our own guilt. The debtor, who threw his fellow-servant into prison because he owed him a hundred denarii (25 shekels), had himself been forgiven 10,000 talents, or thirty millions of shekels, Mt 18^{24}.

How clearly does it illustrate the prophetic words, 'He was despised and rejected of men,' to find that Judas betrayed our Lord for thirty shekels, the price paid for a slave when killed by a beast, Ex 21^{32}.

We learn by the aid of Tables II and III the displeasure of God against covetousness.

'Ten acres of vineyard (says the prophet) shall yield one bath, and the seed of an homer shall yield an ephah,' Is 5^{10}.

That is, one acre of land shall yield less than a gallon of wine, and nine-tenths of the seed shall perish. Famine is thus declared to be among Divine judgements against sin. Compare Rev 6^6 with Tables III and V, 'A measure (chœnix) of wheat for a penny (denarius)'—a very small quantity purchasable for a whole day's wages, Mt 20^2.

215. Reckoning of Time: the Day.—The **natural day** with the Jews was from sunrise to sunset (as with the Romans), and was divided (after the Captivity) into twelve hours of unequal length. The **civil day** (the day used in common reckoning) was from six in the evening to six the next evening; differing in this respect from the Roman civil day, which, like ours, was from midnight to midnight. This was divided again into night and day of equal length.

The **night** was divided, in very early times, into **three**

[a] The American Revisers proposed to render *denarius* as 'shilling,' and *assarion* as 'penny,' and have adopted these translations in their edition of the R. V. It may be noted here that the comparison of Mt 5^{26} 'the uttermost *farthing*' (assarion) with Lu 12^{59} 'the very last *mite*,' must not be pressed to mean that the two are identical, as some interpreters have done.

watches; the first (Lam 2^{19}) till twelve o'clock; the middle till three in the morning, Judg 7^{19}; and the morning watch till six, Ex 14^{24}. In the time of our Lord, however, the night was divided, as among the Romans, into **four watches**, of three hours each, Mk 13^{35}; the third of which was called cock-crowing, Mt 26^{34}. The *day*, properly so called (from six in the morning till six at night), was divided into twelve hours, of which the third, the sixth, and the ninth were devoted to the public services of worship. This division is still retained among the Jews. In very early times, and till the Babylonian Captivity, the day was divided into the following parts:—

The break of day.
The morning.
The heat of the day, from nine o'clock till twelve.
Mid-day at twelve o'clock.
The cool of the day, from three o'clock till six.
The evening.

From the sixth hour (or twelve o'clock) till the close of the day was often called evening. This part of the day was divided into two portions, called evenings, Ex 12^{6} Lev 23^{5} (see margin).

These distinctions explain several passages.

About the eleventh hour, the husbandman said to the labourers, 'Why stand ye here *all the day* idle?' Mt 20^{6}. With us, the eleventh hour is not yet noon: with the Jews, it was about an hour from sunset. Peter's reasoning is rendered forcible by these facts, Ac 2^{15}. 'It is but the third hour of the day' (nine o'clock), the time of the morning sacrifice, before which time the Jews did not eat or drink.

On the day of the Crucifixion there was darkness over all the land from the sixth to the ninth hour, i. e. from twelve o'clock to three. The Passover was always kept at the full moon: this darkness, therefore, could not have taken place in the ordinary course of nature from an eclipse of the sun. It was at the ninth hour that Jesus cried with a loud voice, and shortly afterwards (or 'between the evenings,' the time of offering the customary sacrifice) He expired. John says that Pilate brought Jesus forth to the people at the sixth hour (Jn 19^{14}), probably reckoning from midnight, the commencement of the Roman civil day. After the overthrow of the Jewish state, the adoption of the civil day of Europe and Egypt for reckoning was the more natural. If this interpretation be admitted, it will appear that the hour when

Andrew and John went home with Jesus (Jn 1^{39}) corresponded to our 10 a.m., and that 'the sixth hour,' when the woman of Samaria went to draw water (4^{6}), was six in the evening. See also 4^{52}. Westcott (*Speaker's Commentary*, on Jn 19, p. 282) strongly maintains this view in a note 'on St. John's reckoning of hours.'

It was at the fourth watch of the night, or about dawn, that Jesus went to the disciples on the sea. He had spent the whole night, therefore, in prayer, Mk 6^{48}.

The highest praise was bestowed upon the servant whom his lord found watching in the second or third watch, i.e. from nine till three, Lu 12^{38}.

It is to be observed that the Jews and other Orientals generally speak of any part of a day, or of a period of time, as if it were the whole. In like manner, fractions of a day are in England treated as legally whole days.

Thus Jesus said, 'After three days I will rise again,' Mt 27^{63}, though He was in the grave only a day and a half, from sunset on Friday to the earliest morning on Sunday. He intimated also, quoting from Jonah, that He would be in the grave three days and three nights, i. e. part of three separate civil days; day and night meaning a day of twenty-four hours, Mt 12^{40} 1 Sa $30^{12,13}$. In the same way, a week is called eight days in Jn 20^{26}, as it often is in German; so in French, '*quinze jours*' for a fortnight.

216. The Jewish Year.—The Jews had two years, the sacred and the civil. The sacred began in March or April (according to the moon), the month of deliverance of the children of Israel from Egypt[a]; and the civil in September or October, the commencement of seed-time. The prophets use the former; those engaged in civil and agricultural concerns, the latter. The year was divided into twelve lunar months, with about every third year a thirteenth, as shown below. Till the return from captivity, these months had no separate name, except the first, which was called Abib (the month of 'the green ears of corn'), or Nisan, the month of 'the flight,' Est 3^{7}. (See Ex 12^{33} Heb., as in the following table.)

[a] The Rabbins say that the year began in March, as did the Roman year, and in September; but the probability is that in *earlier* times it began with the new moon of April and October respectively. See Jahn, *Archæologia Biblica*, § 103.

Combining the mode of reckoning common among the Jews for the various annual feasts, we obtain

The first month of the sacred year was the one whose full moon followed next sometimes to April, and sometimes to parts of both.

Month of		Name.	Answering to the Months of	Festivals and Appointed Lessons.
Sacred Year.	Civil Year.			
1st	7th	Abib, or Nisan (30 days). Ex 12^{2} 13^{4} Ezr 7^{9} Ne 2^{1} Est 3^{7}.	Mar. Apr.	3. Lev 6 Jer 7^{21}. 14. Paschal lamb slain. The Passover. 15–21. Days of unleavened bread. 16. The firstfruits of the barley harvest presented.
2nd	8th	*Iyar* or Zif (29 days), 1 Ki 6^{1}.	Apr. May.	11. Lev 16^{1} Eze 22. 14. The second Passover (Num $9^{10.11}$) for such as could not celebrate the first.
3rd	9th	Sivan, or Sivan (30 days), Est 8^{9}.	May. June.	6. Pentecost, or Feast of Weeks. Firstfruits of wheat harvest (Lev $23^{17.20}$) and firstfruits of all the ground, Ex 23^{19} Dt $26^{2.10}$. 10. Num. 1 Ho 1.
4th	10th	*Tammuz* (29 days).	June. July.	3. Num 13^{1} Jos 2. 26. Num 22^{2} Mic 5^{7}.
5th	11th	*Ab* (30 days), Ezr 7^{9}.	July. Aug.	3. Num 30^{2} Jer. 1. 20. Dt 1 Is 1.
6th	12th	Elul (29 days), Ne 6^{15}.	Aug. Sept.	3. Dt 7^{12} Is 49^{14}. 20. Dt 16^{18} Is 51^{12}.
7th	1st	*Tisri*, or Ethanim (30 days), 1 Ki 8^{2}.	Sept. Oct.	1. Feast of Trumpets, Lev 23^{24} Num 29^{1}. 10. Day of Atonement, Lev $23^{27.28}$ 15–21. Feast of Tabernacles, or of Ingatherings, Ex 23^{16} Lev 23^{34}. Firstfruits of wine and oil, Lev 23^{39}. 21. Gen 1 Is 42^{5} (Great Day of the Feast).
8th	2nd	*Marchesvan*, or Bul (29 days), 1 Ki 6^{38}.	Oct. Nov.	8. Gen 23^{1} 1 Sa 1^{1}.
9th	3rd	Chisleu (30 days), Zec 7^{1} Ne 1^{1}.	Nov. Dec.	10. Gen 37^{1} Am 2^{6}. 25. Feast of Dedication. 1 Mac 4^{52-59} Jn $10^{22.23}$.
10th	4th	Tebeth (29 days), Est 2^{16}.	Dec. Jan.	25. Ex 10^{1} Jer 46^{13}.
11th	5th	Shebat (30 days), Zec 1^{7}.	Jan. Feb.	17. Ex 21^{1} Jer 34^{8}.
12th	6th	Adar (29 days), Ezr 6^{15}. Ve-Adar or 2nd Adar.	Feb. Mar.	1. Ex 38^{21} 1 Sa 17^{13}. 14, 15. Feast of Purim, Est $9^{21.27}$. 25. Lev 1 Is. 43^{21}.

with the facts of physical geography, and the seasons fixed a table of much interest and value.

after the vernal equinox, and therefore sometimes answered to March and
Names printed in italics do not occur in Scripture.

	Seasons and Weather.	Productions.
Harvest begins.	The *latter* rain begins to fall, Dt 11^{14} Zec 10^{1}. The weather during the rains chilly, Ezr 10^{9} Jn 18^{18}. This rain prepares the corn for harvest. Great heat, especially in the plains. The rivers swell from the rains, Jos 3^{15} 1 Ch 12^{15} Jer 12^{5}.	Barley ripe in lowlands; wheat partly in ear; fig-tree blossoms; winter-fig still on the tree, Mt 21^{19} Mk 11^{13}.
	The *latter* rains still frequent. These rains often preceded by whirlwinds, 1 Ki 18^{45} Mt 8^{24}.	Barley harvest in the hill country, Ru 1^{22}. Wheat begins to ripen.
Summer begins.	Excessive drought. From April to Sept. no rain or thunder, 1 Sa 12^{17} Pr. 26^{1}. The *morning cloud* seen early, but soon disappears, Ho 6^{4} 13^{3}. Copious dews at night, Job 29^{19} Ps 133^{3}. North and east winds increase drought, Gen 41^{6} Jer 4^{11}.	Wheat ripening on the hills in June; in the valleys early in May. Grass in some places a yard high, Jn 6^{10}.
	Heat increases.	Early vintage, Lev 26^{5}. Rice and early figs ripen.
Hot Season.	Heat intense; country apparently burned up. Lebanon nearly free from snow.	Ripe figs at Jerusalem; olives in the lowlands; grapes ripen.
	Heat still intense, 2 Ki $4^{19.20}$ Ps 121^{6} Is $49^{9.10}$ Rev 7^{16}.	Grape harvest general.
Seed-time begins.	Heat in the day: nights frosty, Gen 31^{40}. Showers frequent: the *former* or early rain. Ploughing and sowing begin.	Pomegranates ripen.
	Sometimes the early rain begins now. Wheat and barley sown.	The latter grapes gathered. Olives in Galilee.
Winter begins.	Trees lose their foliage. Snow begins to fall on the mountains, Jer 36^{22}.	
	On the mountains the cold is severe. Hail; snow, Jos 10^{11} Ps $147^{16.17}$. Weather warm at intervals, Eze $33^{30.31}$.	Grass and herbs spring up after the rains. Wild flowers abundant.
Cold season.	Corn still sown At the beginning of the cold season the weather cold, but gradually becomes warm.	The winter-fig found on the trees, though they are stripped of their leaves.
	Thunder and hail frequent. Barley sometimes sown.	The almond-tree blossoms. Oranges and lemons ripen.

As the Jewish year contained 354 days (in 12 months of 30 and 29 days alternately) it was too short, compared with the true or solar year, by nearly $11\frac{1}{4}$ days, the error amounting in the lunar cycle of 19 years to about $213\frac{3}{4}$ days. To correct this, the intercalary month Ve-Adar ('the second Adar') was added to seven of the years in the cycle. Thus March 2–30, 1900, was 'a second Adar.' The error was thus reduced to small dimensions, but still an additional intercalation was required once in 8 cycles or 152 years. The appointment of the additional Adar was by proclamation of the priests, whenever it was observed that the firstfruits of the barley-harvest would not otherwise be ready by the 16th of Nisan. Thus in the Jewish Calendar there are six kinds of years; both common and leap years being either irregular, redundant, or defective.

217. Seasons as a note of time.—In Scripture, dates are often fixed by a reference to the seasons or productions, 2 Sa 21^{9} Num 13^{20}; or by a reference to the feasts, Jn 10^{22}.

The fact recorded in Lu 4^{17} has been thought to fix the time of our Lord's visit to the synagogue at Nazareth. The reading of the Law was completed in the fifty-two Sabbaths of each year, and was begun in Tisri (or Sept.), a custom founded on Ne 8^{2} and Dt $31^{10.11}$. Gen 1–6 was read at the Feast of Tabernacles; and on the Sabbath before, Dt 29^{10}, with Is 61^{1} 63^{10}. This reckoning, which is Lamy's, fixes the visit on the 14th Tisri. The time seems from the context, however, to have been nearer Pentecost; and the phraseology of Luke rather intimates that Christ had chosen the passage, than that He found it in the general order of reading. Lamy has given all the lessons (*Apparatus Biblicus*, lib. i, ch. 5). The preceding table gives the *commencement* of a few only.

The zeal of the people mentioned in 2 Ch 30^{23} becomes more obvious, when it is remembered that they kept the feast other seven days, in the *midst of the harvest*.

Important lessons are often suggested by the facts contained in the preceding table. Our Lord, for example, was crucified on the day when the Paschal lamb was offered, and rose on the day when the firstfruits of the early

harvest were presented, 'the firstfruits of them that slept.' The Spirit was poured out at Pentecost, when the firstfruits of the ground were presented at the Temple: and on that day 3,000 persons, 'out of every nation under heaven,' were added to the Church, Ac $2^{5.41}$. The Feast of Tabernacles (when thanks were offered for the ingathering of *all* the fruits of the land) is yet to come, Zec 14^{16}.

The language of our Lord (Mt 23^{27}), comparing the Pharisees to whited sepulchres, becomes clearer from the fact that it was spoken just before the Passover and after the winter rains, when the Jews were busy whitewashing the burial-places near Jerusalem, and preparing for the feast.

Miscellaneous Customs.

218. There are **many other customs** referred to in Scripture, of which the following are examples:—

In ancient Rome children were adopted at first privately; then the *adoption* was ratified by a public act; and the children so adopted became the heirs of their foster-parents. Hence, in Ro 8, Christians are said to be adopted, and yet to wait for their adoption, even the redemption of the body, i.e. for their public recognition at the coming of the Lord, verse 23.

Opulent Jews, in ancient times, had their children taught some *mechanical art*, to prepare them for any reverse of fortune; and so St. Paul received a liberal education, and learned tent-making, Ac 18^{3}.

Persons paying visits to a superior generally brought *presents*, Pr 18^{16} Job 42^{11}. Kings and princes also made presents as marks of distinction, Gen $45^{22.23}$ 1 Sa 18^{4} Est 8^{15}. Not to wear garments thus given was a great affront, Mt $22^{11.1}$.

The common *salutation* in the East was a kiss, sometimes upon the beard, 2 Sa 20^{9}, sometimes upon the cheek: the kiss of respect and homage was upon the brow, Gen 27^{26} Ex 4^{27} 1 Sa 10^{1} Ps 2^{12} Ac 20^{37}. In meeting, the Jews used many ceremonies, and persons charged with urgent business, therefore, were forbidden to salute by the way, 2 Ki 4^{29} Lu 10^{4}. The usual greeting was, 'Peace be with thee,' Judg 19^{20} 1 Sa 25^{6}: other forms may be seen in Ru 2^{4} 3^{10} Ps 129^{8}.

An *insult* was shown by maltreating the beard, by spitting in the face, by putting men to degrading employments, Judg 16^{21} Lam 5^{13}, by clapping the hands, Job 27^{23}, by casting contempt upon a man's

mother, 1 Sa 20^{30} 2 Sa 3^{39} 16^{10} 19^{22}, by dishonouring the dead, Jer 26^{23} 8^{1} $16^{5.7}$.

At the time of the Passover the people of Jerusalem prepared *private rooms*, in which any stranger might celebrate the feast; and hence Christ sent Peter and John, without any scruple, to seek an upper room for this purpose, Mk 14^{15}.

At the Feast of Tabernacles ('on the last day of the feast') a priest, accompanied by a procession of worshippers, *drew water* in a golden pitcher, containing a quarter of a hîn, from the spring of Siloam, which issued from a rock near the Temple. This water was mingled with an equal quantity of wine (see Ex 29^{40}) as a special drink-offering, Lev $23^{36.37}$, the people singing the words of Isaiah, 'With joy shall they draw water from the wells of salvation,' and was poured on the evening sacrifice amid joyful acclamations: see Jn 7^{37} [a].

In the earliest times there were no inns like ours, and travellers generally waited in the street, or at the gate, till invited to some house, Gen 19^{2} Judg 19^{15-21}. In the time of our Lord there were places of accommodation where lodging was provided, but where each guest brought his own provisions, fuel, and bed. In the stable of such an inn, there being no room in the lodging apartment, the Saviour of the world was born. Places of a similar kind, probably without resident occupants, were found upon the main roads even in the days of the Patriarchs, Gen 42^{27} 43^{21} Ex 4^{24}. Both are still found in the East; the former called khans, and the latter, caravansaries.

When a person died, his relations *rent their garments* from head to foot, a smaller rent being made by spectators: hired mourners often added to the expressions of grief by their lamentations and music, Jer $9^{17.18}$ Mt 9^{23} Ac 9^{39}. *Embalming* was common, though, except in Egypt, the process seems to have consisted of little else than anointing the body with odoriferous drugs and wrapping it in linen. The funeral followed death within twenty-four hours, the body not being placed in a coffin, but closely wrapped from head to foot, and borne on an open bier to the place of burial, which was always, except in the case of kings and distinguished men, at some distance from the city. For the poor, there was a common burial ground; but families had often their sepulchres in their own fields or gardens. There was no particular ceremonial at the grave, but the day was concluded by a funeral feast, 2 Sa 3^{35} Ho 9^{4}. *Mourning* was expressed afterwards by rent clothes and sackcloth; sometimes by a shrouded face, and sometimes by dust sprinkled upon the head, 2 Sa 3^{31} 19^{4} Job 2^{12}. The

[a] On this custom, which we learn from Jewish tradition, see Westcott's *Commentary* on Jn 7^{37} and Edersheim's *Temple, its Ministry and Services at the Time of Jesus Christ* (R. T. S.), p. 225.

graves were generally excavated in the solid rock, with niches all round, each holding a corpse, Job $10^{21.22}$ 33^{18} Ps 88^{6} Is 14^{9-19} 38^{10} Eze 32^{18}.

In the time of our Lord it was a common practice for the *kings* of Syria to visit *Rome*, to obtain the confirmation of their title from the emperor and senate, or to court their favour. Herod the Great went to Augustus for this purpose, and his sons visited Rome. They went, as our Lord expresses it, 'to receive a kingdom and to return,' Lu 19^{12}. This practice explains the incidental allusions to the custom in some of the parables.

Crucifixion was the punishment of slaves only, or of those upon whom it was intended to fix the deepest ignominy. It was not a Jewish punishment, nor was it inflicted upon a Roman citizen. Thus Christ was delivered to the Gentiles, and numbered with the wicked in His death, Mt 20^{19}.

Many customs were connected in ancient times with sealing; the *seal*, generally a signet-ring bearing the name of the owner, preserved the object, Job 14^{17}, and secured privacy, Is 29^{11}. It gave authority and completeness to documents, Ne 9^{38} Est 8^{8} Dn $6^{9.13.17}$; or it marked the object as the peculiar property of him whose seal was placed upon it, Ro 4^{11} 2 Tim 2^{19} Rev $7^{2.3}$.

CHAPTER X

ON THE STUDY OF THE SCRIPTURES IN RELATION TO DOCTRINE AND TO LIFE

219. The preceding chapters will have prepared the way for a brief statement of the methods in which Scripture may be made 'profitable' to ourselves 'for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness.' A deep conviction that the revelation is from God will enlist both heart and mind in the endeavour; while the task can be successfully carried out only as we comprehend and apply the laws of Interpretation [a].

Two great purposes are accomplished by Bible study thus conducted:—

First, a systematic knowledge of Christian truth: Doctrinal Theology.

Secondly, the solution of practical questions regarding life and duty: Christian Morality.

I. System in Doctrine

220. The value of system is shown not only in the Bible, but in nature and providence. Facts and objects are scattered in endless variety, and it is the business of Science to detect their order and harmony.

In both cases, the same principle of investigation is employed—the great principle of **the inductive philosophy.**

[a] See especially Chs. VI, VIII.

The revelations of Scripture form the basis of theology, as the facts of nature form the basis of natural science, or as the facts of consciousness form the basis of mental philosophy. In the Bible, however, we have this advantage, that while in nature facts are the only data from which we gather general laws, in Scripture we find the general laws of truth and duty expressly stated for our guidance [a].

The systematic study of Scripture has been **singularly misrepresented.** Some hold that it is useless ; a remnant, in fact, of scholastic habits, which it is the interest of the Church to destroy. But to repudiate system compels us either to confine ourselves in statements of doctrine to Scripture language; or it exposes us to the risk of misrepresenting one doctrine in enforcing another; or, more commonly still, it tempts us to overlook the due proportion or connexion of doctrines, and so leads us into error, the more seductive that it is founded partially on truth. 'General principles drawn from particulars,' says Locke, 'are the jewels of knowledge, comprehending great store in little room : but these are therefore to be used with the greater care and caution, lest, if we take counterfeit for true, our loss be the greater when our stock comes to a severe scrutiny.' Others, again, go to the opposite extreme, and maintain that the adoption of a system is a necessary preliminary to the study of Scripture, a theory not borne out by facts. Many a reader who begins with Scripture finds his way to truth, and whatever system he attain is the *result* and not the *beginning* of his prayerful studies. Yet in his search he will already find the elements of a creed in such passages as Tit 2^{11-14} Eph 2^{4-10} 1 Tim 3^{16}.

221. Method of investigation.—To gather doctrinal truth from Scripture, we bring together all the passages that refer to the same subject, whether they be doctrines,

[a] See tract by Dr. Angus, *Theology an Inductive and a Progressive Science* (Present Day Tract, R. T. S., No. 68, second series).

precepts, promises, or examples ; impartially compare them ; restrict the expressions of one passage by those of another ; and explain the whole consistently. When the proposition which we derive from such complete collection of the passages embodies all they contain, and no more, it may then be regarded as a general Scripture truth.

The following rules are equally obvious and important:—

1. We must gather our views of Christian doctrine **primarily from the New Testament**, interpreting its statements consistently with one another, and with the facts and clear revelations of the Old.

2. In carrying out this rule it is necessary to explain ambiguous and figurative passages by those that are **clear and literal** ; and passages in which a subject is briefly described by those in which it is **largely discussed** ; and general assertions by others (if such there be) which treat of the same truth with **some restriction** or exceptions.

3. Not only must the passages which speak of the same doctrine be explained consistently with one another, but each doctrine must be held **consistently with other doctrines.** See the remarks, in the chapter on Interpretation, on the general scope of Scripture (§§ 128, 129).

The Scriptures teach, for example, on a comparison of passages, that repentance, faith, and obedience are the gifts of God [a]. Do we therefore gather that men are guiltless if they do not repent, and believe, and obey the gospel ? or do we deem it needless to exhort men to repentance, obedience, and faith ? If so, our views are unsound, for the guilt of impenitence is charged entirely upon man [b]. His unbelief is declared to be his great sin and the ground of his condemnation [c] ; and not to obey God is everywhere condemned. Men are exhorted, too, to repent [d], and believe,

[a] Jn 15^{5} Ac 5^{31} Eph 2^{8} Phil 1^{29} 2^{13} 1 Pet 1^{2}.
[b] Mt $11^{20.21}$ Rev $2^{20.21}$. [c] Jn 3^{18} 16^{9}. [d] Mk 1^{15}.

and obey. So Samuel taught the Israelites, and John the Baptist taught the Jews. Thus also spoke our Lord and His Apostles continually[a].

Though truths may be revealed in Scripture which it is difficult for us to harmonize, yet one truth so held as to contradict another is not held as the Bible reveals it.

4. We should employ and interpret the doctrines of Scripture with special regard to the **practical purposes** for which the Scripture reveals them. Thus, the doctrine of the Trinity is a revelation of God in relation to man; and, though sometimes introduced as an article of faith simply (as in the rite of baptism), it is generally in connexion with spiritual blessings, and especially with the scheme of redemption, 2 Cor 13^{14}.

The use made in Scripture, again, of the doctrine of election is highly instructive. However the doctrine itself be regarded, all agree in admitting that it can involve no capricious fondness, without reason or wisdom; nor can it be regarded as affection founded upon our merit, or as seeking for its *ultimate* end our happiness. It is rather an exhibition of the character of God, which represents Him as acting in pursuance of His own purpose, and while securing that purpose, as displaying His glory and promoting the general good. The doctrine is introduced in Scripture, moreover, to declare the source of salvation to be the undeserved favour of God, and to cut off all hope of acceptance by works, as in Ro $11^{5.6}$; to account for the unbelief of the Jews without excusing it, as in Ro 9; or to show the certain success of Christ's kingdom in defiance of all hostility, as in Mt 21^{42} Jn 6^{37}. Considered without reference to these facts, it might be made the ground of a charge of caprice, or it might become (as among the Jews) the nourishment of self-conceit; or it might be used to destroy the doctrine of human responsibility or the duty of Christian devotedness.

[a] Mt 3^{2} Lu 13^{3} Ac 3^{19} 8^{22}, &c.

Yet the doctrine systematically considered—viewed, that is, in connexion with the truths among which it stands, and applied to the purposes for which the inspired teachers used it—has a humbling, comforting, and sanctifying tendency.

5. It must be remembered, again, that **deductions drawn by our own reason** from the statements of Scripture are not to be deemed inspired unless those deductions are themselves revealed.

It is certain, for example, that distinct acts of personal agency, which are in some passages ascribed simply to God, are ascribed elsewhere to the Father, or to the Son, or to the Holy Ghost, and that worship and adoration are claimed for each. We infer, therefore, that there are three Persons in the Godhead, and but one God ; or that there is a Trinity in Unity. We thus express Scripture truth in a convenient form. But if we attempt further to explain this truth, or to draw from the phraseology employed other remote conclusions, we may either darken counsel by words without knowledge, or gather lessons which God has not taught.

'No man,' says Jeremy Taylor, 'is to be pressed with consequences drawn from thence, unless the transcript be drawn by the same hand that wrote the original. For we are sure it came, in the simplicity of it, from an infallible Spirit ; but he that bids me believe his deductions bids me believe that he is an unerring logician ; for which God has given me no command, and himself can give me no security [a].'

Concerning all doctrines, indeed, which are peculiar to Scripture, the rule of the martyr Ridley is as Christian as it is philosophical. 'In these matters,' says he, 'I am so fearful that I dare not speak further, yea, almost none otherwise than the text doth as it were lead me by the hand.'

222. Relative Importance of Truths. But besides ascertaining the truths of the gospel, it is not less important

[a] *Dissuasives against Popery.*

in framing a system of truth to ascertain their **relative importance**; and if possible, the order in which Scripture reveals them. With this view consider especially three rules:—

i. Mark the subjects which are *oftenest* recommended to attention by our Lord, and by His Apostles.

If it be asked, for example, what is the most memorable circumstance in the institution of the Last Supper, the reply is, its commemorative character: for this peculiarity is thrice mentioned in the words of the institution, 1 Cor $11^{24.25.26}$.

ii. Observe carefully what is *common* to the two dispensations, the Christian and the Jewish.

In both, the unity and spirituality of God, His power and truthfulness are frequently revealed. So among our first duties are gratitude and love. The numerous injunctions in the Law respecting sacrifices, and the prominence given to the truth that Christ was 'once offered to bear the sins of many,' illustrate the paramount importance both of the doctrine, and of appropriate feelings in reference to it, Heb 9^{28}.

iii. Observe the *value ascribed in Scripture* itself to any truth or precept which it contains. Sometimes a quality is set forth as essential, 'Without faith it is impossible to please God.' Sometimes one quality is preferred to another, as love to both faith and hope, 1 Cor 13. Doctrines also have their *relative* as well as their *absolute* importance. Thus, the fact of the resurrection and ascension of our Lord, as an evidence of the completion and acceptance of His work, and as a pledge of the resurrection of His people, is mentioned in the Epistles alone more than fifty times. Any view of the gospel message, therefore, which gives to these doctrines a second place is clearly not the gospel of Scripture.

223. How to apply these Rules.—One or two general principles may be laid down to aid in the application of these rules.

(*a*) Nothing must be made a matter of necessary faith which is not a matter of revelation.

(*b*) In studying the Bible, there must be a suspense of judgement till the Word itself decides. Allow no bias but what is received from the Scriptures themselves; otherwise our belief will be only inclination and fancy.

(*c*) The same relative prominence should be given to each doctrine as is given to it in Scripture.

(*d*) Where the doctrine of Scripture is important and necessary, the Scripture will be found full and clear. Where Scripture is not full and clear, the doctrine is either in itself not important, or the certain knowledge of it is unattainable in our present state.

(*e*) The Bible does not contradict itself. Of apparent contradictions, some are merely verbal, and the right interpretation of the words removes the difficulty. Others, pertaining to the doctrines themselves, may be solved by one or other of the three following rules.

1. When the same action is affirmed of different persons, there is a sense in which it is true of both.

It is said, for example, ten times that Pharaoh hardened his heart, and ten times that God hardened Pharaoh's heart; and both statements are in a sense true.

Again, the same act is ascribed in Scripture to different persons, as in Ex 18^{17-26} Dt 1^{9-13}, in relation to the appointment of judges; Num 13^{1-20} Dt 1^{22}, on sending the spies; 2 Sa 24^{1} 1 Ch 21^{1}, in the numbering of the people by David.

2. When apparently contradictory qualities are ascribed in Scripture to the same person or object, there is a sense in which both assertions are true.

Thus, God visits the sins of the fathers upon the children, and yet the children do not bear the sins of the fathers,

Ex 20^5 Eze 18^{20}. Either the effects of the father's sin fall temporarily upon his children, though each man's final destiny is the result of his own conduct, or the former passage may be limited to those who hate him: in their case there is an accumulation of punishment.

3. When one thing is said in Scripture to secure salvation, and the want of another thing is said to exclude from it, the existence of the one necessarily implies the existence of the other.

It is said, for example, that faith saves us, and yet no one can be saved who hates his brother. Both statements are true; and, in fact, we find that faith and love are never disjoined.

This is the canon that reconciles the prerogatives of faith with the promises made to character, as in the Sermon on the Mount. It is not meant that such characters, *if* they have faith, are blessed, for the promise is absolute; but it is implied that faith *forms such characters*, and brings the believer within the range of the promise.

II. The Guidance of Life

224. Doctrine and Practice.—Here also the principles and rules of conduct are part of the great system of revelation. Scripture doctrine lies at the foundation of all true morality[a].

The gospel begins its message with the 'story of peace,' unfolding the pardoning mercy of God through the death of His Son. It then exhibits its truths as motives to holiness. When these truths have taken possession of the heart, they teach us to perceive in Scripture the requirements of a high and spiritual obedience: and under their influence we learn to serve 'in newness of spirit, and not

[a] See, on the subject of this paragraph, Dean Wace's Lectures on *Christianity and Morality*.

in the oldness of the letter.' This is the order, therefore, of human experience; knowledge in the heart, or truth, precedes knowledge in practice, or goodness: or, in simple Scripture language, man is sanctified by faith, through the operation of the Holy Spirit.

1. When the reader of the Bible has examined and classified its precepts, he will find that it is rather a book of **principles** than of **directions**. And of principles in a double sense: its precepts refer rather to *motives* than to actions, which motives are called the principles or beginnings of action: and moreover, its precepts are comprehensive maxims, and are therefore rather principles of morality than specific rules. When it speaks of holiness, it means faith, well-regulated affection, inward purity, and moral rectitude of disposition; and these it represents, not as the ground of our salvation, but as its evidence and result. The law of the Ten Commandments, which seems at first to refer to practice only, is summed up by our Lord in the form of love to God and to man; humility and evangelic faith towards God, and all holy conduct towards our fellows, being the appropriate utterance of these inward feelings. This apparent peculiarity of the *gospel* scheme was the more striking in the time of our Lord from the fact that *Jewish* tradition had given undue importance to ritual zeal and punctiliousness: and it accounts for much of the opposition which the first teachers of the truth encountered. That it is a peculiarity also of the *Law* is plain, both from the nature of its precepts and from the teaching of our Lord; for although in impressing upon His hearers the importance of inward dispositions He may seem to speak of the Law as faulty, He is in reality setting free its moral significance from the bondage of a perverted literalism. See also Mk 12^{32-34}.

2. Even when the precepts of the gospel are given in a specific form, they are often intended as descriptive rather of **character** than of **specific acts**. The command of our Lord, 'If any man will sue thee at the law to take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also,' is an instance, Mt 5^{40}. A literal compliance with the precept would be seldom practicable. To wait for the occasion when it can be applied would be of little service; but to cherish the disposition at which it aims is to walk daily on the path that leads to holiness.

3. It is another peculiarity of the precepts of the gospel that they are generally expressed in **comprehensive terms**, and that the application of them, and the distinctions that attend it, are left to the reason of the reader. It is true that the laws are so plain as to leave a conscientious and teachable mind in little danger of mistake. Still,

it is part of our discipline that we are left to apply them. Such possibilities of error in applying them remain, as prove God to be testing 'what is in our hearts, and whether we will keep His commandments or not.'

225. Moral and Positive Precepts.—Keeping in mind that the precepts of Scripture refer chiefly to the dispositions of the soul, that they are expressed for the most part in general terms, and that the application of them is left to the reader, we need still to notice an important distinction between these precepts themselves.

Some are called *moral* and others *positive*, and the distinction is founded on Scripture. Bishop Jeremy Taylor defines moral precepts as having their measure in natural reason, while in positive precepts the reasons and measure are incidental, economical, or political. The reason of the first is eternal, the reason of the second temporary. Bishop Butler and Dr. Doddridge define the first as precepts the reasons for which we see, and the second as precepts the reasons for which we do not see. By combining these definitions, we may, perhaps, obtain one more comprehensive than either. Of the former class of precepts we discern the place in the moral system to which they essentially belong: for the latter we are content to rest upon the enactment of an all-wise and all-loving Creator. Both are, within certain limits, obligatory, and the neglect of either has its peculiar aggravations. To violate moral laws is to disobey our reason and God. To violate positive laws is to sin where temptation is commonly feeblest, and where disobedience involves a direct denial of Divine authority.

Some precepts (it is obvious) are *mixed* in their nature, being partly moral and partly positive. Such is the law of the Sabbath. That creatures, framed as man is, should statedly rest from toil is a physical necessity; that they should present some united worship is a moral duty; but whether that rest and worship be presented on the seventh,

or eighth, or tenth day must be decided by positive law. It is obvious, too, that in the use of the words of this distinction we are liable to mistake. *Moral* duties are *positive*, in the sense of being expressly commanded; and *positive* duties are *moral*, in the sense of requiring holy motive in fulfilling them: guilt, too, is incurred, if they be regarded with indifference or contempt.

Differences between the two.—Six particulars may be stated in which positive laws differ from those which are strictly moral:

1. Their *nature*. The moral are intrinsically holy and immutable; the positive are indifferent till the precept is given. Under the Law, for example, to look at the brazen serpent, to sprinkle the door-posts with blood, were acts of no obligation till God had commanded them, and both were temporary in their duration.

2. Their *evidence*. The moral precept is written, though often nearly effaced, in the heart; but the positive precept in the Bible only. In reference to the latter, therefore, differences among Christians are more easy and (may we not say?) less inexcusable.

3. Their *basis*. Moral precepts are founded in the nature of God and of man, and in the relation that subsists between them; positive precepts in God's will alone. That will is doubtless guided by wisdom, and the general design of many positive precepts is even obvious. Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, and the Sabbath, for example, are all adapted to a specific end; but why these ordinances only, and not others, is not revealed.

4. The *extent of their obligation*. Moral precepts are universally binding. There is no state conceivable to which God's moral dominion does not extend. Positive precepts, on the other hand, are particular. The ceremonial law included the Jews, but not the Gentiles. Certain observances, again, were binding on the priests, but not on the people. So, under the gospel, those only must partake of the Lord's Supper on whom that ordinance is enjoined.

5. The *method of their observance*. Moral precepts, inculcating principles, are obeyed by a thousand different actions. Positive precepts, controlling conduct only, are uniform, and are to be observed according to the prescription and letter of the Law.

6. Their *connexion*. Moral precepts are necessarily connected. Positive precepts may be so by authority, but are not so in their nature. Faith is followed by hope, and joy, and love. Love to God strengthens our sorrow for offending and our fear to offend; and love to man, fidelity and beneficence. But circumcision did not imply holiness or

ceremonial purity. Institutions may be observed apart, 'but virtues go ever,' says Bishop Hall, 'in troops.'

Application of both.—In reference to the application of these laws, moral and positive, four things must be specially remembered:—

1. Moral precepts *never really contradict one another.* If there be apparent contradiction, we have misinterpreted the meaning or the limits of the Law.

2. Positive institutions, being founded exclusively on the law of God, *admit of no additions* in number to those it reveals. Institutions claiming Divine authority must not only not be forbidden in Scripture, they must be expressly commanded. To increase the number of such institutions, says Dr. Whichcote, 'lessens the number of things lawful, brings the consciences of men into bondage, multiplies sin in the world, makes the way narrower than God has made it, and divides His Church.'

3. When positive precepts interfere with the observance of the moral law, *they must yield* the outward rite to the expression of holy feeling, the offering of sacrifice to the dictates of mercy, the keeping of a Sabbath to the law of love.

4. God *rejects His own positive institutions* when men make them final or put them in competition with holiness, or substitute them for it, 2 Ki 18^{4} Is 1^{11-17} 66^{3} Jer 7^{3-16} Mic $6^{7.8}$ Am 5^{21}.

226. Examples a Guide to Conduct.—In considering and applying the examples of Scripture, there are several points to which attention needs to be directed.

1. Many things are recorded in Scripture *with censure.*

There are examples of injustice and idolatry, which are either discountenanced by the Law, or were at the time expressly condemned. The record of them is not intended to hallow the facts, or to justify us in copying them, but to illustrate the wickedness of human nature and the justice of God.

2. Note, however, that the actions of good men, which were nevertheless wrong, or which are not, on other grounds, intended for our imitation, are sometimes recorded *without censure.*

To this class belong the equivocation of Abraham before Pharaoh; the falsehood of Rebekah and Jacob; the dissembled madness of David,

1 Sa 21^{13}; and the massacre at Jabesh-gilead. To this class, also, belong such actions as were allowed under the Law, but are forbidden under the gospel. Polygamy, for example, was only permitted to the Jews, 'because of the hardness of their hearts'; never enjoined. The reasoning of our Lord condemns it, Mk $10^{8,9}$; nor must we, from the pattern of children, learn the measure of duty in men.

3. Many acts under the old dispensation were done *by express command.*

Abraham at least understood God as commanding him to slay his son; Joshua destroyed the Canaanites; the Levites put to death the idolaters in the camp; Jehu rebelled against the house of Ahab, 2 Ki 9^{11-14}: but each of these acts was performed under the authority of a peculiar and positive precept. The fact that God expressly commanded them takes them out of the list of imitable actions. To make similar actions commendable, we must have similar authority.

It may be observed that, when a peculiar command was given, the reason is generally appended, showing the command to be but temporary. Abraham was commanded to offer up his son, to test his faith; Joshua destroyed the Canaanites because the time of their probation was past, and they had proved irretrievably idolatrous; idolaters in Judæa were put to death because, there, idolatry was *treason* against the supreme authority of the invisible King.

4. In judging of Old Testament examples, we must ascertain *the principle* on which the actions were performed. This is the rule suggested by Heb 11, where some acts are recorded as imitable only in the principle of faith from which they sprang.

Without this rule, Scripture may be made to sanction the most contradictory acts. In Gen 21^{9}, for example, Ishmael mocked Isaac, and from Gal 4^{29} we learn that this mockery was the expression of a persecuting spirit, and of contempt of God's promises. Elijah, on the other hand, mocked the priests of Baal to prove the folly and wickedness of idolatry. Elijah's conduct in calling fire from heaven, 2 Ki $1^{10,12}$, was not the result of angry feeling, but of a desire to convince a wicked prince and an idolatrous people; when James and John wished to exercise the same power, however, our Lord rebuked them; partly because His kingdom forbade such agency, and partly because the temper in which they spoke was passionate and revengeful.

General Rule.—All these considerations may be expressed in the form of rules: and it follows that we are not to copy the practices which Scripture records and condemns; nor practices which it records

without censure, unless those practices were holy as well as lawful; nor what was done under specific and temporary command; nor what was done in consequence of inferior knowledge: nor must we copy or judge the good acts of even a good man, without considering their motives and end.

Or the whole may be summed up in one principle. In relation to Old Testament examples, the rule of judgement is, that we estimate each act as the individual who performed it was bound to estimate it by the law under which he lived, and the rule of imitation is, that we are to copy it only if it be consistent with the precepts of the New Testament. The positive rule of imitation will be found below.

Value of Examples.—Of what use, then, are the examples of Scripture, and how are we to employ them? They are of great use:—

1. In **interpreting the rules of Scripture** where the sense is questioned. If the example be set by inspired men, and that example be in obedience to a rule, we have then an inspired interpretation of its meaning.

The conduct of Paul in opposing Peter on the question of circumcision, and the practice of the Apostles generally, decide the signification of many passages of Scripture. In such cases we copy the example, not because good men have set it, but because, under the circumstances, it proves to us what is the mind of Christ.

We may thus often find an explanation of the meaning of Scripture in the examples which inspired men have left us. 'Swear not at all,' for instance, is one of the commands of our Lord, Mt 5^{34-37}. In the same chapter He tells us that He came not to destroy the Law (verses 17, 18), and as the Law permitted oaths, it may be presumed that all oaths for all purposes are not forbidden in this prohibition. On referring to 2 Cor 11^{31-33} Ro 1^{9} it becomes plain that the precept refers to our ordinary communications, which should be yea, yea, nay, nay. The vice which is thus condemned was very common among the Jews. 'Resist not him that is evil' (R. V.) will be found by the same reasoning to mean 'Cherish not a spirit of retaliation and revenge.' Our Lord did not complain of the Law in the hands of the magistrate, nor did He forbid His disciples appealing to it where public justice was concerned. He Himself remonstrated against unjust smiting, Jn 18^{23}; and Paul so far resisted evil as to protest against cruel indignities offered him, and on another occasion to appeal to Cæsar, Ac 25^{11}. The meaning of the precept therefore is, 'rather suffer injury than avenge yourselves.'

2. In teaching us to apply the rules of Scripture **to particular cases.** The New Testament is, in a great degree, a book of principles, not of specific directions, and it requires great wisdom to apply them.

The value of examples for this purpose may be well illustrated by comparing the moral principles laid down in the Book of Proverbs, with the application of them in the different characters mentioned in Scripture. It is said, for example, 'There is that maketh himself rich, yet hath nothing; there is that maketh himself poor, yet hath great riches.' Of the first principle we have illustrations, in Ahab, 1 Ki $21^{4.16.22}$; in Haman, Est 5^{11-13}; in the self-righteous Pharisee, Lu 18^{11-14}; in the self-conceited Corinthians, 1 Cor 4^{8}; in the false teachers referred to by Peter, 2 Pet $2^{18.19}$: and of the second, in Matthew, Lu $5^{27.28}$; Zacchæus, Lu $19^{8.9}$; Paul, 2 Cor 6^{10} Phil 3^{8}; the Ephesian converts, Ac 19^{19}; and in the church of Smyrna, Rev 2^{9}, compared with the church at Laodicea, Rev 3^{17}.

3. The great use of Scripture examples, however, is not for purposes of interpretation, but **for the increase of holiness.** They illustrate Divine truth and human duty—they show the possibility of obedience—they rebuke our imperfections, and, by exhibiting the sins of good men, excite our watchfulness and charity.

Does the Christian ask, for instance, whether it is possible for him to serve God in the business of the world, as well as in retirement, or in the public service of religion? let him remember that Enoch, who walked with God, had sons and daughters, that Abraham had great possessions, that Joseph was governor of Egypt, that Moses was king in Jeshurun (Dt 33^{5}), that Isaiah was a statesman and counsellor in the days of King Ahaz, that Jeremiah dwelt in royal courts, that Daniel was third ruler in the kingdom of Babylon, that there were saints in Cæsar's household, and that our blessed Lord Himself was not less holy as the carpenter than when engaged in His public ministry, or when offering the great sacrifice of the Cross.

Do we wish to test our repentance, and ascertain whether it is worldly or spiritual? We may examine its fruits, or we may compare it with Scripture examples. We have true repentance in David, 2 Sa 12^{13} and Ps 51; in Manasseh, 2 Ch $33^{12.13}$; in Job, 42^{6}; in Nineveh, Jon 3^{5-8}; in Peter, Mt 26^{75}; and in the publican, Lu 18^{18}. We have worldly repentance in Pharaoh, Ex $10^{16.17}$; in Saul, 1 Sa 15^{24}; in Ahab, 1 Ki 21^{27}; and in Judas, Mt 27^{3-5}.

Do we watch with most care against our easily besetting sins, and feel secure against others to which we are less prone? We may, with advantage, remember that Abraham, the father of the faithful, distrusted the providence of God; that Moses, the meekest of men, spoke unadvisedly with his lips; that Job murmured, Job 3, 6, &c.; and that the boldest of the disciples of our Lord swore, through fear, that he knew Him not.

The value of such examples is not to be lightly esteemed. 'All that philosophy, wise men, and general reason can teach,' says Luther, 'that is profitable for good life, history presents by examples and cases. And when we look at it deeply, we find that thence have flowed almost all rights, art, good counsel, warning, threatening, terror, consolation, strengthening, instruction, and prudence, as out of a living spring.' Examples thus become morality taught in facts, 'Christ and His gospel preached from the annals of His own kingdom[a],' and from the experience of His Church.

Examples apply in similar cases.—It may be remarked, generally, that if the matter to which the example refers is of a *moral nature*, we are to copy the example of inspired men, so far as the reason of the practice is the same in their case and in ours. If the cases are not similar, we then obey the command by cherishing the spirit which their example embodied, without copying the example itself.

It is a principle, for instance, that Christians are 'by love to serve one another,' and if the churches of one district have abundance, and those of another district are suffering from poverty, the churches in the former case are to obey the command by collecting for their poorer brethren, as the early churches did, Ac 11^{28-30} 1 Cor 16^{1}. They apply the rule in the same way. But if it be said to follow from this principle, that we should copy the example of early Christians in washing one another's feet, we then apply the exceptive principle just named. That custom was in Eastern countries a common and necessary refreshment; but to observe it *here* would defeat the design of the observance. A kiss was the common form of Eastern salutation, and was designed to express affectionate regard; the principle of that

[a] Neander.

practice, the exercise and expression of affectionate feeling, is still binding, but we cease to copy the example, or to express the principle in that form. The primitive Church, it is evident from the New Testament, had its love-feasts; we have no record of their being a Divine appointment, but they were probably the spontaneous expression of mutual affection. Hence, when they were abused, the Apostles condemned them. 'These are spots,' said Jude, 'in *your* love-feasts.' In the case of the Lord's Supper, the abuse was condemned also, but the ordinance was re-inculcated. The observance of such feasts, therefore, is allowable, if they tend to deepen the feelings they are designed to express, but the example is plainly not of binding authority.

Inapplicable Precedents.—If the matter to which the example refers is a *positive institution*, the precedent is of no force in regard to its merely accidental circumstances.

In relation, for example, to the Lord's Supper;—it was celebrated in an upper room, with unleavened bread, the guests reclining at the table, on the fifth day of the week, and in the evening of the day. Three of these facts are expressly mentioned, and the others are undoubted; yet none is deemed essential to the due observance of the ordinance. Most of the meetings of believers mentioned in the New Testament were held on the first day of the week, Ac 20^{7} 1 Cor 11^{20}. Most of the preaching to the Jews and others who worshipped with them was on the seventh day, Ac 13^{42} 18^{4} 16^{13}. To frame our practice in this case after apostolic example, without considering the reason of their conduct, is plainly to confound the essential and accidental characteristics of their obedience. They exhorted Christians principally on the first day of the week, because this day had already become recognized as the weekly festival of the Resurrection. They preached on the Saturday because the people whom they sought to reach were then most accessible. It follows that there is a reason for the service of the first day, which does not now exist in the case of the seventh.

True Basis of Obedience.—It is important to observe that, in all these cases (both those that refer to moral precepts and those that refer to positive institutions), the duty of obedience is founded on the *command*, the application and extent of the command being fixed by the phraseology employed, and by the example of inspired men, subject only to the rules just given.

Promises and their Application.—Faith in the promises of the gospel is, by the operation of the Holy Spirit, a great medium of man's renewal and holiness. When born again, that is, restored to the condition and character of children, it is, under the operation of the same Holy Spirit, by the incorruptible seed of the Divine Word, received into the heart. When justified, it is by faith; and by faith they are made holy: faith is our 'shield,' our 'work,' our 'victory,' our 'life.'

227. Characteristics of Divine Promises.—In studying and applying the promises of the Bible, it is important that we remember the following particulars:—

1. The general promises of the Bible are the expression of God's *immutable counsel.*

Men have often attached this idea of counsel to the secret purposes of God only, as if those purposes contradicted His Word, or were intended to nullify and frustrate its statements. But in Scripture the promises are always spoken of as the revelation of His purpose, and the violation of His promise as the denial, not of His Word only, but of Himself. He had promised 'before the world began,' Tit 1^{2}; and the promises are quoted in proof of His immutability, Heb $6^{17.18}$.

2. Some of the promises are *universal,* and others *peculiar* and *temporary*; and it is important to distinguish between them.

There are promises made to Noah, to Moses, to David, to Peter, which cannot apply to us. The promise to the Israelites of outward prosperity was temporary, being suited to their dispensation, and adapted (in a state where eternal things were less clearly revealed) to secure obedience. So the gift of miracles, and of infallibility for writing or confirming the Scriptures, was promised to the first age of the Church only, but is now withdrawn. The gospel is the universal promise, and the only one. It is, therefore, the ground and measure of our faith. Many promises, however, made to individual believers are branches of the universal promise, and are, as such, to be applied to believers still. The promise of God to Joshua, for example, 'I will never leave thee,' is applied to the Hebrew Christians; and Nehemiah prayed for the fulfilment of the promise given to Moses, Jos 1^{5} Heb 13^{5} Ne 1^{5-11}.

There is nothing in the interpretation of Scripture which needs more discrimination than the degree in which promises made to particular persons or communities, or under special circumstances, may be appropriated by others. Often these promises are evidently intended to apply *generally*, but sometimes they are applied without warrant. Satan attempted this perversion of Scripture promise in the case of our Lord, Ps 91^{12} Mt 4^{6}.

The following remarks are therefore of special importance :—

Promises that refer to *the present life*, especially those that are contained in the Old Testament, applied to a consistent Christian, embody a general truth, namely, that religion, by making men honest, and sober, and industrious, has a constant tendency to secure temporal blessing. The hand of the diligent maketh rich, and diligence is enforced by the gospel. But the constancy of this law is corrected by three considerations. (1) Persecution and suffering are expressly foretold, of the Church, and for Christ's sake ; and such suffering is itself the theme of a promise. (2) The temporal promises of the Old Testament have a limit in the very character of the later dispensation. It is one of faith rather than of sight. (3) And besides, temporal mercies are now employed to promote the Christian's spiritual welfare, and are given or withheld, as may prove most for his highest good. Under the Law, 'the rod of the wicked' less frequently rested upon the 'lot of the righteous,' because the lessons of Providence were among the grand teachers both of the Church and of the world. Now, however, the Bible is complete ; and God is free (so to speak) to adapt His discipline to the wants of *each* of His children. In asking, therefore, for the fulfilment of temporal promises, even when universal, we must remember that prosperity has ceased to be the uniform expression of Divine favour, and that Providence is now administered in subservience to the spiritual discipline of the Church.

3. Some of the promises are *absolute*, and others are *conditional*.

The promises of the coming of the Messiah and of the call of the Gentiles were absolute. The promise of pardon and of blessings essential to salvation is conditional on our faith. The Christian's progress, again, in holiness, and his freedom from chastisement, are dependent upon his diligence, and obedience, and prayer.

It may be said generally that every promise of spiritual blessing to individual Christians is given to character, and on conditions.

See 1 Sa 2^{30} 1 Ch $28^{9.19}$ Eze 33^{13} Jas $1^{5.7}$ Ro $4^{3.12}$ Heb 4^{1}. These promises are made to *character*; sincerity and faith are always required. If we seek Abraham's blessing, we must walk in Abraham's steps. If we wish for special tokens of Divine regard, we must cherish the poor and contrite spirit with which God is pleased to dwell. And they are made *on conditions*. Further light and richer gifts are ever bestowed in proportion to our industry, and fervour, and fidelity, and prayer.

So far, therefore, as any promise of Scripture is common, and we fulfil its conditions, we may apply it to ourselves as boldly as if our name were there. If even it be a particular promise given to one saint, but a branch of the universal promise of the gospel, and we do as he did to whom it was originally given, it becomes our own.

228. Conditions of the Promises.—This connexion of the promises of Scripture and the conditions attached to them is often overlooked. Men apply the promises as if they were made to sorrow or distress. In fact, no promise is given to mere distress, but only to distress crying for relief, and seeking it in the way of Divine appointment: '*Call upon Me* in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify Me,' is the uniform language of Scripture, Ps 50^{15}. In this respect, its promises differ from its invitations. The latter are commands addressed to all, even to the impenitent and the unbelieving (Mk 1^{15}); the former to the penitent and believing only, or to the impenitent, on the supposition that they turn and believe.

4. God often promises a blessing *without fixing the time* when it is to be bestowed.

God will deliver the righteous out of his troubles, but the time is not told us, Ps 37^{7}. See 40^{1}, 'I waited waitingly' (Driver). Christ is to come again, and to take us to Himself, Jn 14^{1-3}; but 'of that day and hour knoweth no man.' To trust in the promise, therefore, includes both patience and faith. He that believes will not make haste, Is 28^{16} Ro 10^{17} 2 Th 3^{5}.

5. Rightly to employ the promises, we must use them, not indeed as the ground or measure of duty, but yet as *motives to exertion* and prayer.

God has promised to deliver His Church and to destroy her adversaries; but not so as to supersede our own caution and endeavour. Paul had received a promise that he should see Rome, and yet, when the conspiracy was framed to assassinate him, he immediately took steps to protect his life, as if no promise had been given, Ac 23^{11-17}; compare $27^{22.31}$. In every case, the precept is our *rule*, though the promise may influence our motives and encourage our prayers.

God promised David to establish his house, and David therefore pleaded the more earnestly with God to fulfil His promise, 2 Sa 7^{16-25}.

God had promised, in the days of Elijah, to 'send rain upon the earth,' 1 Ki 18^{1}, and yet Elijah prays with the greater earnestness and perseverance, 1 Ki 18^{42-44}.

Daniel knew that the seventy years' captivity was expiring when he set his face by prayer to seek its accomplishment, Dn $9^{2.3}$.

When our Lord had promised the gift of the Holy Ghost, the disciples continued in prayer till the promise was fulfilled, Ac 1^{14}.

Rightly to employ the promises, we must use them to *promote holiness*. They are given that through their means we 'may become partakers of a Divine nature.' Nor is the design of God answered, unless they deepen our thankfulness and bind us to a life of holy and devoted obedience, 2 Pet 1^{4} 2 Cor 7^{1}.

Collections of Scripture promises, such as are found in many books, may be of great use, or the reverse, according to the discrimination with which they are cited and applied. Each particular promise has, so to speak, its own *setting*; and this must be carefully taken into account.

PART II

THE BOOKS OF THE BIBLE

'Though many other books are comparable to cloth, in which, by a small pattern, we may safely judge of the whole piece, yet the Bible is like a fair suit of arras, of which, though a shred may assure you of the fineness of the colours and richness of the stuff, yet the hangings never appear to their true advantage but when they are displayed to their full dimensions and are seen together.'—BOYLE, *On the Style of Scripture.*

The Books of the Bible

CHAPTER XI

INTRODUCTORY

229. Recapitulation.—We now come to the study of the books of the Bible. Already we have considered—

The general divisions of Scripture: the two Testaments: the Law, the Prophets, and the Holy Writings of the Old: the Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Revelation of the New: with the history of their transmission to modern times; and the laws and methods of Biblical criticism:

The claims of Scripture as genuine, authentic, and inspired, with the evidences of its Divine origin:

The great characteristics of Scripture as a revelation of God, of man, and of the plan of salvation reconciling both, securing at once peace and holiness: a revelation gradually communicated, everywhere consistent; taught, however, without a formally announced system, though all centring in the Cross of Christ:

The principles of interpretation, their special applications, and the use of external helps; the spirit, above all, in which inquiries into the meaning of Scripture should be conducted:

The systematic study of Scripture; its applications to practical life; with the difficulties of various kinds connected with all these questions.

Having thus viewed sacred Scripture as a whole, we proceed to examine its particular portions, and to apply more minutely the rules and principles already discussed.

230. The two parts of Scripture.—The Bible is composed of two parts: the Old Testament and the New; the second containing a full revelation of the Divine will, and a plan of salvation addressed to all; the first containing not all probably that God revealed in early times to our race, but as much as He deemed it necessary to preserve. Every part of what is thus revealed is 'profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for discipline which is in righteousness.'

231. Use of the Old Testament.—The use of the former Testament is highly important: and a simple statement of this use will show the connexion of the two.

1. Though most of it was addressed to one nation, yet it enjoins much *on man as man*, and contains principles of morality which are universal and eternal. The precepts which were given to Adam, the Decalogue, and the appeals of the whole book illustrate and enforce moral truth.

2. Much of the history of the Old Testament is *the history of God's government*. In that government He illustrates His own character and ours; and whatever advantage an inspired record of this kind can give, we derive from this part of the sacred volume.

3. Further, the hopelessness of salvation *by law* is clearly taught in this earlier dispensation. The patriarchal faith, with its immediate or traditional communications, ended in a corruption which not even the Deluge could check. Solemn legal institutes, with rites and sanctions most instructive and awful, failed to preserve the people from idolatry, though the great Legislator himself repeatedly interposed; and when, after the Captivity, idolatry ceased, formalism and infidelity extended on every side, and at length prevailed. In the meantime, the power of natural religion was tried among the heathen: and the result of the whole, the result of an experiment carried on under every form of government, amidst different degrees of civilization, with traditional knowledge and immediate light, is a demonstration that in our fallen state *reformation by law* is hopeless, and that, unless some other plan be introduced, our race must perish. The Old Testament was given, therefore, in part to show us our sinful state, and to shut us up unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed (Gal. 3^{23}).

4. To this new faith it is also an introduction, teaching to the spiritual and humble under the first dispensation more or less of

the plan of salvation to be revealed under the second. Hence its types, prophecies, sacrifices; hence assurances of pardon to the penitent, and the revelation of a God ready to forgive; although the procuring cause of pardon, the provision that was to reveal the oneness of justice with mercy, was not fully understood till the remedial work of Christ was accomplished.

Other purposes also were no doubt answered by this first dispensation. A knowledge of the true God, which might otherwise have died away, was preserved; and the effect of true religion, even in its less perfect forms, was illustrated; but the foregoing are probably the chief.

The relation of **the New Testament** to these purposes of the Old is plain. The *second*, or new covenant, is a double completion of the *first*. As the first was a covenant of types and predictions, the second fulfils it; putting the fact in the place of the prophecy, and in the place of the shadow, the substance. As under the first, moreover, the revelation of God and of duty was imperfect, the second filled up the system of truth and of precept which was thus but partially disclosed, developing and explaining it with more of spiritual application, making it universal, and securing for it in a richer degree the influence of the Spirit. In a double sense, then, the gospel is the completion (πλήρωσις) of the Law.

232. Summary of the whole.—Regarding the whole Bible in its connexions, we are prepared to trace the continual development of Divine truth in its different parts.

In the first eleven chapters of GENESIS, and in JOB, we have the outlines of the patriarchal religion; in the later chapters of Genesis, the history of the transition from it to the temporary and typical dispensation of the Law. In the other books of the PENTATEUCH, we have the *moral* law, illustrative at once of God's character, and of human duty; the *ceremonial*, with its foreshadowings of the great atonement; and the *civil*, the means of the preservation of the other two. In the settlement of the Jews under JOSHUA, whether considered in itself, or as an emblem of the future; in the apostasy of the Jews, their punishment and deliverance under the JUDGES; in the establishment of the prophetic and kingly offices of LATER

BOOKS, in addition to the priestly; and in the unchanging yet diversified tenor of God's providence to His separated people, we have our knowledge of the Divine character and purpose varied and augmented. In the PSALMS we have the utterances of devout hearts, touched and inspired by the Divine Spirit, through many generations; with much that is predictive of Him in Whom all devout hearts trust. In the WORDS of SOLOMON, as well as of other sages, we learn both the wisdom and the vanity of the world, and are at the same time conducted beyond the maxims of worldly prudence, to Him Who is the Eternal Wisdom. In the Book of ISAIAH we discern the Messiah, as Prophet, Sacrifice, and King; and are led, from scenes of the Captivity, to the forecast of the greater deliverance. In JEREMIAH the same scenes are revealed, though dimly, and as in a cloudy and dark day. In EZEKIEL the shadowy priesthood of the Jews is enlarged into a more glorious and spiritual worship: and in DANIEL we see the termination of all kingly power in the never-ending empire of the Messiah. The MINOR PROPHETS present the same views of the Divine government, either in providence or in grace; and MALACHI closes the old revelation with predictions of the coming appearance of the Sun of righteousness.

In the New Testament, MATTHEW, after a silence of the prophetic spirit for 400 years, connects the ancient Scriptures with the more recent, and completes prophecy by pointing out its fulfilment in Christ. LUKE reveals Him as a light to lighten the Gentiles; MARK as the *mighty* God; JOHN as the *everlasting* Father, and as the Prince of *peace*. The ACTS continues the illustration of the fulfilment of ancient predictions, and connects the facts of the gospel history with the Epistles. Each epistle, while giving most of the doctrines of the gospel, embodies distinctly some particular truth. The Epistles to the THESSALONIANS exhibit the self-evidencing power of the gospel in the hearts of believers, and set forth the antecedents and result of the Second Coming. The Epistles to the CORINTHIANS explain Christian unity, set forth the application of Christian principles to difficult problems of life, and declare the doctrine of the Resurrection. The Epistle to the ROMANS gives to those whom Paul had not then visited a full view of the gospel without reference to any previous communication, enlarging most on the great truth of justification by faith. The simplicity of that faith, and its independence of the Law, in opposition to the legalism of Judaizing teachers, is maintained in the Epistle to the GALATIANS; while that to the COLOSSIANS points out the contrast between the principles of the gospel and the tenets of a false philosophy, and that to the EPHESIANS shows that language is inadequate to express the fullness which is communicated in all-abounding grace, from the Head to the

body ; the Epistle to the HEBREWS shows the connexion between the Christian faith and its Old Testament foreshadowings ; that of JAMES exhibits the connexion between the Christian faith and practical holiness; the First Epistle of JOHN dwells upon the doctrine of the Divine Love, and its influence upon human life ; and the First Epistle of PETER sets forth the glory of the Christian, calling in allusions taken from the ancient Scriptures. Other epistles treat of specific duties or truths, and the system of revelation is completed by the APOCALYPSE, which unites and closes the prophecies that go before, and introduces the Church, after all her trials and changes, to victory and rest on earth, and then into never-ending blessedness in heaven.

The volume that speaks of these topics may be described as consisting of *two* parts ; but they form really *one book* ; and the truths it reveals are ever the same, dimly seen or fully disclosed, according to their position in relation to the advent and work of the Christ.

233. True place of the Old Testament.—It becomes us, then, duly to appreciate both Testaments. Study the *Old* to see what God has done, and what therefore He is. See in it a solemn protest against idolatry ; a proof that none can be justified by the deeds of the Law ; a gradual disclosure of the Divine will and of the plan of redemption. Prize it for these reasons, but remember also that, in comparison with the *New*, inspired writers speak of it in depreciating terms. The old dispensation, apart from its fulfilment in the new, is 'darkness,' 'flesh,' 'letter,' 'bondage,' 'the elements of the world' (Gal. 4^3) ; while in the gospel there is 'light,' 'spirit,' 'liberty,' 'a heavenly kingdom.' Important principles of interpretation are thus suggested, nor less the peculiar obligations of our position. It is now doubly binding upon us to be complete in all His will. Our dispensation is light, let us be wise : it is spirit, let us be holy : it is power, let us be strong.

234. Classification of Old Testament Books.—The thirty-nine books of the Old Testament may be arranged on

different principles. Sometimes they are classed according to their contents: the Pentateuch, the historical books, the poetical books, the 'wisdom-literature,' and the Prophets. This division is sufficiently accurate, though several of the books belong to two or more classes, and the division has not been uniformly observed. Sometimes they are classed in the order of time; and as much of the meaning of Scripture is elicited by the chronological study of the different books, we shall throughout indicate this order; while regarding, in the general arrangement, their difference in object and contents.

The importance of specific introductions to each of the books of the Bible must not be disregarded. Such introductions will often prove, as Bishop Percy has observed, 'the best of commentaries, and frequently supersede the want of any. Like an intelligent guide, they direct the reader right at his first setting out, and thereby save him the trouble of much after-inquiry; or, like a map of the country through which he is to travel, they give him a general view of his journey, and prevent his being afterwards bewildered and lost.'

We begin with the PENTATEUCH.

CHAPTER XII

THE PENTATEUCH

Its Genuineness, Unity, and Authenticity

235. The Five Books.—All complete copies of Holy Scripture begin with the PENTATEUCH. It was called by the Jews 'the Law' (*Torah*), or, more fully, 'the five-fifths of the Law[a],' or simply 'the fifths'; a single book being called 'a fifth.' The whole, it is probable, was originally one, divided into five sections, each section taking as its title its first word or words. For the smaller divisions (*Parashioth*) see Part I, § 119.

The separation of the books into five (Gr. πέντε) is thought by many due to the Alexandrian translators; although such facts as the Jewish arrangement of the Psalter in *five* books, and the collection of the *five* 'Megilloth,' or rolls, seem to indicate an early tradition in regard to this special number. The names by which the several books are now known, as well as the word *Pentateuch* itself[b], are from the Greek of Alexandria.

The 'Hexateuch.'—Some modern critics[c] have proposed to amend this arrangement by including the Book of Joshua, which has several points in common with the Five. Hence

[a] Rabbinical: חֲמִשָּׁה חוּמְשֵׁי הַתּוֹרָה.

[b] The word τεῦχος ordinarily means an *implement*, hence, in Alexandrian Greek, a *volume*.

[c] In fact, the Book of Joshua so plainly presupposes the Law of Moses, that the only resort for those who denied the Mosaic authorship of the Five Books was to make a sixth of this in the same series.

the appellation HEXATEUCH (Gr. ἕξ, *six*), 'the Six Volumes[a].' There appears, however, no adequate reason for abandoning the ancient and familiar division, according to which the Book of the Law naturally closes with the record of the great Lawgiver's death. These Five Books, moreover, stand apart from the rest, as pre-eminently the basis of the Hebrew Theocracy.

Mosaic Origin

236. Difficulties at the outset; how met.—Certain preliminary difficulties have been urged against the Mosaic authorship of these books.

1. It was long maintained that the arts of writing and of literary composition were not sufficiently advanced in the time of Moses to allow of such productions.

The futility of this objection has been abundantly shown by the testimony of the monuments. In particular, the Tel el-Amarna tablets, discovered in 1887 on the site of an ancient royal city in Middle Egypt, have yielded to explorers a long series of inscriptions belonging to about the fifteenth century B.C.[b]

Still earlier are the Babylonian tablets of the reign of Khammurabi (now identified with Amraphel, King of Shinar, Gen 14[1]), showing that writing and literature existed in the days of Abraham. One of the most remarkable of the recently discovered monuments of antiquity is the code of laws promulgated by this king, centuries before the time of Moses. This code has been made accessible to English readers in a small volume edited by C. H. W. Johns, M.A., under the title of *The Oldest Code of Laws in the World* (T. & T. Clark, 1903). This work performs a double service—first, by decisively refuting the above objection; and, secondly, by showing that the Mosaic code could not (as some critics assert) have been derived from the Babylonian.

2. It has been alleged that the books imply a state of

[a] Kuenen (who seems to have originated the term), Wellhausen, Robertson Smith, Driver, and their followers.

[b] A lively description of the contents of these documents is given in a tract by Carl Niebuhr (1901). See also Sayce's *Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments* (1895).

religious culture inconsistent with the early date claimed for them.

This is a mere assumption, without evidence; arbitrarily setting aside not only the internal marks of authenticity which the history contains, but its confirmation from the Israelite religion in subsequent ages. That religion has its manifest basis in an early monotheism, such as the patriarchal annals portray. The Pentateuch accounts for the mighty fabric of the Jewish faith—without it, the whole system becomes confused and unintelligible [a].

237. Moses the author.—The way is then open to consider the positive evidence for the genuineness of the Five Books. That they emanated from Moses is attested by considerations such as the following:—

1. **Tradition.**—Universal *ancient tradition*, both Jewish and heathen, assigns it to him.

The conviction of the Jewish people was uniform and unquestioning from the first. Throughout the Old Testament, the fact is taken for granted as indisputable. See Jos $1^{7,8}$ 8^{31-34} 23^{6} 1 Ki 2^{3} 2 Ki 11^{12} ('the Testimony': see reff. R.V.) 14^{6} 23^{25} 1 Ch $22^{12,13}$ 2 Ch 25^{4} 33^{8} Ezr 3^{2-6} 6^{18} Ne $1^{7,8}$ and 8.

Heathen testimonies naturally follow the Jewish, which are accepted without question by Tacitus, Juvenal, and Strabo; also by Longinus, Porphyry, and the Emperor Julian. Mohammed explicitly recognizes the inspiration of Moses and the Divine origin of the Jewish Law.

2. **Traces in the Books.**—This testimony is sustained by *the record itself.*

The references in the Pentateuch to 'a book,' or to 'the book' which was in course of preparation, are repeated and explicit. See Ex 17^{14} 24^{3-7} Num 33^{2} Dt $28^{58,61}$ $31^{9-12,24}$. It is noteworthy, however, that none of the books, excepting Deuteronomy, directly claims Mosaic authorship.

3. **Testimony of other Scriptures.**—The remaining *Old Testament books*, especially the Prophets, abound in references, more or less explicit, to these Five Books. The laws, the

[a] On the whole subject, see Prof. James Robertson's *Early Religion of Israel*, 'Baird Lectures' for 1889; also Dr. E. C. Bissell's *The Pentateuch, its Origin and Structure* (1885), Introduction.

histories, the very phraseology of the Pentateuch, were evidently in the minds of the sacred writers, as familiar and authoritative. 'The Torah was a book so well known that its words had become household words among the people' (*Perowne*).

A small selection of instances must suffice. The evidence, it must be remembered, is *cumulative*. A few coincidences might conceivably be accidental; many, taken separately, would be of little force; but, combined, they are irresistible[a].

From Prophets of the Northern Kingdom, the following references may be given:—

Hosea 1^{10} (Gen 22^{17}) 4^{10} (Lev 26^{26}) 4^{13} (Dt 12^{2}) 5^{6} (Ex 10^{9}) 8^{12}, a remarkable passage, which may be rendered (as R.V. marg.) 'I wrote for him the ten thousand things of My law, but' &c., 11^{1} (Ex 4^{22}) 11^{3} (Dt 1^{31}) 11^{8} (Dt $29^{22.23}$) 12^{3} (Gen 25^{26} 32^{24-28}) 12^{5} (Ex 3^{15}) 13^{6} (Dt 8^{11-14}).

Amos 2^{2} (Num 21^{28}) 2^{7} (Ex 23^{6}, &c.) 4^{4} (Num 28^{3}) 9^{13} (Lev 26^{5}).

From Prophets of the Southern Kingdom:—

Joel 2^{2} (Ex 10^{14}) $2^{23.26.27}$ (Lev $26^{4.5.11-13}$).

Isaiah 11^{9} and Hab 2^{4} (Num 14^{21}) 12^{2} (Ex 15^{2}) 24^{19} and Jer 4^{23} (Gen 1^{2}) 41^{10} (Dt 31^{6-8}) 44^{2} (Dt 32^{15} $33^{5.26}$) 52^{12} (Ex $12^{33.39}$ 14^{19}) 58^{14} (Dt 32^{13}).

See also Micah 5^{7} and Habakkuk 3^{19} (Dt $32^{8.13}$) Mic 6^{5} (Num 22^{5}) Zephaniah 3^{13} (Lev $26^{5.6}$).

This array of passages, to which many others might have been added[b], are evident references to our earlier literature. Especially is it observable that those quoted from Hosea and Isaiah prove Deuteronomy to have been known to these prophets; while those from Hosea and Amos show that the Five Books were recognized in the Northern Kingdom—a fact of prime importance. That Jeremiah also abounds in references to Deuteronomy is admitted by all.

4. **New Testament witness.**—*Our Lord and His Apostles* consistently assume and refer to the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch.

[a] See, for a full display of this argument, Hengstenberg, *Die Authentie des Pentateuchs*; also Stanley Leathes, *The Law in the Prophets* (1891).

[b] See a fairly complete list in Leathes, as quoted above.

It is impossible here to enter on the profound and difficult subject of our Lord's knowledge as man, or to discuss the likelihood of His adopting, without endorsing, the current notions of His time in regard to the Old Testament Canon. But it is impossible to read such passages as Jn 1^{17} 5^{45-47} 7^{19-23} without feeling that the whole weight of New Testament authority is on the 'traditional' side.

5. **Archaisms.**—There are indications of early origin in the use of *certain words and Hebrew forms* which do not occur in other parts of the Old Testament.

To trace these archaisms adequately requires a knowledge of the language. The following are especially noticeable. The feminine demonstrative personal pronoun of the third person *hi* (הִיא) is almost invariably[a] written הוּא in the Pentateuch (like the masculine) including Deuteronomy, and nowhere else. Again, the masculine form *na'ar* (נַעַר) is used for *girl* as well as *boy* in the Five Books[b], the feminine, a later form, being employed elsewhere. So with several other words, of which older forms attest the early origin of the Pentateuch[c]

6. **Internal Evidence.** — The contents are throughout consistent with Mosaic authorship. (1) The books were written by a Hebrew speaking the language and cherishing the sentiments of his nation. (2) They were written by a Hebrew acquainted with Egypt and Arabia, their customs and learning[d]. But Egyptian learning was carefully concealed from foreigners. The priests alone, and the royal family, who were reckoned as priests, had access to it (see Herodotus, ii. 3, 164, 168, &c.). To this class, therefore, the writer must have belonged. (3) There is, moreover, an exact correspondence between the narrative and the institutions, showing that both had one author. The laws are not given in the form of statutes, but are mixed with

[a] There are only eleven exceptions.

[b] The only exception is in Dt 22^{19}.

[c] See the list given by Bp. Perowne in Smith's *Dict. Bible*, ii. 783. Observe that the usage in *Deuteronomy* is specially included.

[d] See Gen 13^{10} $40^{11.16}$ 47^{20-26} Num 13^{22} Dt 11^{10}.

narrative, and are inserted as the exigencies requiring them arose. They are often briefly sketched, and afterwards repeated at greater length, with such modifications as were demanded by altered circumstances[a]. (4) No less remarkable is the agreement between the style of the different books and the circumstances of Moses, as depicted. In the earlier narrative of Exodus and Numbers, the style is broken and abrupt, as that of a journal kept from time to time, with frequent interruptions. In Deuteronomy it is continuous and hortatory. The Five Books, at the same time, exhibit the unity of design which bespeaks a single author.

7. **Deuteronomy in particular.**—The case of DEUTERONOMY is special. It is supposed, although there is no direct evidence as proof, that it was 'the book' that Hilkiah the high-priest discovered in the Temple during the repairs under King Josiah, 2 Ki 22^{10} 2 Ch 34^{14}. Hence it has been concluded by some critics that Hilkiah himself prepared the book, while others, shrinking from this imputation of literary forgery, have on various grounds referred the book to the time of Manasseh (*Ewald, Driver*), or the early days of Isaiah (*Kuenen, Cheyne, Montefiore*). This view has been supported by the alleged differences in some important respects between the Deuteronomic and the Levitical legislation. Such differences are noted in a subsection: it is enough now to say that they might naturally arise from the circumstances in which the great Lawgiver uttered his final charge to Israel. The desert-wandering was over, and the instructions now given were adapted to the new life on which the people were entering[b]. The following facts are of use in determining the question:—

[a] Compare Ex 21^{27} and Dt 15^{12-17}; Num 4^{24-33} and 7^{1-9}; Lev $17^{3.4}$ and Dt $12^{5.6.21}$; Ex 22^{26} and Dt $24^{6.10-15}$.

[b] It may be further argued that the phrase 'beyond Jordan,' which has been thought to prove the book to have been written in western Palestine, is referable to *either* side of the river, meaning 'at the

(1) The references to Egypt in Deuteronomy are such as would be made by one conversant with the life of that country, and newly escaped from its bondage.

(2) The language of the book, in the archaic forms above mentioned, as well as in other respects, corresponds with that of the rest of the Pentateuch, rather than with that of other Old Testament books.

(3) The references already given abundantly prove that Deuteronomy was known to the prophets of the Northern and the Southern Kingdoms.

(4) The whole tone of the book is inconsistent with the later date assigned to it. Had its object been to bring down the provisions of the Law to the later times of the monarchy there are omissions and insertions alike inconceivable [a].

Among the omissions may be mentioned that of the Service of Song in the House of Jehovah; among the insertions, the decree for the utter extermination of the Canaanites. Had the book been written several generations after the disappearance of these tribes, such injunctions would have been, says Professor Green of Princeton, 'as utterly out of date as a law in New Jersey at the present time offering a bounty for killing wolves, or a royal proclamation in Great Britain ordering the expulsion of the Danes.'

(5) There is, at the same time, nothing in the Mosaic origin of the books inconsistent with the view that it was *reduced to writing* in Canaan, after the conquest. Such is the view of the distinguished critic and expositor of the Old Testament, Bishop Perowne. That it already existed, and was known when the Book of Samuel was written, the bishop decisively proves [b].

crossing of the Jordan.' It is in fact employed in the very same chapter to denote both the eastern and the western territory. See ch. $3^{8.20}$. But compare (5) below.

[a] See an essay by Dr. A. Moody Stuart in *The Bible true to Itself* (1885).

[b] 'Hophni and Phinehas break the law by which the priests' dues were regulated, and the very phrases of 1 Sa 2^{13} are borrowed from Dt 18^{3}.' See two papers by Bishop Perowne (then Dean of Peterborough)

Unity

238. Implied in Mosaic origin.—The Mosaic origin of the Five Books implies their essential unity. Whatever the remoter or later sources of this or that part of the annals, the divinely inspired historian and lawgiver of the Hebrew people fused them into one.

In considering this point, two qualifying remarks are both obvious and important.

1. **Earlier Documents.**—The unity asserted does not in any way exclude *the employment of pre-existing documents.* Inspiration does not supersede the ordinary methods of the historian; and every historian has recourse to his authorities. In the present case, it is impossible to suppose that previous records would be ignored. The Creation, the early annals of mankind, and the great events of the world's history from the dawn of time must have left their traces in human memory and in primæval literature. Vitringa long ago remarked that Moses may have had before him 'documents of various kinds, coming down from the times of the Patriarchs, and preserved among the Israelites, which he collected, digested, and amplified where deficient[a].' Such records, albeit in strange and varied forms, are now known to have been preserved by different nations—Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian; and Moses could not have been ignorant of them. Almost every year brings to light some fresh tradition, with its legendary and mythological accretions; and we cannot but recognize and admire the Divine guidance by which the

in the *Contemporary Review* for January and February, 1885, 'The Age of the Pentateuch,' where the reasoning is mainly directed to show that the 'Priestly Code' must have *preceded* Deuteronomy.

[a] *Observationes Sacræ*, 1707, i. 4, § 23. This remark of the famous Dutch divine has been endorsed by theologians of different schools, long before the era of modern criticism. See Calmet, Horne, Pye Smith, Moses Stuart, and others.

inspired historian was led through realms of fable into the region of knowledge and of truth [a].

2. **Editorial Revision.**—Again, the Mosaic authorship does not preclude the notion of *editorial care in succeeding ages.* We are not to suppose that we have in our hands the Five Books, without alteration or addition, as they were written in the wilderness. Changes are not indeed to be arbitrarily assumed; but the work of later hands appears upon the very surface.

Thus, where we are told (Gen 13^{7}) 'The Canaanite was then in the land,' we infer that when that sentence was written the Canaanites had been dispossessed. In Gen 36^{31} 'These are the kings that reigned, ... before there reigned any king over the children of Israel,' is plainly a later addition to the early text [b]. In Ex 16^{35} that 'the children of Israel did eat manna forty years, until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan,' is a remark most probably added after their entrance into Palestine. See also Lev 18^{28}. In like manner, modern names of places are found in the text: Dan, Gen 14^{14} Dt 34^{1} (see Jos 19^{47} Judg $18^{27.29}$); Hebron, Gen 13^{18} 23^{2} (see Jos 14^{15} Judg 1^{10}); and perhaps Hormah, Num 14^{45} (see 21^{1-3} Judg 1^{17}). Editorial parentheses may also have been introduced into Gen 13^{3} $14^{2.8}$ Dt 3^{9} 4^{48}. It is perfectly supposable that such alterations, with others, were made by Ezra when he issued 'the Book of the Law' after the Captivity; but however this may have been, the isolated phrases cannot be suffered to weigh against the abundant evidence for the earlier origin of the book that contains them. That the last chapter of Deuteronomy was added after the death of Moses is, of course, unquestionable.

A threefold element.—On the whole, we may safely recognize in the Pentateuch a pre-Mosaic, a Mosaic, and a post-Mosaic element, the second of these being supreme.

239. Critical Theories. The remarks above made, if legitimately applied, will lead to interesting and valuable

[a] See *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia*, by Dr. Theophilus G. Pinches (S.P.C.K., 1902). The Babylonian tradition of the Creation and the Flood, as given in this volume, may be instructively compared with the histories in Genesis.

[b] This is found again in 1 Ch $1^{43.44}$.

results, and will be a true help in the interpretation of many passages. But it is necessary to notice the exaggerated and extravagant use that has been made of these obvious laws of criticism in modern times.

Varied use of the Divine Names. 1. About the middle of the eighteenth century there was published at Brussels a work by Jean Astruc, Professor of Medicine at Paris, and Court Physician to Louis XIV, in which the various use of the Divine names in Genesis and the first six chapters in Exodus was made the ground of 'conjectures' as to the 'original documents of which Moses apparently availed himself.' Thus in Gen 1^{1}–2^{3} the name *Elohîm*, 'God,' is uniformly employed; in 2^{4}-3 it is *Jehovah Elohîm* (a double appellation, it may be remarked, nowhere else occurring in the Pentateuch, excepting Ex 9^{30}). In ch. 5 it is *Elohîm* only, excepting in ver. 29, where a quotation is made. In chs. 6-9 *Elohîm* and *Jehovah* are used indiscriminately everywhere, and in 11^{1-9} 12 13 *Jehovah* only. In ch. 14 a new name is introduced, *El-Elyôn* (God Most High), and is used throughout the chapter [a].

Developments of the Theory. Such variations furnished a hint for distinguishing the documents employed. In the view of Astruc, these were mainly two—'Elohist' and 'Jehovist,' with a few unclassed and subordinate sections. The clue was followed up by Eichhorn, Ilgen, and others, before the close of the century, and by a large body of critics in the nineteenth; of whom Kuenen and Wellhausen rank among the chief. A vast literature has grown up around the subject. The Mosaic authorship, which Astruc, Eichhorn, and their immediate followers regarded as unquestionable, is now denied by the critics, while the hypothesis of various documents has been extended from Genesis and Exodus to the other books of the Pentateuch, and latterly to Joshua.

Different Hypotheses. 2. Further tests of composite character in the work have been discovered or conjectured. There has been chronological as well as literary dislocation. Formerly the Deuteronomic code was regarded as, without doubt, subsequent to the Levitical;

[a] To this enumeration it is added, in the first edition of this *Handbook*, that 'the errors and refinements of some modern writers have brought the theory ("documentary") founded on the distinction stated into perhaps undeserved discredit.' In view of the present state of opinion on the subject, it seems advisable to go somewhat more into detail.

now the Levitical is, with the same critical certainty, placed after the Deuteronomic [a]. Theories of construction have successively displaced one another. The 'Documentary' was followed by the 'Fragmentary' hypothesis; and when the latter had been universally discredited, a 'Supplementary' theory took its place. The hypothetical authors, too, are various. The former 'Elohist' has been superseded, so far as the first twenty chapters of Genesis are concerned, by the 'priestly writer,' who also furnished the main Levitical code; and there is a redactor or editor, who has to bear much responsibility in combining and altering the several accounts. There is no finality in the conclusions reached, and some extravagances of the bolder theorists may well make the inquirer pause [b].

Extreme theories, and reaction. Among the more recent is the announcement that Israel as a people was never in Egypt at all, but that the clan of Moses may have settled in an insignificant Arabian district with a similar name (*Mitzrîm* for *Mitzraim*). In estimating the modern criticism, such indications of tendency are not to be overlooked. If we cannot judge accurately of the separate steps, it is at least useful to know whither they are leading us; and it is not wonderful that in Germany, the home of such theories, a healthful reaction has been provoked [c].

[a] See above, § 237, 7, on the genuineness of Deuteronomy. This change of front on the part of revolutionary critics is very noticeable. By stress of their own arguments they have been compelled to assign the Priestly Code to this later period, notwithstanding both external and internal evidence to the contrary.

[b] Thus, practically, the whole of Genesis has been reduced to legend. The early religion of the Hebrews has been declared to have sprung from Babylonian mythology. The Patriarchs and their lives are represented as mythical. In the *Nineteenth Century* for December, 1902, a 'hospitable reception' is bespoken from the English Christian public for the views of Dr. Winckler, the German Assyriologist and historian, to the effect that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are legendary heroes whose histories are derived from astronomical myths; Jacob's twelve sons representing the twelve signs of the zodiac, and so on. So with the subsequent history of Israel. Saul and Jonathan are the constellation Gemini. David is a solar hero; his red hair is an image of the rays of the sun, and he himself is a reflex of the constellation Leo; Goliath standing for Orion. All this would, of course, be little worth notice, but that it comes to us with the sanction of theological professors and ecclesiastical dignitaries.

[c] See especially an essay, entitled *Historisch-kritische Bedenken gegen die Graf-Wellhausen'sche Hypothese*; von einem früheren Anhänger

240. Proposed Reconstruction criticized[a].—It is quite impossible, in a work like the present, fully to analyse the proposed reconstruction of the Pentateuch, if indeed, amid conflicting theories, it were possible to decide what the final reconstruction is to be. But some general considerations may be useful to the student.

1. **The Divine Names.**—The groundwork of the theory being the various use of the Divine names alleged to distinguish different documents, it is necessary that the facts under this head should be carefully scrutinized.

That there are two accounts of the Creation, the former characterized by the name Elohim, the latter by that of Jehovah-Elohim, is indisputable: that in the narrative of the Deluge two narratives are

(Wilhelm Möller), 1899: translated for the R. T. S. by C. H. Irwin, under the title *Are the Critics right?*

[a] It may be convenient here to give the latest proposed arrangement of the legislation. It can hardly be regarded, even by its supporters, as final, in view of the many preceding schemes which have had their day and ceased to be. The scheme is as follows:—

1. The two so-called Books of the Covenant, Ex 20-23 and $34^{10\text{-}14\text{-}26}$, wrought together from the original sources, J E (Jehovist and Elohist), which existed before the prophetic writings.

2. Deuteronomy (D).

3. The Priestly Code (P or P C), which, besides a brief prefatory history, contains the injunctions, Ex $25\text{-}31^{17}$ 35-40 Lev 1-27 Num $1\text{-}10^{28}$ 15 18 19 $25^{6}\text{-}31$ 33-36 (only the longer sections are enumerated: Möller). R stands for editor (redactor) of the whole.

The first of these 'is a brief code dating from an early period, and designed to regulate the life of a community living under simple conditions and devoting itself chiefly to agriculture.'

The second 'is without doubt the Book of the Law, which was found in the Temple in the eighteenth year of King Josiah, B. C. 621, and which formed the prime factor in his great reformation, 2 Ki $22^{8}\text{-}23^{25}$.'

'The last appears to have grown up during the Exile, and to have attained its present form probably in the days of Ezra, about the middle of the fifth century B. C.' (*Contentio Veritatis*, essay by C. F. Burney, M.A., 1902).

The value of this and other conjectural schemes may be judged in the light of the foregoing observations.

apparently interwoven, may be readily admitted. How to account for these facts, much more for others, where the combination or interfusion is less traceable, is another question. And we are led to ask whether there may not be *another reason* than that of double or triple authorship to account for the variation in name. ELOHÎM, we know, stands for God as in Himself regarded, Creator and Lord of the universe; JEHOVAH, for the Covenant God, the God of His people. May there not have been a deep reason why the same writer should employ both of these august names? On the one hand, Jehovah is Elohîm. Our God it is Who has made the heaven and the earth, and all that therein is. He is no mere tutelary God like the gods of the nations, but omnipotent, supreme. And on the other, Elohîm is Jehovah. The God Who made all things and rules the universe is the God, in a peculiar sense, of Israel, His chosen nation. And the use of both the names together in 'the second account of the Creation' accentuates the twofold fact. Well therefore may the 'two accounts' (if originally two, as alleged) have been brought together by one inspired mind and pen, for the sake of their combined lesson. But the case is not one for mere theorizing. The attempt to apply the critical canon of a double origin breaks hopelessly down. When the facts are against the theory, the facts have to be altered, that the theory may stand! Not once or twice merely *Elohîm* is found where the hypothesis demands *Jehovah*, and the converse; the critic's inference being that the text is corrupt, or that the redactor has thrown it into confusion. One illustration must suffice. In the interview of Abraham with the heathen King Abimelech, resulting in the covenant of Beer-sheba (Gen 21), the name of God employed is *Elohîm* ($21^{22.23}$), but when Abraham worshipped there alone, he called upon *Jehovah* (21^{33}). But the critics, ignoring the obvious reason of the interchange of names, tell us that verse 33 is 'a fragment of J inserted by R in a narrative of E.' Can criticism be more inept than this?[a]

'Nothing,' writes Professor C. von Orelli, 'is more astonishing to me than the readiness with which even diligent explorers in the field attach themselves to the dominant theory, and repeat the most rash hypotheses as if they were part of an unquestioned creed. Under these

[a] Professor W. H. Green, of Princeton, has given a long list of similarly futile criticisms (*The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch*, pp. 92–98).

circumstances, the elements of fact on the other side must be emphasized until they receive their due weight[a].'

2. It is too common to give way before an **unquestioned difficulty**, only to fall into another and a greater.

Signal examples are the surrender of the Mosaic origin of the Levitical statutes, because they are not directly mentioned in the Books of Samuel; or the rejection of Deuteronomic institutes regarding priesthood and sacrifice, because they seem to have been occasionally ignored in the subsequent history[b]. With any consideration of difficulties, due weight should be given to the positive evidence on the other side.

3. **Conjectural criticism** is suspicious. Almost everything here depends on the insight and judgement of the individual critic[c]: and that these may often be at fault is proved by the diversity of the conclusions reached. Conjecture is of little use, until verified by showing that the supposition meets all the facts of the case.

A paragraph may here be quoted from Mr. E. H. Lecky, who approaches the subject from its *literary* side. 'I may be pardoned for expressing my belief that this kind of investigation is often pursued with an exaggerated confidence. Plausible conjecture is too frequently mistaken for positive proof. Undue significance is attached to what may be mere casual coincidences, and a minuteness of accuracy is professed in discriminating between different elements in a narrative, which cannot be attained by mere internal evidence. In all writings, but especially in the writings of an age when criticism was unknown, there will be repetitions, contradictions, inconsistencies, diversities of style, which do not necessarily indicate different authorship or dates' (*The Forum*, Feb. 1893, essay on 'The Art of Writing History,' p. 718).

4. **Moral difficulties,** although often disregarded in speculative criticism, are yet very real.

[a] Introduction to the treatise by W. Möller, cited above.

[b] Yet in both cases they are *implied* in many passages of the books. See Hävernick's *Introduction to the Pentateuch*, p. 376 (Clark's tr.); also Bishop Harold Browne in *Speaker's Comm.*, who gives several instances in proof.

[c] See an able pamphlet, *How Two Documents may be found in One*, by Dean Carmichael, of Montreal (1895).

Any hypothesis which attributes the origin of a book of Scripture to forgery or literary fraud destroys the value of that book to us. 'The Spirit of Truth cannot take into His service literary fictions which trifle with the law and the sense of truth[a].'

5. **Implicit Canons of criticism,** i.e. such as are not openly expressed, but are tacitly or, it may be, unconsciously assumed, often vitiate the conclusion.

In the case before us, many such postulates only too evidently underlie the reasoning. Thus, 'The non-observance or non-mention of a law implies its non-existence.' A critic would pause before openly stating this, but it is often silently taken for granted. Again, 'Miracles do not happen'; 'The predictive element forms no part of prophecy.' Such denials of the supernatural are not indeed as yet so common in Great Britain as in Germany and Holland; but they lie at the root of much modern criticism. Happily, the old faith subsists for a while in many such critics, even when its historic foundations are removed. But how long will this endure?

6. **The real question.**—'In conclusion, let it be distinctly stated that the true point in dispute is the supernatural origin of the Law. Under the disguise of a purely literary investigation, an attack is really made upon the Divine origin of the religious dispensation which was to be "a schoolmaster to lead to Christ." Our moral instincts rebel against accepting a book as Divine which is characterized by so-called "pious frauds." If the name of Moses be used in the Law fictitiously, however high the motive, men feel that their belief in its inspiration would be imperilled. Unless Christ and His Apostles sanctioned untruth and imposture, we must believe that the Law came by Moses, and had its fulfilment in the grace and truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ, to whom the types and sacrifices, as well as the prophecies, naturally pointed' (Dr. Alfred Cave; essay, *When was the Pentateuch written?* p. 24, R. T. S.).

[a] Canon Liddon, sermon on the *Inspiration of Selection* (1890).

Authenticity

241. Truth of the record.—The evidence of the authenticity of the Pentateuch is no less decisive; though, as many of the events are recorded only here, it is necessarily less comprehensive than similar evidence in the case of ordinary history.

1. Several of the historical statements of the Pentateuch are confirmed by the traditions of ancient nations.

References to Egyptian life.—These may be taken as an illustration of the ever-accumulating proof afforded from many quarters. Much of this evidence has been brought to light in our own days. It was formerly alleged, for example, that the following customs, or allusions, are Asiatic, and not Egyptian, or are later than the Exodus: building with bricks (Ex 1^{14}); keeping asses—animals odious to the Egyptians; the presence of eunuchs, implied in the name given to the captain of the guard (Gen 37^{36}); the freedom of domestic life implied in Gen 39; the use of wine, which Herodotus says was not made in Egypt; of rings and other ornaments (41^{42}); the appointment of stewards ($43^{16.19}$ 44^{1}); the custom of sitting at table (43^{32}). *All*, however, have been confirmed by the discovery of ancient Egyptian monuments. Bricks are still found with the names of the oldest Egyptian dynasties stamped upon them. To the art of wine-making Rosellini devotes a section of his work; and upon the very monuments whence his illustrations are taken appear eunuchs, stewards, ornaments, and entertainments, exhibiting habits of social intercourse and modes of sitting such as the Pentateuch implies.

That the Egyptians shaved (Gen 41^{14}), and carried burdens, not on the shoulder, but on the head (40^{16}); that shepherds were treated with great contempt—the butts of Egyptian wit; that caste existed; that foreigners were naturalized

by clothing them in the celebrated Egyptian linen (Gen 41^{42}), are facts confirmed by ancient sculptures, or expressly mentioned by Herodotus as peculiar to Egypt.

It may be added, in the words of Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole, the eminent Egyptian archæologist, that the references to Egypt in Genesis and Exodus, 'the chief cities of the frontier, the composition of the army, are true of the age of the Ramessides; they are not true of the age of the Pharaohs contemporary with Solomon and his successors.' And, he pertinently asks, 'If the Hebrew documents are of the close of the period of the kings of Judah, how is it that they are true of the earlier condition, not of that which was contemporary with those kings?[a]'

2. **Internal indications.**—Independently, even, of external evidence, the internal is itself decisive. The artlessness of the style, the frequent genealogies, the impartiality of the author in recording the faults of the Jews and his own[b], are all obvious. Add to this, that Judaism is founded upon the supposed truthfulness of these records. They give the history of Jewish institutions, and the reasons for the observance of them. If there be a forgery, when could it have been executed? Not when the LXX version was made (B.C. 275). Not on the return from Babylon (B. C. 536, Ezr 2^{62}). Not on the division of the kingdom (B. C. 975). Not in the days of Samuel (B. C. 1095). Not in the four hundred years preceding. For at each successive era there were thousands interested in detecting the forgery, and in setting aside the burdensome and peculiar institutions founded upon it. To impose upon a whole nation is not easy, and to convince a people like the Jews that a law for the first time promulgated at any of these epochs was that under which their forefathers had lived for centuries

[a] *Contemporary Review*, vol. xxxiv. p. 758 (March, 1879).

[b] See history of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob; also Dt 26^{5} Ex 2^{14} Num 20^{10-13}.

would have been an impossible task. In fact, to suppose that any man could secure the observance of circumcision, of the Passover, of the Feast of Pentecost, or of Tabernacles, on the plea that these rules had been observed from the first, and for the reasons assigned, when it must have been known that this statement was untrue, is to suppose a greater miracle than any the record contains. And these institutions had their origin, it will be noticed, not in the ordinary events of the history, but in the miracles: so that by them not only the history, but each miracle, is confirmed[a].

3. **Historical, archæological, and scientific confirmations.**—The statements of the Pentateuch are confirmed, moreover, by the facts of history, ethnography, and geology, so far as these have been clearly ascertained.

The Earth as the dwelling-place of man.—In opposition to legends ascribing a fabulous antiquity to the habitable earth, which have found an echo in some modern speculations, may be placed the well-sustained conclusion of eminent geologists that 'the last great geological change,' adapting the earth for its human inhabitants, was comparatively recent. Early history, especially of Egypt, requires considerable extension of the traditional period of six thousand years; but the main conclusions fit in well with the records in Genesis.

The rise of Empires.—The dynasties of Egypt, as given by Manetho and illustrated by the monuments, seem to require a date of commencement much earlier than the popular chronologies have assigned. Thus, the accession of Menes, founder of the first dynasty, is placed by Brugsch and Sayce at B.C. 4400, and by Flinders Petrie at about 4777[b]. But these dates are by no means final, as it is possible that some of these dynasties were *contemporaneous*, in different parts of the Nile Valley, rather than *successive* (Canon Rawlinson). The reign of Yaon, the first Chinese emperor mentioned by Confucius (B.C. 450), cannot be earlier than B.C. 2500[c]; nor is there any historical certainty till the year B.C. 782 (Klaproth). The celebrated chronology of India reaches no higher than B.C. 2256. Such is the

[a] Dean Graves has expanded this argument with great force (*Lectures on the Pentateuch*, 1829, Lect. i, ii).

[b] See his *History of Egypt*, vol. i (5th ed., 1903).

[c] The date usually given is B.C. 2356.

testimony of witnesses who have examined the most ancient chronological systems avowedly without any leaning to the Pentateuch.

Ethnography in its threefold division, philological, physiological, and ethical, is equally in favour of the Mosaic account. That the *cradle of the human race* was in western Asia; that mankind descended from *one pair*; that *human speech* was originally one, being afterwards 'confused' and subdivided into many languages; and that the main division of the human family was *threefold*, are all among the statements of Scripture which ethnological science tends to corroborate[a]. All known languages, it is admitted, are reducible to a few families, the Aryan, the Semitic, the Turanian, north and south, chiefly monosyllabic; the American, and the African. Bunsen traced the Egyptian, and several of the African dialects, to a Semitic origin. The American languages are proved to be chiefly Asiatic, and the ablest scholars find, among all, such affinities as bespeak original unity[b]. The words of Prof. Max Müller, in contending for the original unity of languages, may here be quoted. He says: 'I have been accused of having been biassed in my researches by an implicit belief in the common origin of mankind. I do not deny that I hold this belief; and, if it wanted confirmation, that confirmation has been supplied by Darwin's book on *The Origin of Species*. . . . Only, if I am told that "no quiet observer could ever have conceived the idea of deriving all mankind from one pair, unless the Mosaic records had taught it," I must be allowed to say in reply, that this idea on the contrary is so natural, so consistent with all human laws of reasoning, that, so far as I know, there has been no nation upon earth which, if it possessed any traditions on the origin of mankind, did not derive the human race from one pair, if not from one person' (*Lectures on the Science of Language*, Series i, Lect. 8).

Philologically and physiologically, 'the human race,' says Herder, 'is a progressive whole, dependent upon a common origin.' 'With the increase of knowledge in every direction,' is the last testimony of Dr. Prichard, 'we find continually less and less reason for believing that the diversified races of men are separated from each other by insuperable barriers.'

The **Synchronisms with Hebrew history** in this early period are of

[a] See especially in 'By-Paths of Bible Knowledge' (R. T. S.), Sayce, *The Races of the Old Testament* (1893).

[b] Among men of science who have maintained the unity of the human race may be mentioned Linnæus, Buffon, Cuvier, J. G. St.-Hilaire, Rudolph and Andreas Wagner, A. von Humboldt, Klaproth, F. von Schlegel, Herder, Hugh Miller, Sir John Herschel, Sir C. Lyell. See F. R. Reusch, *Nature and the Bible*, ii. 188.

necessity few. There may be noted in Gen 14 the mention of Khammurabi ('Amraphel of Shinar'), founder of the Babylonian empire between B. C. 2250 and 2000; also of Arioch, King of Ellasar, shown to have been Eri-aku of Larsa (Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*). The references to the Hittites, the 'children of Heth,' remarkably fall in with what has of late been brought to light respecting that 'forgotten empire.' And all through the patriarchal history, from Abraham to Joseph, there are indications obviously pointing to the contemporaneous sovereignty of the Hyksos in Egypt. 'The substance and the historical pith of the oldest traditions of Israel fit most perfectly into the picture of the general history of the time, and are completely confirmed by it' (C. H. Cornill of Königsberg, *History of the People of Israel*).

The Separate Books: Genesis

242. The First Book of the Pentateuch is named in Hebrew, from its initial word, *Bĕrēshîth* (בְּרֵאשִׁית), 'In the beginning.' The word *Genesis* is from the LXX, in Greek, 'Origination.' The book is one of Origins, and may be divided into two parts: I. Outline of Primæval History until the designation, in the call of Abram the Chaldæan, of the Chosen Race, 1–11. II. The Patriarchal Period; connected with the lives of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, 12–50. There are in Genesis ten '**Books of Generations**' (*toledoth*, Hebrew for *genealogies*) which serve as waymarks in the several sections:—

Division I. 1. **The Heavens and the Earth** (2^4 uniting the two narratives of the Creation, *Delitzsch*).

2. **Posterity of Seth** (5) to the renovation of the human race in Noah.

3. **Noah** (6^9), his sons the progenitors of the new race.

4. **The sons of Noah** (10). Early tribes and empires.

5. **Shem** (11^{10}). First step in the selection of a people.

6. **Terah** (11^{27}). Second step: Birth of ABRAHAM.

Division II. 7. **Ishmael** (25^{12}), the rejected line (Arabs).

8. **Isaac** (25^{19}), the chosen offspring.

9. **Esau** ($36^{1.9}$), a second rejection (Edomites).

10. **Jacob** (37^{2}), Israel: henceforth *God's People*.

The main purpose of the history is thus steadily kept in view, the narrative passing from the universal to the special; while secondary lines branch off from the main course.

243. First Division.—Of **Creation** there are two accounts, the one ending with the institution of the Sabbath (2^{3}), the other comprising the narrative of Eden and the Fall of Man. With the entrance of sin into the world is connected the promise of a Redeemer, a declaration containing the germ of all Messianic prophecy. In a measure it is fulfilled in every phase of the struggle between good and ill; but in Christ is its consummation.

Note the twofold view of Creation. (1) The world is *made*. Heathen philosophers in general maintained the eternity of matter, even those who taught that God (or the gods) moulded it into various forms. The words 'God created' dispel such speculations. (2) It was made *by God only*, 'Elohîm' in the first account, 'Jehovah Elohîm' in the second. Thus is **monotheism** enstamped from the first upon the inspired record: in absolute distinction from **monolatry** (to use a modern word), which might denote the *worship* of one God without denying the possible *existence* of others. The revelation is based upon the truth that Jehovah is the only God.

The institution of **Sacrifice** is indicated, 4^{3-7}. The acceptance of Abel's offering foreshadows the truths afterwards wrought out in full detail, especially in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The appointment of sacrifice by God Himself is clearly suggested by 15^{9}. (See below on 'The Design of the Law,' § 254 sq.) The history of Cain and his descendants in the land of Nōd (Wandering), 4^{16-22}, throws light on the origination of arts and crafts by man's natural endeavour.

The **Deluge** in its two interwoven accounts, 6^{12}–9^{17}, strikingly differs, in the absence of mythological details, from the traditions of the same event preserved in the annals of Babylon and other nations. The characteristic

teaching of the inspired narrative is God's abhorrence of sin. Noah was eminently a 'preacher of righteousness,' 2 Pet 2^5. Compare Heb 11^7 1 Pet 3^{20}.

Babel, in Hebrew, is taken from a verb which means to *confound*, and thus gives a fresh meaning to the name chosen by the builders, *Bab-il*, 'Gate of a god.' On the origin of languages see § 241, and on the foundations of early empires, Part I, § 178 sq.

244. Second Division.—**Ur of the Chaldees**, whence Abraham was called out of an idolatrous community (Jos 24^2); on the lower Euphrates (Erech, 10^{10}, now *Mugheir*). The opinion which placed it to the north, in the Edessa region (*Orfa*), is now generally abandoned. In his wanderings, Abraham would carry with him the knowledge of God and of the true faith. Many peoples have accordingly regarded him as the author of their religious traditions.

The successive **Covenants** of Scripture are subjects of deep interest. The first was made with Adam, the second with Noah, and the third with Abraham. The one with Adam required obedience, and denounced death—legal, spiritual, natural, and (without penitence) eternal — as the consequence of sin. The second was without conditions, and is fulfilled to this day, 9^{8-17}. The third also was without conditions, $12^{1-3.7}$ 13^{14-17} 15^{17} 28^{10-15} Ac 3^{13-26} Gal 3^4 Rom 4, though confirmed in consequence of Abraham's faith, 22^{16-18} 26^{1-5}. This last covenant is called by the Apostle the covenant of promise in distinction from the Law, which is called the covenant of works. The gospel is called, in distinction from both, truth and grace; that is, salvation realized and founded, not on works, but on unmerited favour. That Abraham saw in the covenant made with him the promise of a coming Messiah is clear from the reasonings of both Peter and Paul, Ac $3^{25.26}$ Gal 3^8. This promise was frequently repeated, and formed, with the significant truths to which it pointed, the foundation of justifying faith for many ages. The expectation of a coming Saviour founded upon it explains the value of the birthright (25^{34}), the preservation of family records, and many of the institutes of patriarchal religion.

On the remarkable episode recorded in ch. 14, see Part I, § 178. This exploit of Khammurabi and his confederate chiefs

forms **the earliest synchronism** between sacred and secular history. It is connected with the appearance of the typical priest-king Melchizedek, see Ps 110^4 Heb 7.

Isaac, who appears to have been of quiet disposition and distinguished character, forms a link between his illustrious father and his twin sons Jacob and Esau. These two, the child of nature and the child of grace, form in their earlier career a most interesting and important study of character. Each has characteristic faults, but in the end Esau is mastered by them; Jacob masters them, by Divine help, as shown at Bethel, in Paddan-aram, and at the brook Jabbok. So is he prepared for his career as the inheritor of the promises.

From ch. 33^{18} onwards to the end of Genesis (with the exception of 36, which is wholly devoted to the successors of Esau, the Edomites) the history is occupied with the **Family Records of Jacob**—much diversified, often very melancholy (34, 38)—and culminating in the wonderful, familiar story of Joseph, through whom the way into Egypt was prepared, so that this famous land became the 'cradle of the Church.' The favourable reception of the Palestinian shepherds was no doubt due to the occupancy of the Egyptian throne by the 'Hyksos' (see Part I, § 179). From Joseph's wise administration during the famine he received the name of Zaphenath-paneah (41^{45}; see R.V.), a Coptic compound variously interpreted: according to Jerome, 'Saviour of the world'; Gesenius, 'Sustainer of the age'; Delitzsch, 'Supporter of life.' The great prophetic blessing of Jacob, his death, and that of Joseph close the book.

'In the New Testament Joseph is only mentioned Heb $11^{21.22}$. Yet the striking particulars of the persecution and sale by his brethren, his resisting temptation, his degradation and yet greater exaltation, the saving of his people by his hand, and the confounding of his enemies, seem to indicate that he was a type of our Lord' (*R. Stuart Poole*).

References in the New Testament to the Book of Genesis.

245. The following passages are cited with the usual formulas of quotation, as 'It is written,' 'The Lord said,' and the like :—

Gen 1^{27}	Mt 19^{4}	Gen $21^{10.12}$	Gal 4^{30} Heb 11^{18}
2^{2}	Heb 4^{4}	$22^{16.17}$	Heb $6^{13.14}$
2^{7}	1 Cor 15^{45}	$22^{16.17}$	Jas 2^{23}
12^{3}	Ac 3^{25} Gal 3^{8}	25^{23}	Ro 9^{12}
17^{7}	Gal $3^{16.19}$ [a]		

Incidents and personages in Genesis are frequently referred to, as—
Gen $3^{4.5}$ Eve beguiled by the serpent, 2 Cor 11^{3} 1 Tim 2^{14}.
4^{4} Abel's sacrifice, Heb 11^{4}.
5^{24} Character and Translation of Enoch, Heb $11^{5.6}$.
14^{18-20} Melchizedek, Heb 7 passim.
19^{24-26} Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, Lu $17^{29.32}$ 2 Pet 2^{6}.
22^{9} Abraham's offering of Isaac, Jas 2^{4}.
25^{33} Esau's sale of his birthright, Heb 12^{16}.
47^{31} Jacob's worship, leaning on his staff (*or* bed), Heb 11^{21} (see § 25).
Add a whole series of references in Stephen's address to the Sanhedrin, Ac 7.

The phrase 'In the beginning' (6^{1}) is echoed with a deeper meaning in Jn 1^{1}. Man made in the likeness of God (5^{1} 9^{6}) is a truth recognized in 1 Cor 11^{7} Eph 4^{24} Col 3^{10} Jas 3^{9}. The sanctity of the marriage relation is enforced from Gen 2^{24} by our Lord, Mt 19^{5}, and by Paul in 1 Cor 6^{16} Eph 5^{31}. The faith of Abraham ($15^{5.6}$) is repeatedly used as a foreshadowing of the Christian character, Ro 4^{3} Gal 3^{6} Jas 2^{23}. 'Paradise' carries the thought back to 'the Garden,' Gen $2^{8.9}$ Rev 2^{7} $22^{1.2}$, and Jacob's ladder is taken as an expressive type, Gen 28^{12} Jn 1^{51}.

Many verbal accordances also show how this book was familiar to the inspired writers of the New Testament as authoritative and Divine.

Exodus

246. The word **Exodus,** from the Greek, signifies *Departure* (ἔξοδος). The name of the book in the Hebrew Bible is *V'ēlleh shĕmôth* (וְאֵלֶּה שְׁמוֹת), 'And these are the names,' from its initial words. It may be divided into three

[a] Here note the apostolic comment on 'seed'; the noun of 'multitude' interpreted as a personal name.

parts: I. The Oppression, II. The Deliverance, III. The Giving of the Law.

I. The '**King which knew not Joseph**' was not merely another *monarch*, but the founder of another *royal line*. He may be identified with Ahmes, first king of the eighteenth dynasty, who overcame and expelled the Hyksos. But the cruel oppression of the Israelites dates from the nineteenth dynasty, under Ramses II, third monarch of this line, the Sesostris of the Greeks. His treasure-city at Pithom (1[11]), Gr. *Heroopolis*, has been discovered in modern times[a]. The son and successor of Ramses was Meneptah II, who continued the oppression, and under whom, it is believed, the Exodus took place.

See Part I, §§ 179–181 for the witness of the monuments. A granite stele discovered by Prof. Flinders Petrie, 1896, commemorating the victories of Meneptah over Libyan invaders states that 'the Israelites are brought low so that they have no seed.' This may fairly be understood of their having vanished into the desert, so as to be no longer counted among formidable foes. A statue of this Meneptah is in the British Museum.

II. As a solemn preliminary to the series of acts which led to the great Deliverance, the God of Israel **reveals His Name**—known already to the Patriarchs, but now disclosed as that of the Covenant God, and henceforth to be held sacred in Israel beyond all other appellations of the Deity.

The form JEHOVAH has become so associated with our English speech that it seems advisable to adhere to its use. For its explanation, see Part I, § 115; also *Handbook to the Hebrew of the Old Testament* (R.T.S.), § 99. Scholars are mostly agreed that *Jahveh*, or *Yahveh*[b], would more accurately represent the original pronunciation: but the question is one of vowels only, and immaterial to the sense.

The Ten Plagues, which attested the Divine commission of Moses and Aaron, though in part connected with ordinary phenomena of Egyptian life, were specially significant as proving the power of God,

[a] See Part I, § 180.

[b] The form *Yahwè*, as printed in some English books, is less suitable.

and rebuking idolatry. 1. The Nile—blood; an object of worship turned into an object of abhorrence. 2. The sacred frog itself their plague. 3. Lice, which the Egyptians deemed so polluting that to enter a temple with them was a profanation, cover the country like dust. 4. The gadfly (*Zebub*), an object of Egyptian reverence, becomes their torture. 5. The cattle, which were objects of Egyptian worship, fall dead before their worshippers. 6. The ashes, which the priests scattered as signs of blessing, become boils. 7. Isis and Osiris, the deities of water and fire, are unable to protect Egypt, even at a season when storms and rain were unknown, from the fire and hail of God. 8. Isis and Serapis were supposed to protect the country from locusts. West winds might bring these enemies; but an east wind the Egyptian never feared, for the Red Sea defended him. But now Isis fails; and the very east wind he reverenced becomes his destruction. 9. The heavenly hosts, the objects of worship, are themselves shown to be under Divine control. 10. The last plague explains the whole. God's firstborn Egypt had oppressed; and now the firstborn of Egypt are all destroyed. The first two plagues, it will be noticed, were foretold by Moses, and imitated by the Egyptians. The rest they failed to copy, and confessed that they were wrought by the finger of God.

The Passover was now instituted. For the laws of its observance, see § 259. On the eve of the departure from Egypt it was eaten in haste, with girded loins, as for a journey. Afterwards in Canaan the participants in the festival sat with robes ungirt and flowing, in an attitude of rest[a]. So significant in all points was the type. The Passover lamb was slain at the very hour when Christ expired: see 1 Cor 5^7.

The first day's march, 12^{37-39} [b]. From Rameses to Succoth (booths, encampment) was a distance of 16 miles.

[a] This is the Jewish tradition, well supported.

[b] *Beginning of the Itinerary.* (1) Rameses to Succoth. (2) Succoth to Etham. (3) Etham to Pi-hahiroth ('mouth of the passes'). (4) Three days' march to Marah. (5) To Elim. (6) 'By the Red Sea.' (7) The Wilderness of Zin (see § 172). (8) Dophkah. (9) Alush. (10) Rephidim. (11) Sinai. Thus far the route can be distinctly traced on the map, or followed by the aid of a book like Palmer's *Desert of the Exodus.*

The next position, between Migdol (fortress-tower) and the sea (14^{1}), seemed to place the host at the mercy of the pursuers, when the 'strong east wind all the night' miraculously drove back the waters (14^{21}) and opened a way to the other side. The precise locality of this miracle is uncertain. Dr. Edouard Naville and other explorers assign it to the shallows now in part covered by the Bitter Lakes, formerly, as geologists attest, a part of the sea. The triumphal Song of Moses is taken as a type of that which shall celebrate the final victory of the redeemed, Rev 15^{3}.

III. The emancipated people, sustained by the manna and the water from the rock, reach the appointed place (3^{12}) in seven more marches. Here, amid the solitude, the **Law of the Ten Words** is given amid the awful manifestations of a present Deity. Sundry laws are given, chiefly judicial: the 'Book of the Covenant' is added; and the promise given of the guiding Angel (23^{20-23}). A period of mysterious communion with Jehovah follows, in which the pattern of the tabernacle is shown to Moses in the mount (Heb 8^{5}), 'a copy and a shadow of heavenly things.' The solemnity of the scene is interrupted by the idolatry of the golden calf and the consequent punishment. God's glory is revealed to Moses as a sign of His forgiving love (32, 33). The tabernacle is now erected and consecrated; Aaron and his sons being sanctified for its service.

The golden calf was avowedly prepared as a symbol of JEHOVAH, 31^{5}. It was not therefore the First Commandment, but the Second, that was violated. The whole transaction impressively showed to the people, not only that their God must be exclusively worshipped, but that He must not be worshipped under any such material symbol as they had been accustomed to see in Egypt.

In reading the subsequent history, we must divest ourselves of the notion that the Israelites maintained a continuous march in one compact host, from place to place. Evidently they had long halts—continuing, it may be, for years—in

one and another oasis of the wilderness, and were often widely scattered. Not only had they animals for sacrifice, but they accumulated flocks and herds. The manna compensated them for the lack of corn harvests, and served their needs when other resources failed, as we may gather from Ex 16^{35} Jos 5^{12}. On *Kadesh*, their head quarters, see below § 250.

References to Exodus in the New Testament.

247. Quotations generally with formula, 'It is written,' &c. The Ten Commandments, Ex 20 Mt $5^{21.27.33}$ $15^{4.6}$ 19^{18} Lu 13^{14} 23^{56} Ro 2^{22} 7^{7} 13^{9} Eph $6^{2.3}$ Jas 2^{11} : see also the following : –

Ex 3^{6}	Mt 22^{32} Mk 12^{26}	Ex 21^{24}	Mt 5^{38}
9^{16}	Ro 9^{17}	22^{28}	Ac 23^{5}
12^{46}	Jn 19^{36} [a]	25^{40}	Ac 7^{44} Heb 8^{5}
16^{18}	2 Cor 8^{15}	32^{6}	1 Cor 10^{7}
21^{17}	Mt 15^{4} Mk 7^{10}	33^{19}	Ro 9^{15}

Passages referring to incidents and persons :—
Ex 6^{6} Deliverance from Egypt, Ac 13^{17}.
$19^{12.13}$ Israel before Sinai, Heb $12^{18.20}$.
26^{33} Construction of the tabernacle, Heb $9^{2.3}$.
30^{10} The high priest in the Holy of Holies, Heb 9^{7}.
34^{33} The veil on Moses' face, 2 Cor 3^{13}.
See also the many references in Stephen's address, Ac 7.

Allusions and Parallels :—3^{14}, the Divine Name I AM, Jn 8^{58} Rev $1^{4.8}$ 11^{17} 16^{5}. Compare also 4^{19} with Mt 2^{20}; 8^{19} with Lu 11^{20} 'the finger of God'; 12^{40} with Gal 3^{17} 'four hundred and thirty years'; $19^{5.6}$ with Tit 2^{14} 1 Pet $2^{5.9}$ Rev 1^{6} 5^{10} 20^{6}; 24^{8} with Mt 26^{28} Heb $9^{19.20}$; 31^{18} with 2 Cor 3^{3}; 32^{33} 'the book of the living' with Lu 10^{20} Phil 4^{3} Heb 12^{23} Rev 3^{5} 22^{19}.

There are also several verbal accordances, as in the case of Genesis.

Leviticus

248. This **third Book of the Pentateuch** takes its name in Greek from *Levi*. In Hebrew it is וַיִּקְרָא *Vayyiqrā*, 'And [He] called,' from its first word.

[a] One of several passages in this Gospel which connects the sacrifice of Christ with the Passover-type.

Holiness is the great key-word of the book. The people, the priests, the tabernacle, its vessels, the offerings, the very priests' garments, are all described as 'holy,' i. e. separate, not only from *sinful* but from *common* use. See, among many passages, ch. $2^{3.10}$ $6^{18.27}$ $7^{1.6.21}$ $10^{3.10.12.17}$ 11^{3-45} 14^{13} 16^{4}.

For a summary of the Levitical laws, see §§ 255–259 of the present chapter: and for a comparison with the second code, see note under *Deuteronomy*.

The seventeenth to the twenty-sixth chapter inclusive forms a distinct section which, to mark its special character, has been entitled **The Law of Holiness.**

The Epistle to the Hebrews gives the Christian interpretation of Leviticus. The Levitical priests 'served the pattern and type of heavenly things'; 'the sacrifices of the Law pointed to and found their interpretation in the Lamb of God, and the ordinances of outward purification signified the true inner cleansing of the heart and conscience from dead works to serve the living God' (Perowne).

The ceremonial law contains rites closely resembling those in use among several heathen nations, but with striking differences. Among the older writers, some (as Warburton and Maimonides) held the former borrowed from the latter; others (as Gale and Stillingfleet) thought that the latter borrowed from the former; others still (as Calmet and Faber) maintained that both were taken from early patriarchal institutes, which the Gentiles had corrupted, and which God Himself re-ordained, to meet the peculiar condition of the Jews. This last theory, the most probable of the three, is confirmed by the fact that many *primitive* traditions are preserved in the systems, moral, religious, and philosophical, of several ancient nations.

References to Leviticus in the New Testament.

249. The characteristic phrase of this book, 'Holy, for I (Jehovah) am holy' ($11^{44.45}$ 19^{2} $20^{7.26}$), is reproduced in 1 Pet 1^{16} with the formula 'It is written.'

It is here also that the 'royal law' is given: 19^{18} 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' cited Mt 19^{19} 22^{39} Mk 12^{31} Lu 10^{27} Ro 13^{9} Gal 5^{14} Jas 2^{8}.

Special allusions to sacrifices are to the 'pair of turtledoves' for purification, $12^{6.8}$ Lu $2^{22.24}$; to the sin-offering of the bullock and the goat, $16^{18.27}$ Heb $9^{12.13}$ 10^{4} 13^{11-13}; and to the sacrifices of thanksgiving (or 'praise'), 7^{12} Heb 13^{15}.

In Leviticus also $26^{11.12}$ is the great promise of God to His people to set His tabernacle among them (cp. Eze 37^{27}) Jn 1^{14} 2 Cor 6^{16} Rev 7^{15} 21^{3} (see R.V. marg.).

Numbers

250. This fourth Book of the Pentateuch is called in Hebrew, most generally, בְּמִדְבַּר, *Bĕmidhbar*, 'In the wilderness,' from words in the first verse. The word Numbers, Greek ἀριθμοί, designates one of its main topics.

Summary.—The book begins with a census of Israel (1, 2), then passes to the law regarding the Levites (3, 4). Sundry ceremonial institutes follow (5), particularly that concerning Nazirites (6). There is then a long account of offerings for the sanctuary made by the chief of the people (7). Next, the duties of Levites are enjoined (8), followed by a re-institution of the Passover (9^{1-14}). There is then a series of incidents connected with the early part of the journey 'in the wilderness' (9^{15}-12^{16}). The story of the 'spies' is further given (13, 14^{39}), with the doom of the forty years' wandering, as the punishment of the people's faithlessness. An abortive attempt to enter Canaan by force, as if in defiance of the Divine judgement, leads to humiliating disaster (14^{40-45}). Various laws are then given: the sanctity of the Sabbath is vindicated by a solemn judgement (15). The attempted usurpation of priestly functions by Korah the Levite and his company, and the rebellion of certain Reubenites against the Divine appointment of Moses and Aaron, are signally and terribly punished (16). The budding of Aaron's rod signifies his priestly commission from Jehovah (16), and sundry enactments, civil and religious (17–19), close this preliminary

part of the narrative of the wandering. There is now *a break in the history for thirty-eight years*, noted only in the list of stations, ch. 33.

Throughout the thirty-seven years' wandering the head quarters of Israel were at KADESH, 'the holy (place),' probably from its being the locality of the tabernacle. No particulars of residence there are given, nor is the place decisively identified. In 32^{8} 34^{4} also it is called *Kadesh-barnea*. An earlier name for it (Gen 14^{7}) was *En-mishpat*, 'Fountain of judgement,' probably as the seat of some tribunal for the desert-dwellers: once also *Rithmah*, 'Broom-plant,' from the vegetation in which it abounded (Num 33^{18}; cf. 12^{16} 13^{26}). It was evidently a place of note, near some considerable spring of water ('Meribah' 27^{14} Dt 32^{51} Eze 47^{19}). Robinson and others have placed it at *'Ain-el-Weibeh*, near the Edomite border, but since the researches of H. C. Trumbull (1884) it is more generally thought to have been further west, where indeed the name survives, *'Ain-el-Qadis*, about fifty miles south of Beersheba.

The final wandering.—The journal of the last six months in this most eventful year is clear and interesting. Aaron died on the first day of the fifth month (20); and in the eleventh month Moses began his series of valedictory addresses, Dt 1^{3}. The journey down the Arabah, thence to the east through the southern passes of Mount Seir, and turning to northward along the eastern Edomite frontier to the valley of Zered (about 220 miles), would occupy a month. It was the beginning of this journey that sorely tried the people, whose back for a time was to the Land of Promise. But the miracle of deliverance from the bite of the fiery serpents would reassure them; they were enabled on their way to overcome 'Sihon King of the Amorites and Og King of Bashan' (21); the thwarted counsels of Balak and Balaam showed that God was on their side (22–24). Yet they unhappily yielded to the seductions of Midian (25), and by the discipline of a brief and terrible conflict they won their way at last to the place where they were to receive their great Lawgiver's farewell.

251. *References to Numbers in the New Testament.*

Num 12^{7} Moses faithful in all his house, Heb $3^{5.6}$.
14^{16} Slain (LXX 'overthrown') in the wilderness, 1 Cor 10^{5} Heb 3^{17}.
16^{15} 'Jehovah will show who are His,' 2 Tim 2^{19}.
17^{8} Aaron's rod that budded, Heb 9^{4}.
19^{1-9} Ordinance of the Red Heifer, Heb 9^{13}.
22^{5} Balaam, son of Beor (*or* 'Bosor'), 2 Pet 2^{15} Ju verse 11 Rev 2^{14}.
24^{6} Lign-aloes (LXX 'tabernacles') which Jehovah planted, Heb 8^{2}.

The comparison 'to sheep having no shepherd' occurs first in Num 27^{17}. Compare 1 Ki 22^{17} (2 Ch 18^{16}) Eze 34^{5} Zec 10^{2}, and in the New Testament Mt 9^{36} Mk 6^{34}.

Deuteronomy

252. The name (derived from the Greek) of this **final Book of the Pentateuch** means 'The Second Law': in Hebrew it is called אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים, *Ellĕh haddĕbharîm*, 'These (are) the words.'

On the genuineness of this book see § 237, 7. It was from this part of the Old Testament that our Lord thrice quoted the words with which He answered the Tempter in the wilderness (Mt $4^{4.7.10}$ compared with Dt 8^{3} 6^{16} 6^{13}).

Summary.—A comparison of this second code with the laws given nearly forty years before should be carefully made by the student. The results that such comparison will yield, if rightly estimated, will but confirm the authenticity of both. Some passages that at first sight seem at variance may refer to different events; as the appointment of judges, 1^{13-18} compared with Ex 18 and Num 11. Or a different point of view is taken, as when in 1^{22} the *people* are said to have urged the mission of the spies, whereas in Num 13^{1-3} *Jehovah* is said to have given the command; the request of the people being divinely granted, as in similar instances.

Additions to the history require no explanation; as 'wept before Jehovah' 1^{45}, 'threescore cities' 3^{4}, 'what Amalek did unto thee' $25^{17.18}$.

Very significant and important are occasional **variations in the laws.** Some enactments given for observance in the wilderness would not apply to life in Canaan. Compare, e.g., Lev $17^{3.4}$ with Dt 12^{15}. In other cases it is less easy to account for the variations.

Passover, Pentateuch, and Tabernacles.—The laws relating to the three great annual festivals are modified: compare 16^{1-17} with Lev 23 and Num 28 29. In regard again to the offering of firstlings, to the position and support

of the Levites, the earlier and the later codes differ in some respects from each other. But whatever the explanation of such differences, the hypothesis of a different authorship, at an interval of some hundreds of years, is both violent and unnecessary, while it raises greater difficulties than belong to the traditional view.

Dt 18^{15-19}. This announcement of a future prophet is twice applied to Christ in the New Testament—by the Apostle Peter, and by the martyr Stephen, Ac 3^{22} 7^{37}. There is also evidence that the words were regarded by the Jews as a prediction of the coming Messiah. See Jn $1^{30,31,45}$ 6^{14} 7^{40}, and compare 5^{45-47}. No doubt the language of Moses had a *general* fulfilment in the raising up of a prophetical succession, culminating in the appearance and work of Jesus Christ, to Whom therefore it eminently refers.

References to Deuteronomy in the New Testament.

253. The quotations from this book are very numerous. Our Lord's replies to the Tempter are all taken from it with the formula 'It is written,' as noted above.

Other important passages are as follows:—

Dt 1^{31} 'Bare thee as a son,' Ac 13^{18}, var. read. see R. V. marg.
4^{24} Jehovah a consuming fire, Heb 12^{29}.
$6^{4,5}$ 'Hear, O Israel,' Mt $22^{37,38}$ Lu 10^{27}.
10^{17} 'Which regardeth not persons,' Ac 10^{34} Ro 2^{11} Gal 2^{6} Eph 6^{9} Col 3^{25} 1 Pet 1^{17}.
18^{15} The prophet like unto Moses. See note above.
30^{11-14} The commandment not far off, Ro 10^{6-8}.
31^{6-8} 'He will not fail thee nor forsake thee' (Jos 1^{5}) Heb 13^{5}.

Compare also 4^{35} with Mk 12^{32}; 17^{6} and 19^{15} with Mt 18^{16} 2 Cor 13^{1} and Heb 10^{28}; 21^{23} with Gal 3^{13}; 24^{1} with Mt 5^{31} 19^{7}; 25^{4} with 1 Cor 9^{9} 1 Tim 5^{18}; 27^{26} with Gal 3^{10}; 29^{4} with Ro 11^{8}; 29^{18} with Heb 12^{15}; 30^{4} with Mt 24^{31}; 32^{17} with 1 Cor 10^{20}; 32^{21} with Ro 10^{19} 1 Cor 10^{22}; $32^{35,36}$ with Heb 10^{30}; 32^{43} (LXX) with Heb 1^{6} Ro 15^{10}.

The number and character of these quotations attest the honour in which this book was held by our Lord and the New Testament writers.

Design of the Law—Summary of its Religious Institutions

254. Hypothetical methods of Revelation.—What, it may now be asked, was the purpose of this ancient dispensation, and to what end must we study it? Faith and piety existed before it was given. Faith and piety remain, now that it is done away. As an institute, it was confessedly burdensome; and if its aim had been simply to regulate the worship of God, to give a figurative representation of the gospel, or to separate the Jews from other nations, this aim might have been reached by less elaborate means. Might not some points, moreover, not forcibly impressed upon the ancient Jews, have been more clearly revealed—the spirituality, for example, of the coming dispensation, and the glories of eternal life? In reply to these questions, let it be remembered that man has a strong tendency to forget God. Virtue, truth, godliness, submission to the Divine will, conformity to the Divine law, supreme desire for the Divine glory, are things not only *not* natural—they are things to which man is directly opposed. Without successive revelations, or some such gradual provision as the Old Testament intimates, the feelings which these terms describe, and the truths on which they are founded, must long since have perished from the earth. This conclusion is gained by an induction of particulars as sound as any in science.

Ends in view.—Let it, again, be supposed that God has to deal with men who are ever prone to idolatry and barbarism, in a condition of intellectual childhood, with no relish for blessings purely spiritual, and so earthly as to be incapable of comprehending them;—that He desires to impress the minds of such a race with His own infinite perfections, and induce them to worship Him with becoming reverence; to prove to them what is in their heart, and so

humble them for their depravity; to lead them to acknowledge Him in all their ways, that they may fear His power and trust His love; to raise their confidence towards the God of their fathers, their covenant-God; to incline their hearts towards His holy place, and the privilege of communion with Him;—suppose that He wishes to distinguish them as His *peculiar* people (that is, both purchased and separate); to prevent needless intercourse with their idolatrous neighbours; to unite all classes of Israelites as one body, under one king; to teach them to love one another as brethren; to check the tendency, apparent in all communities, to the accumulation of extreme wealth in the hands of a few, and to the oppression that springs from such accumulation; to induce honest industry among the people; to give every man the conviction that he has a name and a place in his country; to secure competent provision for the fatherless and the widow; to provide rest and moral training for all servants; to connect the maintenance of the learned and priestly class, in part at least, with the obedience and piety of the people, thus stimulating them to diligence in teaching the Law;—suppose that He seeks to reveal Himself with new claims; to preserve the memory of what He had done for them as a nation; to teach them implicit obedience; to excite thoughts and feelings in harmony with the office, and work, and reign of that Messiah Whom these various institutions were to introduce;—and suppose, lastly, that owing to man's guilty depravity, and the powerlessness of ritual observance to cleanse him spiritually from sin, these precepts and rites could not, *by themselves alone*, secure more than legal forgiveness, or attain, in any sense, *eternal* life;—admit that these suppositions describe the end of the Law, and its adaptation to its end will at once appear.

Varied applications of the Law.—Now, these suppositions really do describe its end, though they may be stated

variously. Is the Law a *moral* code? It teaches us our duty both to man and to God. Is it *ritual* observance? It teaches us our faults, and God's holiness, pointing, moreover, to the cross. Is it a *civil* institute? It regulates the worship of an invisible King, preserves the Jews as a peculiar people, and enforces brotherly love. Regarded as a *revelation* of truth (objective religion), all its parts are instructive. Regarded as a *shadow* of truth afterwards to be revealed, it excites and deepens holy feeling (subjective religion). Regarded chiefly as a treasury of earlier traditional knowledge, that knowledge it preserves, adding much of its own in order to preserve it; though, of course, a *spiritual* perception of its truths is still, as before, essential to salvation. However the end of the Law be defined, the chief facts remain. It reveals man's sin, God's holiness and love, forgiveness through sacrifice, and sanctification as its result, Christ's work and reign; while it provides for the preservation of these truths in a world ever prone to forget what is spiritual, and deteriorate what is holy. The whole institute is at once a gospel and a church. It preserved and guarded piety, union, and happiness; is every way worthy of its Author, and entitled to the commendations which pious Jews have bestowed upon it in every age (Pss 19, 119).

255. Theocracy: the Sanctuary.—In theory, the Jewish constitution was a Theocracy, a visible representation of the reign of God. Jehovah Himself was regarded as King; the laws were delivered by Him; the tabernacle (and afterwards the Temple) was considered as His palace; there He gave visible manifestations of His glory; there He revealed His will; there was offered 'the bread of the presence'; there He received His ministers, and performed His functions as Sovereign. Hence it is that the land of Palestine is ever represented as held by direct tenure from Jehovah (Lev 25^{23}). To Him, peace and war, questions determined under all

governments by the supreme authority, were referred (Dt $1^{41.42}$ Jos 10^{40} Judg $1^{1.2}$ 1 Ki 12^{24}); and idolatry was treason. In relation, therefore, to the Jews, Jehovah was both God and King.

This twofold character was preserved in all the arrangements of the ancient Law.

The Tabernacle, where public worship was held from the Exodus till the reign of Solomon, was both the temple of God and the palace of the invisible King. It was His 'holy habitation.' It was the place where He met the people and communed with them—'the tabernacle,' therefore, 'of the congregation.' It was an oblong, rectangular erection, 55 feet by 18 feet, built of planks of the acacia, overlaid with gold, united by poles of gold, and resting on bases of silver; the whole shielded by four costly coverings (Ex 26^{1-14}). The eastern end was not boarded, but was closed by a curtain of cotton, suspended from silver rods, that were sustained by five pillars covered with gold. The interior was divided into two parts by a curtain or veil made of rich stuff, and curiously embroidered with figures of cherubim and other ornaments (Ex $26^{36.37}$). The first apartment was the Holy Place (Heb 9^{2}); the inner and smaller one, the 'Holy of Holies.' Here was the Ark of the Covenant, an oblong chest of wood, covered with gold, and surmounted by two golden figures of cherubim with outstretched wings. Above them was 'the Glory,' the symbol of the Divine presence. It rested between them, and came down to the lid of the ark—'the Mercy-seat.' In or near the ark were the tables of stone, the book of the Law, a pot of manna, and Aaron's rod (Ex 25^{21} Dt 31^{26} Heb 9^{4}). In the first or anteroom were placed the golden altar of incense (Ex 30^{1-10}), the seven-branched golden candlestick or lamp (Ex 25^{31-39}), and the table of wood, overlaid with gold, where the shewbread and wine were placed (Ex 25^{23-30}).

Around the tabernacle was an extensive court, about 180 feet by 90, formed by curtains of linen, suspended by silver hooks from rods of silver, which reached from one column to another. These columns were twenty in all, of acacia, probably supported on bases of brass, and eight or nine feet (five cubits) high. The entrance was on the east side, and was closed by falling tapestry, adorned with figures in blue, purple, and scarlet (Ex 27^{9-19}). In this court, which was open at the top, all the public services of religion were performed, and all sacrifices presented. Near the centre was the great brazen altar (five cubits square and three high), with prominences at the corners called 'horns' (Ex 27^{1-8} Ps 118^{27}). On the south side there was an ascent to it made of earth (Ex 20^{24}). The various

instruments of this altar were of brass, as those of the altar of incense were of gold (Ex 27^3 38^3 25^{31-40}). In the court of the tabernacle, between the brazen altar and the tabernacle, stood the brazen laver, at which the priests performed their ablutions before approaching the altar (Ex 30^{17-21}). On the altar a fire burnt continually, at first miraculously kindled, and afterwards kept in by the priests (Lev 9^{24} 6^{12} 10^1).

The Temple. The Temple of Solomon was built after the same plan, and contained the same furniture; but it was much larger, and the materials were more costly and durable. Instead of one court there were three, the innermost corresponding to the court of the tabernacle. The curtains were supplied by walls and colonnades; the brazen laver being represented by the brazen sea (1 Ki 7^{26}) and ten smaller vessels (1 Ki 7^{27-39}). The greater grandeur of the Temple service was in harmony both with the extended power of the nation and with the clearer revelation which was then given of God's kingly authority.

Synagogues. To a much later date belong the synagogues of the Jews. They were plain and unpretentious buildings, in which the Jews met to offer prayers, to hear Moses and the Prophets read, and to receive instruction. They are often mentioned in the New Testament, and seem to have sprung up after the Captivity.

256. The Priesthood.—As the tabernacle was both the temple of God and the palace of the Great King, so the Levites were both priests and officers of state.

Under the Law, the high priesthood was confined to the family of Aaron, and during the purest age of that economy to the firstborn of that house; Nadab, however, his eldest son, perished by his impiety during the high priesthood of his father, so that Eleazar succeeded Aaron, and from him the office passed in succession to Eli. From him it was transferred to the family of Ithamar (Aaron's fourth son); but in the days of Solomon it returned to the family of Eleazar, where it remained till the Captivity. During the Hasmonæan dynasty a private Levite family held it, and towards the close of the Hebrew polity the right of succession was wholly disregarded.

Aaron was consecrated by Moses, and his sons were priests under him. Into the inner chamber of the tabernacle the high-priest alone entered, once a year, on the Day of Atonement.

In the reign of David the descendants of Eleazar and Ithamar were so numerous that they could not all be employed at the same time in their sacred duties; they were, therefore, divided into twenty-four courses, each serving in weekly rotation twice in the lunar year

(1 Ch 24). Each course had its head or chief, and these are probably the 'chief priests' so often referred to in the Gospels. They had the whole care of the sacrifices and religious services of the Temple, most of the important functions of their office being assigned to each by lot.

Levites. All the priests were Levites, that is, descendants of Levi, through Kohath and Aaron. Levi, however, had other sons, whose descendants were devoted to public business. They assisted the priests, formed the guard of the tabernacle, and conveyed it from place to place (Num $4^{2.22.29}$). In David's time the whole body was divided into three classes, each of which was subdivided into twenty-four courses. The first class attended upon the priests; the second formed the choir of singers in the Temple, and the third acted as porters and guards (1 Ch 24-26) in the Temple and at the gates.

It seems probable that the Levites all acted, when not engaged in the Temple service, as instructors of the people; they formed, in fact, the learned class.

For the support of this large body of men forty-eight cities, with a belt of land round each, were assigned: a tenth of all the produce and cattle of the country (Lev 27^{30} Num 35^{1-8}), of which tenth the priests had a tenth: all shared also in another tenth of the produce, which the people generally were to expend in feast-offerings, to which the Levites were to be invited (Dt 14^{22-27}).

Priestly Costume. When not engaged in their sacerdotal duties, the priests dressed as other men; but when so engaged, their tunics, girdles, turbans, &c., were all of white linen (Ex 39^{27-29}). The dress of the high-priest was both splendid and significant. Over his white tunic he wore a woollen robe of blue, having on its hem small golden bells (Ex 28^{31-34}). Over this was a short sleeveless garment—an 'ephod' of fine linen, inwrought with gold and purple, and having on each shoulder-strap a precious stone, the whole engraven with the names of the tribes (Ex 28^{5-12}). In front was the breast-plate of judgement, similarly adorned, each stone similarly engraven (Ex $28^{15.21}$). On his head was a kind of mitre, to the front of which was fastened a plate of gold, inscribed 'Holiness unto the Lord.' Connected with the breast-plate was the Urim and Thummim, 'light and truth,' by which the priest was enabled to ascertain the will of the invisible King. How the response was given is not clearly known.

To their office all the priests were consecrated with a 'holy anointing,' and the spiritual significance of the whole institute is plain.

257. Sacrifices.—Among the Jews, as among all ancient nations, sacrifices formed the most essential part of religious

worship. The subject, therefore, is of great importance, and as the laws in relation to it are scattered over the various books of the Pentateuch, we give the substance of them in a connected form.

Their Material. (1) The things offered (קָרְבָּנִים, *qorbānim*, offerings, from a word signifying *to draw near*: see Mk 7^{11}) were taken from both the *vegetable* and the *animal* kingdom, those from the former called the bloodless offerings (מִנְחוֹת, *minchoth*, gifts), and those from the latter the bloody (זְבָחִים, *zĕbhāchim*, slain sacrifices). With both, the *mineral* salt, an emblem of purity, was used.

From the vegetable kingdom were taken the meal-offerings[a] (flour, cakes, parched corn, frankincense) and the drink-offerings, or libations (נֶסֶךְ, *nések*, σπονδή, Phil 2^{17}), of wine, either in its natural or fermented state. Both offerings were usually united, and were considered as an addition to the thank-offerings made by fire (Num 15^{5-11} 28^{7-15} Lev 14^{10-21}).

The animals offered were oxen, goats, and sheep; all were to be without blemish, not under eight days old, nor over three years[b]. Doves were also offered in some cases (Ex 22^{20} 12^{5} Lev 5^{7} 9^{3}). Fishes were never offered, and human sacrifices were expressly forbidden (Lev 18^{21} 20^{5}).

Their Place. (2) Offerings were presented only in the front court of the sanctuary, the tabernacle, that is, and afterwards the Temple (Lev 17^{1-9} Dt 12^{5-7}). Occasionally, however, sacrifices were offered elsewhere, without reprehension (Judg 2^{5} 6^{26} 13^{19} 1 Sa 7^{17} 9^{12} 11^{15} 16^{5} 1 Ki 18^{19-32}); while the people evinced a frequent disposition to sacrifice on the 'high places'—natural altars, to which they had recourse before the existence of a permanent sanctuary (1 Ki 3^{2}), and afterwards in a schismatic spirit (1 Ki 12^{31} 2 Ch 33^{17}, &c.).

For certain sacrifices there were prescribed times and seasons; others were left to the free will of the worshipper.

Their Method. (3) In the performance of the sacrifice, the offerer, himself legally purified (Ex 19^{14} 1 Sa 16^{5}), brought the victim to the altar, and turning towards the sanctuary (Lev 3^{1} 17^{4}), laid his

[a] 'Meat' in Old English is *food* generally. So A. V. The 'meat-offerings' A. V., 'meal-offerings' R. V., were distinct from offerings of flesh.

[b] There is an exception, Judg 6^{25}, 'the bullock of seven years old.' But the meaning of the passage is doubtful.

hand upon its head (Lev 1^4 3^2 4^{33}), thus identifying it with himself, and dedicating it to the purpose of atonement through sacrifice. He then slew it (Lev 1^5), an act, however, which the priest might do, and sometimes did (2 Ch 29^{24} Ezr 6^{20}). As the victim was slain the priest received the blood, and sprinkled or poured it near the different offerings, yet apart from them. The victim was cut in pieces by the offerer (Lev 1^6), and the fat was burnt by the priest. In some sacrifices, before or after the slaying, the victim was heaved or lifted up, and waved towards heaven, a symbol of its presentation to Jehovah.

258. Kinds of Sacrifice.—There were various kinds of sacrifice, distinguished from one another in their *main* idea and purpose; while all, by the shedding of blood (Lev 17^{11} Heb 9^{22}), signified the dedication of the life to God. The three great divisions of altar-offerings thus expressed (1) *propitiation* (sin- and trespass-offerings), (2) *consecration* (the burnt-offering), and (3) *communion* (peace- and eucharistic offerings).

Sin- and Trespass-offerings. In the sin- and trespass-offerings, חַטָּאת, *chashā'th*, and אָשָׁם, *'āshām*, the fundamental idea, symbolized by the sprinkling of the blood, generally upon the horns of the altar, was that of *propitiation*, or satisfaction for guilt. The two classes are not easily distinguished. The trespass-offering, it has been thought, was generally presented for a sin of omission, the sin-offering for one of commission; but this distinction cannot be maintained throughout, Lev 5^{17-19} Num 6^{11} Lev $15^{2.9.39}$ &c. A more satisfactory explanation of the difference is, that the trespass-offerings 'were presented in atonement for sins against God or against man which admitted of compensation.' The sin-offering was for 'the expiation of sin by a substituted life[a].' In fact, the two *are* distinguished in Scripture, and the cases are prescribed in which each is to be offered.

Trespass-offerings are enjoined in Lev 7^{1-10}, and also in Num 6^{12}, see verse 14, Lev 14^{12}, see verse 19, Lev 19^{20-22} Ezr 10^{19}. The victims offered were a ewe or she-goat, doves or fine flour, a ram or lamb, according to the nature of the case. *Sin-offerings* were presented by the high-priest when he had committed an offence and brought guilt upon the nation, or when the whole nation had sinned inadvertently; also by individuals 'who had sinned through ignorance' (Lev 4^{32-35}); and, more especially, on the great Day of Atonement. In the first and

[a] Cave, *The Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice*, p. 109. It is remarkable that the word used Is 53^{10} is *'asham*.

last cases the high-priest laid his hand on the head of the victim, confessing his sin. In the second case the elders laid their hand on the victim, and in the third case, on the person who brought the offering. The transactions of the great Day of Atonement were exceedingly significant: see Num 29^{7-11} Lev $16^{20.26-32}$; the goat for *azazel*, 'entire dismissal'[a], carrying away the sins of the people, and forming, with the second goat, which was sacrificed, a single complete type of the work of our Lord. Sin-offerings were also presented on various occasions of purification (Lev $15^{2.14.15.25-30}$ Num 6^{9-12} Lev $14^{19.31}$ 9^{22}).

The great idea in all these offerings was that the life of the victim was accepted for the life of the offerer (Lev 5^{18} 14^{19}). The 'fat' or choicest portions of the victim, consumed by fire, as well as the blood sprinkled, either on the horns of the great altar, or in the Holy Place towards the veil, indicated surrender; while on the Day of Atonement this was more impressively symbolized by the sprinkling of the blood before the mercy-seat. The unconsumed part of the animal victim, excepting where the blood had been carried into the Holy Place, formed a repast for the priests and their sons. See Heb $13^{10.11}$.

The Burnt-offering, holocaust (עֹלָה, *'olah*, literally 'that which ascends,' i. e. to Jehovah), consisted in the immolation of a male victim, which was entirely consumed in the fire. The sacrifice was slain on the north of the altar, deprived of the skin (which belonged to the priest, Lev 7^{8}), and then cut in pieces by the offerer. The blood was sprinkled around the altar, and the parts of the victim were laid separately upon the fire, which the priests kept always burning.

The main idea in the burnt-offering was that of *entire consecration*, symbolized by the burning of the whole animal upon the altar. Hence the *daily* presentation of this sacrifice (morning and evening)—a constantly renewed act, on behalf of the people, of self-dedication to God; while the thought of propitiation was still present. Besides the daily offerings, burnt-offerings were brought on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16^{3}), and on the three great festivals; in every case, after the sin-offering (consecration as the sequel to pardon). They were also presented by private persons Levitically unclean, viz. by women (Lev 12^{6-8}); by lepers (Lev 14^{21-31}); by Nazirites (Num

[a] Such seems the only satisfactory explanation of the Hebrew word (derived from a root meaning to *send away*, Gesenius). Many modern expositors, however, regard it as a proper name, Azazel, a demon dwelling in the wilderness, to whom the goat was sent (*Satan*, as Hengstenberg and others).

6^{11-14}); and by those referred to in Lev 15^{1-15}. When two doves were offered, one of them was made a burnt-offering (Lev 5^{10}). Hecatombs of such offerings were sometimes presented (1 Ch 29^{21} Ezr 6^{17}).

The **Thank-offering** (תּוֹדָה, *tōdhah*) or **Peace-offering** (שֶׁלֶם, *shelem*) consisted of the presentation of a bullock, sheep, or goat. It was brought by the offerer, with laying on of hands, and was slain by him on the south side of the altar. The blood was sprinkled round the altar; the fat was burnt. The 'heaved' breast and 'waved' shoulder belonged to the priest, and the rest was used as a sacrificial feast (see 1 Cor 10^{18}). Thank-offerings for particular blessings were called 'sacrifices of praise' (comp. Heb 13^{15}). Being mainly personal, and presented from a feeling of pious devotedness, they were called, in an especial sense, free-will offerings. Sometimes they were offered in fulfilment of a vow (Num 6^{14-17}). The thought of joyful communion with God was expressively symbolized by the feast which followed the sacrifice, and of which the offerer, with his friends and the priests, partook. Jehovah Himself was regarded as present, and the act was one of communion with Him. 'The peace-offering, therefore, stood in most significant relationship to the preceding offerings. The sin-offering, with the trespass-offering, which were closely related, came first, making expiation for sin; the burnt-offering followed, for when sin is atoned, the way is opened for self-consecration to God: and that is rightly and beautifully followed by sacrifices of peace and joy; giving expression at once to the feelings experienced and to the peace of God which exists' (*Dr. W. L. Alexander*). See Lev 8 for detailed illustration in the designation-service of Aaron and his sons.

The *Minchah*, or **Meal-offering**, with the *Nesek*, or **Drink-offering** (see § 257), was either a subsidiary accompaniment to the sacrifices above described, or in special cases (Lev 5^{11-13}) might be accepted in their stead.

The variety of other gifts brought for the service of the sanctuary, as food, incense, money, &c., was very great. These were all recognized by the common name of 'Corban,' and alike regarded as offerings to Jehovah.

259. Festivals.—The festivals of the Jews were held weekly, monthly, and yearly. Each seventh and fiftieth year, moreover, was kept with peculiar solemnities.

The *weekly* festival was the **Sabbath**, a day consecrated to rest and cheerful devotion (Ps 68^{25-27}, &c.). On this day additional sacrifices were presented (Lev 24^{8} Num 28^{9}). Children were instructed; and those who were not far distant visited the Temple. Later than the days of the Pentateuch, the people seem to have visited the prophets

(2 Ki 4^{23}); and after the Captivity synagogues were erected in many of the towns of Palestine, where the 'Law and the Prophets' were read and expounded (Ac 13^{15}).

The *monthly* festival was held on the day of the **New Moon**, and was announced by the sound of silver trumpets (Num 10^{10}). Labour was not interdicted, but additional sacrifices were offered. The new moon of the seventh month (Tisri, or Oct.) commenced the civil year, and was celebrated as the **Feast of Trumpets**: the Jewish 'New Year's Day' (Lev 23^{23-25}). It was 'a solemn rest,' in anticipation of the Day of Atonement nine days afterwards. For the special New Year's service and offerings see Num 29^{1-6}.

Annual Festivals: their threefold meaning.—The great *annual festivals* prescribed by the Law were three; and when they were celebrated, all the adult males in Israel were required to appear at the sanctuary (Ex 23^{14-17}). They were all intended to be seasons of joyous thanksgiving, and were commemorative of the kindness and favour of God. Besides this general purpose, they corresponded with the seasons of the year in a manner suitable to the needs of an agricultural community; they also kept alive the memory of great national events; and with no uncertain meaning they prefigured the blessings of the gospel. In studying the history of these feasts this threefold significance should be carefully borne in mind.

The **Passover** was kept in remembrance of the destruction of the first-born of the Egyptians, the sparing of the Israelites, and their departure from Egypt. It began on the eve of the 14th of Abib, i. e. all leaven was removed from the house on the 14th day, between the evenings, the Feast 'of Unleavened Bread' being reckoned from the 15th to the 21st. Between the evenings the Paschal lamb (a ram or a goat of a year old, Ex 12^{1-16}) was slain before the altar (Dt 16^{2-6}). The blood was sprinkled (originally on the door-posts, and later at the bottom of the altar); the lamb itself was roasted whole, with two spits thrust transversely through it, and was then eaten with bitter herbs; unleavened bread was broken by the master of the family and distributed to each, not fewer than ten nor more than twenty being admitted to the feast. After the third cup (the 'cup of blessing') had been drunk, praises were sung—generally, in later times, Pss 115-118; and sometimes, in addition, Pss 120-137. It was in connexion

with this feast, and towards its close, that our Lord instituted the Last Supper (Mt 26 Mk 14 1 Cor 10). During every day of the festival additional sacrifices were offered; and on the 16th of Abib the first ripe ears of corn were presented at the sanctuary, and then the harvest commenced (Ex 12^{1-27} Lev 23^{9-14}).

The fiftieth day after the second day of the Passover (the 16th), came the **Feast of Pentecost**, called also the Feast of Weeks (i. e. seven clear weeks from the 16th of Abib). This was properly the feast of the completed harvest of the ground. Unlike the two other great festivals, it occupied but one day. Loaves made of the new meal and grain were offered as firstfruits (Lev 23^{17}). Many burnt-offerings were now presented (Lev 23^{18-20}); and Jews residing out of Palestine generally chose this occasion for visiting Jerusalem. The later Jews associated this feast with the giving of the Law on Sinai, on the fiftieth day of the departure from Egypt. The Pentecostal effusion of the Spirit, and the gathering of the firstfruits of the Church, were thus happily symbolized.

In autumn, from the 15th to the 21st of Tisri (October), the **Feast of Tabernacles** was celebrated, the 21st, or according to some the 22nd, an additional or eighth day, being the chief day of the feast (Lev 23^{34-43} Ne 8^{18} Jn 7^{37}). It commemorated the sojourning of the Israelites in the wilderness, and was the Feast of the Ingathering of Fruits. Booths were constructed of branches of trees in all parts of the city, and here the people resided for the week. This feast was the most joyous of all; it was called 'the Great Hosanna': and more public sacrifices were offered than at any other (Num 29^{13-34}). To the ordinary legal services of this festival later Jews added others. Water was drawn daily from the Pool of Siloam, carried with great pomp to the Temple, and poured before the altar (see Is 12^{3}). Priests also ascended the steps which separated the Court of the Women from the inner court, singing the Psalms of Degrees, Pss 120–134. These customs illustrate the special appropriateness of our Lord's words (Jn 7^{37}), and indicate the spiritual application of the prophecy in Zec 14^{16-19}.

There were also two annual feasts, though not appointed by law, which require notice, as they are often mentioned in Jewish history. The first is the Feast of **Purim** (i. e. lots). It falls on the 14th or 15th of Adar (March), and commemorates the defeat of Haman's plot for the destruction of the Jews (Est 3^{7} 9^{26}). It is also called Mordecai's day (2 Mac 15^{36}). The other is the Feast of **Dedication**, appointed to celebrate the re-establishment of Divine worship in Jerusalem after Antiochus Epiphanes had been vanquished and the Temple purified, B.C. 164 (Jn 10^{22}). It was observed for eight days from the 25th of Chisleu (December), and was sometimes called the Feast of Lights, from the illumination in which, at that season, the Jews indulged.

Fasts: the Day of Atonement.—The fifth day before the Feast of Tabernacles, the 10th of Tisri (October), was the great Day of Atonement; the only fast appointed by the Law (Lev 23^{27-29} Nu 29^{7} Ac 27^{9}). The people then bewailed the sins of the year, and ceremonial expiation was made by the high-priest, who on that day alone entered into the Holy of Holies, where he sprinkled the blood of the goat which had been sacrificed. See above, on the SIN-OFFERING, and note on Azazel, p. 429.

Other fasts were instituted in later times, connected with the *siege of Jerusalem* by Nebuchadnezzar (10th of the 10th month), the *capture of the city* (the 17th of the 4th month), the *burning of the Temple* (the 9th of the 5th month), the *death of Gedaliah* (the 3rd of the 7th month): see Jer 52^{6} &c. Zec $7^{3.5}$ 8^{19}. Compare JEWISH CALENDAR, Part I, § 216.

The Sabbatic Year.—Every seventh year was ordained to be sabbatic; and during that year, from the 1st of Tisri, the land was untilled and fruits ungathered, except by the poor; the people, however, were free to hunt, to feed their flocks, repair their buildings, and engage in commerce. The institution was intended to secure rest for the soil, to teach economy and foresight, and to impress upon the people their dependence upon God. Special services were held at the Temple during the Feast of Tabernacles (Dt 31^{10-13}): see Ex $23^{10.11}$ Lev 25^{1-7}. This institute, as Moses predicted (Lev $26^{34.35}$), was long disregarded (2 Ch 36^{21}); but after the Captivity it was observed more carefully.

The year after seven sabbatic years, or the fiftieth, was the **Jubilee** (Lev 25^{8-11})[a]. This year was announced on the 10th of Tisri, the great day of propitiation. In addition to the regulations of the sabbatic year, there were others quite peculiar. All servants, or slaves, obtained their freedom (Lev 25^{39-46} Jer 34^{8-14}). All the land throughout the

[a] It may be noted that the form *iubile* (Lev 25 A. V. and R. V.) is dissyllabic; a Hebrew word, from a root signifying a *ram*; hence ram's horn, trumpet.

country, and the houses in the cities of the Levites, sold during the preceding fifty years, were returned to the sellers, except such as had been consecrated to God, and not redeemed (Lev $25^{17.24-28}$ 27^{16-24}). All mortgaged lands, too, were released without charge.

The completeness of the release secured by these arrangements makes the jubilee a type of the gospel (Is 61^{2} Lu 4^{19}).

Objects of the Festivals.—The moral and spiritual purpose of these festivals is plain. They all tended to unite the people in a holy brotherhood and to separate them from the heathen. They preserved the memory of past mercies. They illustrated the Divine holiness. They lightened the load of poverty, checked oppression and covetousness, and were all either types of gospel blessings, or suggestive to a spiritual mind of the truths to be fully unveiled and realized in Christ.

Let the whole Law be thus studied; regard it as a scheme intended to reveal, or suggest, or impress, or preserve, spiritual truth, and not only will objections be removed, but the whole will appear an elaborate and instructive lesson, eminently suited to the condition of the nation to whom it was addressed.

CHAPTER XIII

HISTORICAL BOOKS: FROM THE ENTRANCE INTO CANAAN TO THE DEATH OF SOLOMON[a]

The Historical Books of Scripture generally.

260. Historical Books enumerated.—The historical books of Scripture—from Joshua to Nehemiah—contain the history of the Jewish Church and nation from the first settlement in Canaan to the return after the Captivity in Babylon.

The books, as they are placed in the English Bible, are twelve in all, though the Jews reckoned them but six, uniting Ruth with Judges, Nehemiah with Ezra, and numbering the double Books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, respectively, as one. The Books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings are reckoned by the Jews among the Prophets, and denominated 'the earlier,' being still placed in Hebrew Bibles in this list. Taking into account, therefore, the fact that large portions of the Pentateuch and of the later Prophets are likewise historical, the modern classification of 'historical books' is hardly precise. It is adopted simply as a general and convenient distinction.

261. Their Inspiration. — The historical books of Scripture claim, like the rest, inspired authority. Some of them bear the names of distinguished prophets, and the rest give evidence of a similar origin. The annals of the Hebrew nation were kept only by persons appointed to their

[a] For the Poetical Books, so far as illustrating this period, see Ch. XVI.

office, and the writers mentioned in Scripture as the penmen of sacred history are expressly called prophets or seers.

The history of David, for example, was written by Samuel, Nathan, and Gad, 1 Ch 29^{29}; of Solomon, by Nathan, Ahijah, and Iddo, 2 Ch 9^{29}; of Rehoboam, by Shemaiah and Iddo, 2 Ch 12^{15}; of Abijah, by Iddo, 2 Ch 13^{22}; of Jehoshaphat, by Jehu, 2 Ch 20^{34} 1 Ki 16^{1}; and of Uzziah and Hezekiah (including probably the two intermediate kings), by Isaiah, 2 Ch 26^{22} 32^{32}. Even in rebellious Israel, we read of several prophets, and it was no doubt their business to record what occurred in that country.

The narrative portion of Scripture displays throughout an intimate acquaintance with the secret motives of men, and with the purposes of God[a]; reveals His mercy and judgement in the clearest predictions; exhibits unexampled impartiality; and enforces everywhere practical holiness. The facts it records are appealed to or quoted throughout the Bible; the writings which record them were received into the Hebrew canon; and they are cited by Apostles and by our Lord. That in these writings other documents are named, as the depositories of ampler information, and that some of the books were written or collected long after the events they describe, are facts which create no difficulty, and are in accordance with what we know of the general method of revelation. They account, moreover, for the occasional blending of matter evidently contemporaneous with the events described with other of clearly later origin.

262. Characteristics of Bible History.—The Bible is (as we have seen) a *selection* from the history of the Church, giving just so much as was sufficient to inculcate the principles of duty, to reveal the character of God, and to prepare for the coming of His Son. It is a history of the Church *only*, or of the heathen as connected with *its* sufferings and destiny; and nowhere is this peculiarity of the Bible more marked than in the historical portions.

[a] 1 Ki $12^{26.28}$ Est 5 6.

During the times which are chronicled, there were mighty nations celebrated for learning and valour, for illustrious men and illustrious actions; yet their records are for the most part lost in silence or in fable, while the history of the Jews, who 'dwelt apart,' and were 'not reckoned among the nations,' has been carefully preserved. Such concern has God for His Church, and so dear are its interests to Him, Dt $32^{8.9}$.

Another peculiarity is no less marked. Political events of deep interest are passed over; the history of long reigns is compressed into a few sentences; national concerns give place to matters of private life, history to biography, a mighty monarch to a poor widow (2 Ki 3 4). These omissions and digressions, however, are all explained by the design of the Bible. It reveals the grace and providence of God, shows the workings of human nature and the blessedness of obedience; throughout interweaving lessons and truths preparatory to the work and reign of the Messiah.

Within these limits, however, the completeness of Scripture history is both characteristic and instructive. It explains at once the Law and the Prophets, the Psalms and the gospel, the future and the past. To man, to nations, to the Church, every chapter is a lesson; and the history, studied in the light of the Law and Prophets, is to be applied under the guidance of the gospel.

263. Divisions of the History.—The whole history naturally falls into three divisions, the first and second being separated by the disruption of the Hebrew kingdom on the death of Solomon; the second and third by the Captivity of Judah. The third also comprises the Restoration of the Jewish state to the close of the Old Testament record. The second and third periods are largely illustrated by the prophetic writings. To the history of these periods a supplementary chapter (XVII) is added in the present work,

epitomizing the Jewish annals from the close of the Old Testament Canon to the Advent.

The first of these periods is readily divisible into two parts; the *former* comprising the history from the entrance into the land of promise to the establishment of the monarchy; the *latter* reaching to the death of Solomon. The first part contains the history of the conquest and settlement of Canaan, of the decay of the spirit of obedience after the death of Joshua, with the subsequent punishments and restorations of the people; the second describes the revival of that spirit under Samuel and David, with the splendid but chequered reign of Solomon. Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and 1 Sa 1–10 cover the first series of events; 1 and 2 Sa, 1 Ki 1–11, 1 Ch and 2 Ch 1–9 record the remaining portion.

The Chronological Appendix to the present work may be consulted for the order of the principal names and occurrences in the history, with the dates so far as ascertainable.

The Book of Joshua

264. The name of Joshua designates the hero rather than the writer of the narrative, although Jewish tradition assigns to him the authorship, and it is at least probable that he supplied the materials, to be arranged and supplemented by some later scribe. Many recent Old Testament critics, as already stated (see § 235), on account of the continuity in style and purpose of this book with the preceding five, associate it with them under the title of 'the Hexateuch.' In any case, it bears decisive marks of being in the main the narrative of a contemporary and eye-witness of the events described (5^{1} 6^{25}); and Joshua himself was an instructor and inspired prophet (1 Ki 16^{34}, see Jos 6^{26} and cp. Ecclus 46^{1}). That the book must have been written before the days of David or Solomon may be argued from

15^{63} compared with 2 Sa 5^{7-9} and from 16^{10} compared with 1 Ki 9^{16}.

Throughout there is no token of the reign of kings, or of the division of the country into rival kingdoms. Additions to the original documents may be traced in 15^{14-19} (Judg 1^{10-15}), also in 15^{63} (Judg $1^{8.21}$), 19^{4} (Judg 18^{7}), and in 24^{19-33}. Subsequent allusions to facts recorded in the book are frequent: see 1 Ch 2^{7} 12^{15} Ps 44 68 78 114 Is 28^{21} Hab 3^{12} Ac 7^{45} Jas 2^{25} Heb 4^{8} 11^{30}.

His Life.—Joshua was an Ephraimite (1 Ch 7^{27}), one of the twelve spies (Num 13^{8}), a faithful servant and companion of Moses; with him upon Sinai (Ex 24^{13} 32^{17}). He seems also to have been entrusted with the special care of the Tabernacle (Ex 33^{11}). After the death of Moses, he took the command of the Israelites, having been early designated to that office by God Himself (Dt $31^{14.23}$). Originally he was called Hoshea (or Hosea), 'salvation' or 'welfare'; Jehoshua, 'Jehovah is salvation,' contracted to Joshua; also Jeshua (Ne 8^{17}). The Greek equivalent is Ἰησοῦς, *Jesus*. See Ac 7^{45} Heb 4^{8} (A. V.).

Considerable light will be thrown upon Joshua and Judges, if studied in connexion with the Pentateuch. Between these books there is much the same connexion as between the Gospels and the Acts.

The character and history of Joshua are highly instructive. The Spirit was in him, Num 27^{18}. Having a certain promise of success (ch. 1) he yet prudently used whatever means were likely to secure it. He sent spies and disciplined his forces; not resting, however, in these, but looking still to God. Thus before attacking the Canaanites he solemnly renewed the dedication of himself and the people (5), and in seasons of emergency sought by prayer special blessing and help (10^{12-14}). 'Effort and prayer,' 'zeal and dependence' were clearly his rule. His piety and devotion are beautifully displayed in his closing appeals, and the spirit of affectionate submission with which the people received them gives us a favourable impression of his influence and of their fidelity (23^{8}). The discipline of the wilderness had not been unblessed.

265. The book falls into THREE MAIN DIVISIONS.

I. **The Conquest of Canaan.**—1–12: including the crossing of the Jordan; the re-establishment of Circum-

cision ; the episode of Rahab, who, although a Canaanite, entertained the Israelite spies in peace, and is commended for the faith which enabled her to recognize the power of Jehovah [a] (Heb 11^{31} ; cf. Mt 1^{5}) ; the appearance to Joshua of the 'captain of the host of the LORD' to reassure him in the crisis of the enterprise ; the miraculous fall of Jericho ; and, as a darker shade in the story, the sin and doom of Achan before Ai. The rest of the narrative is occupied by the annals of a seven years' war, including especially the poetic fragment that commemorates the victory over a confederacy of kings on a memorable day before the sun went down [b]. The object attained was worthy of the wonder that was wrought, as the battle of Bethhoron virtually made Joshua the master of Palestine.

The destruction of the Canaanites is a fearful admonition of the final issues of transgression. Compared with the Israelites they were probably a disciplined, valiant people ; but they seem to have made little effort to repel the invaders. Perhaps they trusted to the 'swellings of Jordan,' which at the time when Joshua entered Canaan (the vernal equinox) made the stream, as they supposed, impassable ; or, perhaps, as one of their number expressed it, 'the terror of the God of the Hebrews' had fallen upon them. They were certainly fearfully wicked (Lev 18^{24-30} Dt 9^{4} 18^{10-12}). Their idolatry had augmented, as idolatry ever does, licentiousness and cruelty. The Divine will they had once known, for from the times of Noah the light of an early revelation had lingered among them (Gen 14^{18-20}). They might have been warned—by the Deluge, by the history of the cities of the plain, the destruction of Pharaoh, the recent overthrow of their eastern neighbours the Amorites, the passage of the Jordan, the capture of Jericho, the preservation of Rahab, and the convictions of their own conscience. Their removal from Palestine, again, seems to have been essential for the preservation of the Israelites

[a] Rahab became the wife of Salmon ; Boaz was their son, and by Ruth became the grandfather of David (Ru 4^{21} Mt 1^{5}).

[b] It is needless to inquire into the nature of the miracle ; much less to account for the prolongation of daylight by supposing the arrest of the earth's diurnal motion. But see an interesting article by E. W. Mander, of the Greenwich Observatory, in the *Sunday at Home*, February, 1904.

from the contaminating influence of idolatry, and they had the alternative of flight. In fact, many sailed to the distant shores of the Mediterranean, and there founded flourishing colonies, thus preserving, to comparatively modern times, records of the God who fought against them.

Some may object that the war in which they were exterminated was cruel. It is perhaps a sufficient reply that, the cruelties practised were common to the age, and that in exterminating a very guilty people, the Divine purpose employed usages which generally prevailed (Jos 8). It may be added that by similar discipline the Israelites themselves were chastised, and the general system involved in these events is strictly analogous to the course of moral government still exercised in the world; with this difference only, that *now* men act as rods of God's anger by tacit permission; *then*, as under His immediate authority.

As the triumphs, through faith, of the Israelites may be considered typical of the final triumph of the Church, and of every Christian, through Jesus, the Captain of our salvation, the Author and Finisher of our faith (Heb 2^{10} 12^{2}), so the destruction of the Canaanites takes its place with the Deluge, and the final overthrow of Jerusalem, as a signal proof of God's displeasure against sin, and may be considered as an emblem of the Judgement of the Great Day, Ps 109 Lu 19.

II. **Canaan the home of Israel.**—The second part of the book (13–22) shows the distribution of the conquered land among the tribes. It is well described as 'the Domesday book of the Conquest of Palestine.' It should be studied with a map. Note especially the appointment of the Levitical cities and the cities of refuge (20, 21); with the settlement of the trans-Jordanic tribes, and the consecration of their altar (22).

III. The third part of the book describes **the close of the great warrior's life**—his farewell addresses ($23–24^{15}$), the renewed pledge of the people to the service of Jehovah (24^{16-28}), the death and burial of Joshua, the interment of the embalmed body of Joseph (24^{29-32}), with the death of Eleazar, son of Aaron (24^{33}).

266. Fulfilment of the Divine Purposes.—And, now, God's promise has been *in part* fulfilled: the Jews have entered Canaan; the Tabernacle of God has been set up

in Shiloh ; the Law has been promulgated and accepted. In its morality, it is eminently holy ; in its civil institutes, adapted to preserve the people peculiar and separate, and to set forth the reality of the Divine government ; and in its ceremonies, it is a prophetic symbol of the gospel—but only *in part*. The original promise of a blessing to all nations, ratified to Abraham, and renewed to the other patriarchs, though it included the possession of Canaan, seems too comprehensive to end there. The prediction of the coming dignity of the tribe of Judah ; the prophecy of Balaam ; the announcement by Moses of another greater Prophet ; and, especially, the predictions of Dt 31 (see also Lev 26 and Dt 28), foretelling the sins of the people, and the consequences of them in the dispersion of their race, all seemed to direct the attention of the Israelite to an enlarged dispensation. They plainly forbade him to rest altogether in Canaan or in the Law. Everything implied a coming universal blessing, a kingdom, a revelation not nigh, a Prophet from among the people, a country whose inhabitants should no more go out, even for ever.

The revelation of these blessings was not always clear ; but it was clear enough to excite inquiry and justify faith. The position of the pious Israelite, therefore, was not altogether unlike our own. From Canaan *he* looked back on fulfilled predictions, and forward to a glorious future. Much of his future is now past ; and *we* also look back on predictions gloriously fulfilled ; others, again, and in some sense, even these, are unfulfilled. All nations are not yet blessed in Him. A *third* point of contemplation for pious Jews and devout Christians remains ; and the certainty of the predictions, whose fulfilment is to intervene, is assured to us by the records of the past.

267. *Principal Quotations from and References to the Book of Joshua in the New Testament.*

Jos 1^5	Heb 13^5
2	Jas 2^{25}
6^{20}	Heb 11^{30}
6^{23}	11^{31}
$14^{1.2}$	Ac 13^{19}
24^{32}	7^{16} Heb 11^{22}

The Book of Judges

268. The authorship of Judges is not known, though Jewish tradition ascribes it to Samuel. From the book itself we gather that it was written after the commencement of the Monarchy, 19^1 21^{25}, and before the accession of David, 1^{21}: cf. 2 Sa 5^{6-8}. The 'house of God' refers, therefore, as in Joshua, to the Tabernacle, 18^{31} (Jos 9^{23}), and the 'captivity' spoken of in 18^{30}, to some contemporary servitude; see Ps $78^{60.61}$, where the same phrase is employed. Many of the sacred writers allude to or quote this book, 1 Sa 12^{9-11} 2 Sa 11^{21} Ps 68 83^{11} Is 9^4 10^{26}. The New Testament also refers to heroic names in the annals of the judges (Heb 11^{32}).

Character of the period.—The Judges (שֹׁפְטִים, *shōphĕṭim*) here described were not a regular succession of governors, but occasional deliverers raised up by God, to rescue Israel from oppression and to administer justice. Without assuming the state of royal authority, they acted for the time as vicegerents of Jehovah, the invisible King. Their power seems to have been not unlike that of the *Suffetes* of Carthage and Tyre, or of the *Archons* of Athens. The government of the people may be described as a republican confederacy, the elders and princes having authority in their respective tribes.

The entire duration of judgeship in Israel cannot be learned from the book itself; for (1) the repeated mention of twenties and forties in the enumeration of years seems to show that chronological statements are given in round numbers; and (2) the oppressions and

deliverances, affecting different tribes and localities, were probably in several instances contemporaneous. The sum-total of years, if taken successively, covers a much longer period than the rest of the history allows[a]. See CHRONOLOGICAL APPENDIX.

The moral character of the Israelites, as described in this book, seems to have greatly deteriorated. The generation who were contemporaries with Joshua were both courageous and faithful, and free in a great measure from the weakness and obstinacy which had dishonoured their fathers (Judg 2^{7}). Their first ardour, however, had now somewhat cooled, and more than once they fell into a state of indifference which Joshua found it needful to rebuke. Perhaps the whole territory of Palestine was more than they needed or could usefully occupy. As each tribe received its portion, they became so engrossed in cultivating it, or so much fonder of ease than of war, that they grew unwilling to help the rest. National feeling was lost; and disorders of all kinds arose from the want of settled rule, 21^{25}. All found it, moreover, more convenient to make slaves of their subjugated nations than to expel them. This policy was both unwise and sinful. The results were soon seen. Another generation arose. Living among idolaters, the Israelites copied their example, intermarried with them, and became contaminated with their abominations, 2^{13} 3^{6}. The old inhabitants of the land, left alone, gathered strength to make head against the chosen race: surrounding nations and tribes, as the Syrians, Philistines, Moabites, and Midianites, took advantage of their degeneracy to attack them; while the licentiousness, ease, and idolatry, to which the Hebrews were giving way, impaired their powers of defence. Especially does the history of Samson, the last judge in the series, exhibit the consequences of unbridled sensuality,

[a] Supposing the periods of oppressions and deliverances to have been *successive*, affecting the whole land, we should have the following Table:—

Ch.	*Oppressions by*	*Yrs.*	*Ch.*	*Deliverances by*	*Yrs.*
3^{8}	Cushan-rishathaim	8	3^{11}	Othniel	40
3^{14}	Eglon	18	3^{30}	Ehud	80
4^{3}	Jabin	20	5^{31}	Barak	40
6^{1}	Midianites	7	8^{28}	Gideon	40
			10^{2}	Tola	23
			10^{3}	Jair	22
10^{8}	Ammonites	18	12^{7}	Jephthah	6
			$12^{8.14}$	Ibzan, &c.	25
13^{1}	Philistines	40	15^{20}	Samson	20
		111			296

giving a total of 407 years, not including Eli's 40 years: 1 Sa 4^{18}.

13^{24}–16^{31}. The succession of aborigines, Hindus, and Mohammedans in India affords an instructive parallel.

269. Outline.—The history of alternate oppressions and deliverances, occupying sixteen chapters of the book, is followed by two narratives, illustrating the unsettled and licentious character of the times: 1. that of Micah the Ephraimite (18); 2. that of the Benjamite in Gibeah, an outrage followed by a fratricidal war, and leading to violent measures to save the tribe from extermination (19–21). It is just, however, to add, that the whole period must not be regarded as an uninterrupted course of apostasy. Some of the disorders mentioned affected only parts of the country, while the rest was in a better state. The sins which incurred punishment, and the deliverances which followed repentance, are related at length; while long periods, during which the judges governed, and the people obeyed God, are described in a single verse.

270. *References to Judges in the New Testament.*

Judg 2^{16}	Ac 13^{20}
,, 4 Barak	Heb 11^{32}
,, 6–8 Gideon	
,, 11, 12 Jephthah	
,, 14–16 Samson	

The Book of Ruth

271. The Book of Ruth may be considered as **a sequel to the Book of Judges**, with which it is linked by its first word, and as an introduction to the ensuing history. In the Jewish Canon, it does not immediately follow Judges, but forms part of the Hagiographa; being the second of the five *Megilloth* or Festal Rolls, one of which was publicly read at each festival. Ruth, on account of its harvest associations, was appointed for Pentecost. In the LXX and Vulgate, it is placed next to Judges, as in modern versions.

The book contains particulars of the family of Elimelech, and informs us how Ruth, a Moabitess, became the wife of Boaz, of Bethlehem-Judah, an ancestor of David, and thus of Christ. The authorship is unknown; it is ascribed by Jewish tradition to Samuel. There are several phrases in the original, identical with expressions which elsewhere occur only in Samuel and Kings (Ru 1^{17} 4^{6} &c.). It is certain that it was written after the era of the Judges (1^{1}), when certain Israelite usages had become antiquated, 4^{7} (compare Dt 25^{9}), and, probably, when David's house was established upon the throne, 4^{17-22} (although the genealogy may have been inserted by a subsequent editor). There seems no sufficient reason for placing it, with some critics, at a late period in the history[a].

Purpose of the book.—A chief design of the book is to trace the descent of David, bringing out clearly the fact that a foreigner, one of a hated race, was in the ancestral line. So Mt 1^{5}, where the further fact is added that Boaz, the husband of Ruth, was a descendant of Rahab. Thus does the purpose of Jehovah show itself superior to positive command (Dt 23^{3}), while the facts expressively indicate the catholicity of the Divine Kingdom, and prefigure the calling of the Gentiles.

272. Outline.—The contents of the book are, briefly, as follows: An account of Naomi, from her departure with her husband in a time of long-continued famine[b] from Canaan into Moab, to her return into the land of Israel with her

[a] It has even been attributed to the period after the Captivity, and supposed to have been written 'with a purpose'; either to commend the 'levirate' marriage-custom; or else, to vindicate by the example of Ruth the marriage with foreigners, in opposition to the legislation of Nehemiah. On supposed Aramaisms in the dialogues, see Delitzsch, *Comm.*

[b] Possibly, as has been conjectured, during the Midianitish invasions, which lasted for seven years (Judg 6^{1-6}), so that Ruth would be a contemporary of Gideon.

daughter-in-law Ruth, ch. 1. Interview of Boaz with Ruth, and their marriage, 2–4[12]. Birth of Obed, and genealogy of David, 4[13–22].

Lessons.— This book is remarkably rich in examples of faith, patience, industry, and kindness, nor less so in intimations of the special care which God takes of our concerns; 'still out of seeming ill educing good.' Elimelech's misfortunes; his son's marriage to a Moabitess; Ruth's loss of her husband—all end in her own conversion, and in the honour of her adopted family. What changes ten years have produced! They have turned Naomi ('pleasantness') into Mara ('bitter'). She who went out full has come home again empty. Her fortitude and faith, however, sustain her; and in her trouble she shows equal wisdom and tenderness. When her daughters are told what they must expect if they accompany her to Canaan, Orpah weeps, but returns to her idols; Ruth cleaves to her, indicating thereby depth of affection and religious decision, 1[16] 2[12]. Her reward she received 'of Jehovah, the God of Israel, under whose wings she came to trust.'

Incidentally, the book contains some of the loveliest pictures of Israelitish rural life to be found in Scripture. Boaz, the genial landowner, his willing labourers, the gleaners in the harvest-field, the purity and simplicity of the family affections displayed—all form a beautiful contrast to the ruder scenes of conflict and passion which marked the era, and seem to single out Bethlehem from the rest of the unquiet land.

Ruth in the New Testament.

273. Ruth is one of the four women mentioned in the genealogy of the Messiah, Mt 1. The selection of these names illustrates in a marked degree the sovereignty and mystery of Divine grace.

The Books of Samuel

274. General View.—These two books were in the old Hebrew Canon reckoned as one[a], the present division being derived from the LXX, followed by the Vulgate. In those versions they are called the **First and Second Books of Kings**, as they form part of the history of the kings of

[a] Hence the heading in A. V., *otherwise called the First* (*or Second*) *Book of the Kings*: dropped in R. V.

Israel and Judah. The place of the books in the Canon, the predictions they record[a], the quotations from them in later books, and in the N. T., supply ample evidence of their authority.

The question of **authorship** is not free from difficulty; but there seems no reason for rejecting the ancient view that Samuel himself wrote 1 Sa 1–24, and that the rest was written by Nathan and Gad. We know from 1 Sa 10^{25} 1 Ch 29^{29} that not only 'Samuel the seer' but 'Nathan the prophet' and 'Gad the seer' were contemporaneous authorities: reference is likewise made to the Book of Jasher, 2 Sa 1^{18}. The latest note of time of composition is in 1 Sa 27^{6}, and this may be probably regarded as an editorial addition subsequent to the division of Solomon's kingdom, and before the Captivity. Gad appears to have been one of David's companions in the wilderness, 1 Sa 22^{5}: he was a trusted counsellor of David, 2 Sa 24^{11-14} 1 Ch $21^{11.12}$. Nathan was prominent among David's advisers, and was repeatedly commissioned to give him Divine messages, 2 Sa 7^{2-17} 12^{1} (comp. Ps 51 title). His intimate connexion with Solomon should also be noted, 2 Sa 12^{25} 1 Ki 1^{11-40}. In Zec 12^{12} his name occurs as representative of the great family of the prophets. The two books contain several odes. The Song of Hannah, 1 Sa 2^{2-10}, developed later into the *Magnificat* of Mary, Lu 1^{46-55}. It prophetically refers to a coming King, 'the Anointed,' and thus falls into the line of the foreshadowings of the Messiah. There are also David's elegies on the death of Saul and Jonathan, and on that of Abner, 2 Sa 1^{17-27} $3^{33.34}$, his ode of triumph over his enemies, 22 (Ps 18), and the last song of 'the sweet psalmist of Israel' 23^{1-7}.

The **Hebrew text of Samuel,** especially in the First Book, presents some difficulties in regard to the order of incidents, and to numerical statements, and in several passages is obscure. It has evidently suffered at the hands of transcribers. Attention should be given to the numerous variations in the LXX from the present Hebrew. Some of these are noted below.

First Book: chs. 1–8.

275. The earlier part of this book **closes the annals of the Judgeship** and **begins the history of the Monarchy** in Israel. The warrior-line of Judges had come to an end; Eli, high-priest in the line of Ithamar, had succeeded to the

[a] See 1 Sa 2^{30} 2 Sa 12^{10-12} &c.

office, which he administered from the sanctuary in Shiloh for forty years, being most probably for part of the time contemporary with Samson. It was the time of Philistine aggression and domination, brought to a climax by the capture of the ark of God and the death of Eli. His successor was SAMUEL, descendant of Levi, through Kohath: though prophet yet not priest, although on certain occasions he offered sacrifice. So irregular was the observance of the Law, to which nevertheless these books have allusions which decisively show that it existed as the Divine rule for the nation. See 1 Sa $2^{28.29}$ 3^{3} 4^{3} 7^{9} 8 throughout, 10^{25} 15^{22} 20^{5} &c. 2 Sa 7^{22-24} 15^{7-9} &c.

Life and Calling of Samuel.—The familiar history of Samuel's birth, his consecration to the service of Jehovah, and his special call from heaven, fitly introduce the record of his wonderful character and career. He was more than a reformer: he restored the religion of Israel, and established the schools of the prophets. While yet a youth, he rallied his countrymen to a stand against the Philistine hosts, which were decisively routed: and 'Ebenezer,' 'the stone of help,' became the memorial of heaven-sent victory. The position of Samuel was unique. A direct Divine appointment constituted him both political and spiritual ruler of the nation, and gave him a supremacy which the king whom he had designated held in respect, 1 Sa 7^{15}. But he is chiefly to be noted as the head of the great prophetic line. 'All the prophets, from Samuel and them that followed after,' is the apostolic description of this illustrious succession, Ac 3^{24}. Through him again was given that 'open vision' long withdrawn (ch. 3^{1}, cp. Jer 15^{1} Ac 13^{20}).

First Book continued: chs. 9–31.

276. Designation of Saul as King.—The people now demanded a king; and God gave them their desire. The way in which Samuel made the Divine purpose known, and carried it out, is narrated in chs. 9, 10, which show among other things the simplicity of the great prophet's life, and his condescension to the humblest functions. The appointment itself was made with solemn ceremony, and amid signs of popular enthusiasm. This part of the history closes with

a brief record of the tact and moderation with which Saul began his reign. He returned for a while to his own home, and took no notice of any still existing disaffection, $10^{26.27}$.

But these signs of hopefulness were soon overborne by the display of qualities that unfitted him to rule the Lord's people. His character, indeed, as portrayed in this book, exhibits a strange mingling of noble impulses with others that proved his ruin. He showed himself to be self-willed and passionate, meriting at once the stern reprehension of Samuel (15^{20-23}) and the exquisite eulogy of David (2 Sa 1^{19-27}). His outbreaks of jealousy and rage at times were maniacal. 'An evil spirit from Jehovah troubled him' (16^{14}).

The accounts of the introduction of David to Saul illustrate the character of the king in its several aspects. There is much vividness in these details, with some undoubted difficulties. The shepherd lad who lays the giant low, the minstrel who soothes the monarch's stormy passions, the king's chosen armour-bearer, a 'mighty man of valour,' the 'captain of a thousand,' and the king's son-in-law, are among the characters in which the son of Jesse is presented. It is difficult to harmonize the earlier parts of this delineation, especially the fact that the son of Jesse, the minstrel who calmed Saul's troubled spirit, a favourite with the king, and his armour-bearer (16^{15-23}), in a subsequent part of the history appears as a youth unknown to him (17^{55-58}). There may have been a transposition of the several accounts. It is noticeable that the LXX omits 17^{12-31}, also 17^{50} and 17^{55}–18^{5}. Such omissions were perhaps by way of expedient to remove the difficulty. Other solutions are proposed in the Commentaries; one being, that two independent accounts have been incorporated.

277. Saul and David.—On the failure of Saul, David was anointed, by Divine direction to Samuel, as the future King of Israel. 'The Spirit of Jehovah came mightily upon David from that day forward' (16^{13}). He incurred the jealous hatred of Saul; and the history of his escapes from the king's rage, and of his many adventures, most vivid in their interest, occupies the greater part of the remainder of

the book. The friendship of David and Jonathan, first mentioned 18^{1}, is one of the most charming records of the kind that history contains. David's refuge for a time with the Philistines, whose champion he had slain, is remarkable and characteristic (27^{1-3} Ps 34 title). Then follows the visit of the distracted king to the witch at En-dor (28), and the book closes with the disastrous battle at Mount Gilboa (south of the great Plain of Esdraelon) in which Saul and Jonathan fell.

It is with this battle that the historical part of Chronicles begins (ch. 10). See Introduction to the book.

Second Book of Samuel.

278. This book, beginning with David's elegy on Saul and Jonathan, 'the Song of the Bow' 1^{18}, contains the **main history of David's reign.** He at once laid claim to the crown, according to the Divine appointment; but was resisted by the heir of Saul, Esh-baal (called in derision Ish-bosheth, 'the man of shame'), supported by Saul's general Abner, and followed by the greater number of the tribes. David, supported by his own tribe of Judah, established his throne at Hebron; and a civil war ensued, in which Abner and Ish-bosheth were murdered, to David's unaffected grief. Another scion of Saul's house, a grandson, Merib-baal, son of Jonathan, whose name was similarly altered to Mephi-bosheth, excited no real apprehension, being a cripple, and was kindly treated by David, whose power was no longer seriously menaced from within. His first great exploit was to capture the Jebusite fortress of Zion, up to that time regarded as impregnable by its heathen occupants. The record of its successful assault is supplemented by the chronicler (1 Ch 11^{4-9}), who relates that Joab was first to enter the stronghold.

Henceforth the fortress was known as the City of David, the crown of the old Jerusalem (Jos 10^{1} 15^{63}). But the exploit,

and the growing power of David, threatened the supremacy of the Philistines, to whom, after the battle of Gilboa, Israel had doubtless been tributary. Particulars are wanting: we are only told that David inflicted on these ancient foes of Israel a series of decisive defeats. The chief of these conflicts were in the Vale of Rephaim (the 'Giants' Valley'), between Jerusalem and Bethlehem[a]. As the result, the Israelites were henceforth virtually free from the power of their once formidable neighbours. Other victories followed, to the east and the north; and the way was opened for the secure accomplishment of the purpose on which the king's heart had long been set (Ps 132^{2-5}), **the removal of the ark**, which, since its reclamation from the Philistines twenty years ago, had remained 'in the fields of the wood' with Abinadab of Kirjath-jearim. An act so important in the religious history of Israel is appropriately related in detail (6). Most significant is the narrative that follows (7), expressing the king's desire to crown the transaction by erecting a permanent sanctuary. This gives occasion to a great prophetic utterance from Nathan, with the king's sublime outpouring of thankfulness and prayer.

279. David king in Jerusalem.—David had now transferred the seat of government from Hebron, where it had remained for seven years, to Jerusalem. His career of conquest continued, marked by notable events (8 10); the war with Ammon being specially bitter and prolonged[b]. In connexion with this war occurred the great sin of David's career, faithfully related; his heartfelt penitence; Divine forgiveness, and the birth of Solomon ($12^{24,25}$). But though the sin was pardoned, its consequences remained; and the

[a] It may be noted, as an interesting fact, that the railway to Jerusalem now runs along the valley, its terminus being close by the Valley of Hinnom, south-west of the city.

[b] On the final treatment of the Ammonites by David, see Part I, § 115, 1.

following history records a melancholy series of family and public disasters. The crime of Amnon (13), Absalom's revenge, his disgrace, restoration to favour, his rebellion and death, are related in full detail (14–19); then the revolt of Sheba the Benjamite, caused by jealousies between the tribes (20). The brief paragraph 20^{23-26} is a virtual repetition of 8^{16-18}. Both passages probably formed the close of different accounts of David's reign. The book closes with a series of narratives referable to different periods; the vengeance of the Gibeonites upon the family of Saul (21^{1-11}), and the honourable burial of the remains of Saul and Jonathan, probably belong to an early part of the reign. A summary of the contests with Philistia is here introduced, in the course of which the giant Goliath is said, according to the present text (21^{19}), to have been slain by El-hanan, a Bethlehemite. There is undoubtedly here a transcriber's mistake, to be corrected from 1 Ch 20^{5} [a].

280. David's thanksgiving, and 'last words.'—Chapter 22 contains Ps 18, with a few variations; and in 23^{1-7} there is a poem describing an ideal king, with an account of David's heroes 23^{8-39}, evidently distinct from the foregoing. The last chapter of the book gives an account of a pestilence following a census of Israel, apparently undertaken by David in a vainglorious spirit; with a consequent propitiatory sacrifice, in connexion with which the site of the future Temple is acquired.

Compare the account in 1 Ch. 21. 'Ornan' and 'Araunah' are different forms of the same name. The price of 'the threshing-floor and oxen' was fifty shekels of silver (2 Sa 24^{24}), that of 'the place,' i.e. the whole of what was afterwards the Temple hill, six hundred shekels of gold.

281. *Events recorded in the Books of Samuel, referred to in Psalms ascribed by their Jewish titles to David.* (*On these titles, see* §§ 386, 387.)

[a] For further remarks on this passage, see Part I, § 58, 13.

(Those marked * are according to the superscriptions, others conjecturally: some Psalms are ascribed to more than one occasion, the opinion of expositors varying greatly.)

Historical Connexion.	*References.*	*Psalms.*
i. *Prior to the reign of David.*		
David when calumniated at court of Saul	1 Sa 18, 19	7*, 11 (Ewald), 12
When pursued by Saul	,, 19^{1-11}	59*, 22
David's flight to Gath	,, 21^{10-15}	56*, 34*
'When he fled from Saul in the cave,' i.e. at Adullam, or it may be En-gedi	,, $22^{1,2}$ or 24	57*, 142*
When Doeg the Edomite informed Saul of David's coming to the house of Ahimelech	,, 22^{6-23}	52*
When David was betrayed by the Ziphites	,, 23^{19-24}	54*
Escape from Saul	,, 23^{25-28}	17 (Hitzig, Moll.), 31 (Del.)
When pursued by Saul at En-gedi	,, 24	35 (Köster), 63
David's pursuit of and victory over Amalekites	,, 30	16 (Hitzig)
ii. *After David's accession to the Throne and prior to his great Fall.*		
Accession to the Throne	2 Sa 2^{1-4}	27, 28
Jerusalem made the capital	,, 5^{1-12}	58, 101
'At the dedication of the house of David'		30*, 29
Removal of the Ark to Jerusalem	,, 6^{1-11}	68, 15, 24, 26
Promises by Nathan to David	,, 7	138
Wars and conquests	,, 8^{1-14}	60*, 9, 20, 21
To this period generally		5, 6, 8, 16, 18, 19, 23, 29, 36, 58, 68 (Del.), 108, 97* (Sept.), 98* (Sept.), 99* (Sept.)
iii. *David's Fall and Repentance.*		
David's great sin and repentance	,, 12^{1-14}	51*, 32, 38, 39, 40, 41
To this period generally		55, 58, 103

Historical Connexion.	*References.*	*Psalms.*
iv. *The Time of the Great Revolt.*		
Events immediately preceding	2 Sa 15^{1-6}	6, 64
Flight from Absalom	,, 15^{13-30}	3*, 4 (Köster), 31, 61, 62 (Del.), 63 (Del.), 69
Rebellion of Absalom	,, 17	27, 28, 42 (Sept.), 43 (Sept.), 70, 143
Ahithophel's treachery	,, 17^{21-23}	35, 55
v. Dedication of Araunah's threshing-floor	,, 24^{25}	24

282. *Principal Quotations from the Books of Samuel in the New Testament.*

1 Sa 2^{1}	Lu $1^{46.47}$
,, 8^{5} 10^{1}	Ac 13^{21}
,, 13^{14}	,, 13^{22}
,, 15^{22}	Mk 12^{33}
,, 21^{6}	Mt $12^{3.4}$ Mk $2^{25.26}$ Lu $6^{3.4}$
2 Sa $7^{12.13}$	Ac 2^{30} 13^{36}
,, 7^{14}	Heb 1^{5}
,, 12^{24}	Mt $1^{6\,sq.}$ Lu $3^{23\,sq.}$

Prophecy: from Samuel to David

283. The Prophetic Spirit revived: Samuel. — In Samuel we have a revival of the prophetic spirit. From the days of Joshua to Eli there seems to have been 'no open vision' (1 Sa 3^{1} Ac 13^{20} 3^{24}). Under the Judges, the original covenant remained as at first. The Jewish polity and priesthood were unchanged. The Law, as given by Moses, was in full force, and the Books of Samuel repeatedly evince a knowledge of the records and institutions of the Pentateuch (see § 275). In the days of Samuel, however, marked changes were passing over the state. Calamities were becoming more confounding, successes more extra-

ordinary and transient. The priesthood was to be transferred; kingly government to be established. By and by, the kingdom itself would be broken and divided. Idolatry would be publicly sanctioned, needing public authoritative rebukes. Then would follow a long series of afflictions, ending in removal and captivity, as long ago predicted.

Changes so serious needed special interposition. Hence the necessity of a revival and enlargement of prophetic revelation. As Moses required peculiar evidence of a Divine appointment for his mission, so did Samuel. He appears, therefore, as *prophet*, and commences an age of prophecy which continues without any material chasm to the days of Malachi.

A supernatural call and a prophetic vision were granted to him at the commencement of his ministry, even in his youth. He was commissioned to repeat to Eli a prediction which a man of God had already announced, and the fulfilment of this prediction, with other circumstances, gave early evidence of his authority. The people soon sought a king, and as their request implied a distrust of the protection and love which had made them a theocracy, it was opposed by the prophet in God's name. At length, God complied, and it became the business of the prophet to watch over the change, to define the laws of the kingdom, to show whom Jehovah had chosen, and ultimately to transfer the kingdom to the person and tribe of David. So far, the predictions and business of the prophet were chiefly civil.

284. David as Prophet (see Ac 2^{30}).—In David's person and reign prophecy assumes a new character. His kingdom was first confirmed to him (2 Sa 7^{12-17} Ps 89). The character and kingdom of Solomon are then foretold, and, blended with these, we find revelations of a higher and holier kind. The promise to Abraham was, as we have seen, both temporal and evangelical; so also is now the

promise to David. To Abraham, the Messiah had been announced, more or less clearly, as the promised *Seed*; to Moses, as the coming *Prophet*; to all of that age, as the *Priest*; to David, he appears, in addition, as *King*. In connexion with his reign, therefore, we have distinct foreshadowings of Messiah's authority, of the hostility of the kings of the earth, of His sceptre of righteousness, of His unchangeable priesthood, of His exalted nature, of His death, and His victory over death, and of His dominion, including both Israel and the Gentiles (Psalms 2, 16, 45, 110, &c.).

How far David himself was conscious of the deeper meaning of the prophecies addressed to him, as by Nathan, or uttered by himself in Psalms, we cannot tell. To him as to other inspired seers, the words of Peter apply: 1 Ep. 1^{10-12}. But from Peter also we elsewhere learn that David knew that 'God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins He would set One upon his throne' (see R. V., Ac 2^{30} and margin).

In proportion as the kingdom and character of the Christ were thus brought into view, provision was made for deepening the impression of these prophecies upon the hearts of the people, and making them conducive to faith and piety. As uttered in Psalms, they passed into the devotions of the Church. These Psalms form the most important additions that had yet been made to the Mosaic revelation, and were clearly adapted to inspire ancient worshippers with the Messianic hope. Very beautiful, too, is the growing distinctness of these predictions. To Abraham a *seed* was revealed. When his descendants had become tribes, to *Judah* the promise was confined; and now, when the kingdom appears, it is given to *David*. Nor can these predictions be ascribed to flattery or selfishness. It is not David who in the first instance receives them. Nor is it to himself, in all their fullness, that he appropriates them. He applies them to another, and the messenger who gives them is Nathan,

the prophet who rebuked his sin, and severely threatened Solomon with the consequences of his apostasy. The faithfulness of such servants of God had other and immediate ends, but it proves incidentally the truth of their announcements.

The Books of Kings

285. General View.—The two Books of Kings (which in ancient copies of the Hebrew Bible form but one book) contain the history of Israel and Judah, from the end of David's reign to the Babylonian Captivity. The present division of the books is taken from the LXX and Vulgate, in which they are entitled the **Third and Fourth Books of Kings.**

Nothing certain is known of the authorship; the most probable opinion is, that as memoirs of their own times were written by several of the prophets, for the use of the kingdom, the present books were compiled from such records. Jewish tradition points to the authorship of Jeremiah, but the events described reach to the liberation of Jehoiachin from prison in Babylon some twenty-five years later than the latest notice of the prophet (Jer 44). A late authorship seems to be indicated by the frequent use of Aramaisms, but caution is necessary in view of our ignorance of local dialects. The view that the books were drawn up from various documents by one hand is confirmed by the books themselves.

The sources referred to are (1) *The Book of the Acts of Solomon*, 1 Ki 11^{41}. (2) *The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*, 1 Ki 14^{29}, referred to fifteen times. (3) *The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*, 1 Ki 14^{19}, referred to seventeen times. (4) The frequent insertions, with little or no alteration, of the records of eye-witnesses in the narrative portions of the histories of the Prophets, Elijah, Elisha, and Micaiah, indicate the use of older material, presumably preserved among the annals of the schools of the prophets. Compare the list given under *Chronicles*, § 289.

The frequent vividness of the narrative bespeaks the work of eye-witnesses; but that the whole was revised by one hand appears from the similarity of style and idiom in various unimportant expressions.

286. Comparison with Chronicles.—The comparative dates of Kings and Chronicles explain various differences of phraseology and other variations. See § 290.

Differences in the order of events are explained by the fact that none of the writers profess to give the exact order of time[a]. Additions, omissions, and abbreviations may be ascribed to the different aim of each narrative.

Other differences, amounting to discrepancies, are occasionally found, and refer chiefly to numbers and names. It is well known that the text of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles is in a worse condition than that of any other of the inspired writings; nor must we ascribe to the author what may be due to the errors of copyists[b]. These variations, it may be added, do not affect any article of faith or rule of life, and till we can rectify them they ought to be candidly acknowledged.

Both books are referred to or quoted in the New Testament[c]. It is remarkable that the inspired acclamation of David to the praise of God is ascribed by the seer of the Apocalypse to the blessed spirits who celebrate the praises of God in heaven, 1 Ch $29^{10.11}$ Rev $5^{12.13}$.

287. Theocratic character of the History.—A comment on the life and career of David has been already given in the section on the Books of Samuel. It may here be added, with regard both to himself, to Solomon, and to their successors, that the most remarkable feature in their history,

[a] Thus, 1 Ch 14 2 Ch 1^{14-17} 9^{25} are evidently out of chronological order.

[b] See 2 Ch 8^{18} (1 Ki 9^{28}) 1 Ch. 11^{11} (2 Sa 23^{8}) 21^{5} (2 Sa 24^{9}) 1 Ch 18^{4} (2 Sa 8^{4}) 19^{18} (2 Sa 10^{18}).

[c] See § 300.

as given in Kings and Chronicles, is its religious, theocratic character. King, Church, State are all represented as under God. The character of each king is decided by his fidelity to the religious obligations of his office. Of each it is said, he 'walked in the ways of David his father,' and so prospered; or 'of Jeroboam, who made Israel to sin,' and so failed.

These books are valuable as the history of God and His law in the nation—and that nation *a monarchy*; as the Books of Joshua and Judges are the history of God and His law in *an aristocracy* or a *democracy*; or as the earlier books are the history of God and His law in *the family*. In the Prophets, and in the Acts of the Apostles, we have glimpses of what is to be the history of God and His law in *the world*. Hence the prominence given to the erection of the Temple; the numerous references to the ancient law, especially when the two kingdoms were drawing to their end; the frequent interposition of prophets, now rebuking the people, and now braving the sovereign; the deposition and succession of kings; and the connexion everywhere traced between what seem to be mere political incidents and the fidelity or idolatry of the age[a]. Were nations wise, these records would prove their best instructors; they are adapted to teach alike the world and the Church.

First Book of Kings, chs. 1–11.

288. The first eleven chapters of the First Book relate **the last days of David**, the attempt of Adonijah to be recognized as his successor, 1; the dying king's charge to Solomon, 2^{1-9}; his decease, ^{10,11}; Solomon's accession, his measures of severity, 2^{12-46}; his alliance with Egypt, 3^{1}; the national religion, $^{2-4}$.

[a] See 2 Ki 5–8 10^{31} $17^{13,15,37}$ 18^{4-6}, Elijah's history; 1 Ki 15^{3-5} 2 Ki 11^{17}.

The Pharaoh whose daughter Solomon married must have been one of the later kings of the twenty-first dynasty, possibly Pasebkhanen II.

Solomon chooses 'an understanding heart' as the best gift 3^{5-15}, and gives proof of it $^{16-28}$. He is established in his kingdom, and recognized as the wisest among men 4. With great treasure, partly inherited from David, he obtains from the maritime and commercial country of Phœnicia, then under the rule of Hiram, materials and workmen for the erection of the Temple, which, after occupying thirteen years in construction, is solemnly dedicated, chs. 5–8.

The date of the Temple building is given in 6^1 as four hundred and eighty years after the Exodus. On this see Part I, § 198; also the Chronological Appendix.

The splendour of Solomon's reign, renewed Divine communications, the visit of the Queen of Sheba, occupy chs. 9, 10. Ch. 11 gives an account of his moral and religious decline, the troubles of his later days, and his death.

Before proceeding to the continuation of Kings, some account must be given of the Books of Chronicles.

The Books of Chronicles

289. General view.—These books were included by the Jews in the *Kethubhim*, or *Hagiographa*, thus distinguished from the Books of Kings, which form part of the 'Earlier Prophets.' The Hebrew Bible, as at present arranged, closes with the Books of Chronicles. They were originally one, and called the **Words of Days**, i. e. diaries or journals, probably in allusion to the ancient annals out of which they appear to have been composed. In the LXX they are distinguished as the books of **Omissions** (*παραλειπομένων*), and were regarded as a kind of supplement to the preceding books of Scripture, supplying such in-

formation as was rendered necessary by the alterations consequent upon the Captivity. The present title was first given to them by Jerome.

According to Jewish tradition Ezra was the author, and it will be observed that the conclusion of 2 Chronicles is the same as the beginning of Ezra, thus joining these books, which together with Nehemiah originally formed one connected whole. 'They also resemble each other in the point of view from which the history is treated, in the method followed in the choice of material, as well as in the preference shown for particular topics—genealogies, statistics, registers, description of religious ceremonies, details respecting the sacerdotal classes, and the organizations of public worship' (Driver). No exact determination of date can be given. If the main authorship was Ezra's, there was probably addition by a subsequent writer (1 Ch 3^{19-24}).

Compilation. The fact that the 'Chronicles' were compiled from earlier documents, themselves the work of prophets, is abundantly evident in these books. These documents seem often to be quoted literally: see 2 Ch 5^{9} 8^{8}; the purpose of the compiler being not to modify these documents, but to connect with them his own narrative. Many passages also are identical, or nearly identical, with passages in Kings, both being evidently taken from the same annals.

The documents referred to or quoted are :—

(1) *The Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel*, 2 Ch 16^{11} 25^{26} 28^{26}. That the Canonical Books of Kings are not intended is evident from allusions made to events not there recorded. (2) *The History of Samuel the Seer*, 1 Ch 29^{29}. (3) *The History of Nathan the Prophet*, 1 Ch 29^{29}. (4) *The History of Gad the Seer*, 1 Ch 29^{29}. (5) *The Prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite*, 2 Ch 9^{29}. (6) *The Vision of Iddo the Seer*, 2 Ch 9^{29}. (7) *The Histories of Shemaiah the Prophet, and of Iddo the Seer*, 2 Ch 12^{15}. (8) *The History of Jehu the son of Hanani*, 2 Ch 20^{34}. (9) *The Commentary of the Book of the Kings*, 2 Ch 24^{27}. (10) *The Acts of Uzziah, by Isaiah, the son of Amoz*, 2 Ch 26^{22}. (11) *The Vision of Isaiah the Prophet, the son of Amoz*, 2 Ch 32^{32}. (12) *The Words of the Seers* (of Hozai, R. V.), 2 Ch 33^{19}. Compare the list of references in 1 and 2 Ki, § 285.

290. Comparison with Samuel and Kings.—The three

double books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles have much in common, though they have also characteristic differences. They treat for the most part of the same period, and should be read and compared together. In Chronicles, the Temple is spoken of as 'the House of God,' or 'of Jehovah' no fewer than thirty-four times. The 'divisions' and 'courses' of the priests and Levites are given in full detail. Priests and Levites are very frequently coupled together (only once in 1 Ki, 8^4). So 'singers' and 'porters' (also in Ezra and Nehemiah). Great prominence also is given to the measures of David, Solomon, Hezekiah, and Josiah, for the establishment of public worship.

The genealogical tables of the Chronicles, though to us comparatively uninteresting, were highly important among the Jews, who were made by prophetic promises extremely observant in these particulars. These tables give the sacred line through which the promise was transmitted for nearly 3,500 years; a fact itself unexampled in the history of the human race. That of Zerubbabel is continued to the time of Alexander; 1 Ch 3^{19-24}, evidently by a later writer.

Most Bible students have, at one time or another, endeavoured to obtain or to construct for themselves a 'Harmony' of the Chronicles with the older histories; and, although rewarded by the discovery of many correspondences and mutual illustrations, they have often been checked by unexpected difficulties in their task. The following points of resemblance and of contrast should be carefully noted. See also § 286.

1. The Books of Samuel and Kings relate the histories of both Israel and Judah: those of Chronicles contain (after the Disruption) the annals of Judah only. The fact accounts for many omissions in the latter; among others for the want of reference to Elijah and Elisha.

2. Several passages in both are evidently from the same documents, with such slight variations as mark most transcripts of the kind.

3. Some passages record the same events from different sources. Hence apparent discrepancies.

4. In regard to the language of the books, it may be noted that in Chronicles we have Aramaic forms (1 Ch 11^{35} 13^2 15^{27} 18^5 2 Ch 10^{18}),

later words and expressions (1 Ch 14^2 19^{12} 21^2 2 Chr 16^4), and synonymous phrases used for others liable to misconception (1 Ch 19^4 2 Ch 22^{12}).

5. In studying the different records, it must be remembered all through that the Books of Chronicles are essentially Levitical. To all therefore that concerns the house and service of Jehovah, especial prominence is given.

Valuable assistance in regard to such 'Harmony' will be found in *The Hebrew Monarchy*, by Andrew Wood, M.A., with *Introduction* by Dean R. Payne Smith, 1896. This work also contains in their presumed place the contemporary Psalms and Prophecies, with a commentary on the whole.

First Book of Chronicles; and Second Book to ch. 9.

291. Outline.—Book I, 1–9 contains a summary of **the Israelite genealogies.** The **History**, parallel with that in Samuel and Kings, begins with ch. 10 (1 Sa 31). The whole of the record concerning the attempt to make Ish-bosheth king is omitted; ch. 11 showing David established on the throne. The histories then for the most part coincide, special stress being laid in Chronicles on David's appointments for the service of the Tabernacle. The campaign against Ammon is mentioned in Chronicles (20^1), but without the record of David's sin and penitence. The whole account of Absalom's rebellion and death is also omitted in Chronicles, with the insurrection under Sheba. David's song of praise and his 'last words,' describing an ideal king, are absent from Chronicles. Both contain an account of the king's heroes, the 'three' and the 'thirty' (2 Sa 23 1 Ch 11). David's sin, again, in numbering the people, and its chastisement are in both the histories (2 Sa 24 1 Ch 21). Then follows in Chronicles an account of the institutions of David's kingdom, military and Levitical (23–27), passed over in the other records. The erection of the altar upon Ornan's (Araunah's) threshing-floor is related by both historians, while Chronicles alone records

David's preparations for the Temple. The troubles of David's old age, the pretensions of Adonijah, and the anointing of Solomon as king in his father's lifetime, are peculiar to Kings. Both histories record David's farewell instructions to Solomon, those in Kings referring to his political conduct (1 Ki 2^{1-9}), those in Chronicles to the erection of the Temple (1 Ch 28 29), closed by a sublime thanksgiving and prayer 'before all the congregation.'

The death of David, the accession and reign of Solomon, with the building and consecration of the Temple, are common, with occasional variations, to both histories, that in Chronicles being the more copious in details. The record of Solomon's marriage to Pharaoh's daughter, of his commerce by sea, of the visit of the Queen of Sheba, with the account of his wealth, are, again, in both. His polygamy and idolatry are narrated in Kings alone, with the 'adversaries' raised up against him towards the end of his reign. His death is recorded in both histories, with the disruption of the kingdom that followed. From that event, the Book of Chronicles (2) narrates the history of JUDAH (the Southern Kingdom), with only occasional references to ISRAEL (the Northern), that of Kings (1, 2) records the history of both kingdoms, until their overthrow.

292. Note on the Reigns of David and Solomon.—The reigns of David and Solomon constitute the golden period of the Jewish state. From the first, **David** showed the utmost anxiety that every step he took towards the possession of the kingdom should be directed by Jehovah, 1 Sa $23^{2.4}$ 2 Sa 2^{1}. He acted ever as 'His servant'; and when established in his kingdom, his first concern was to promote the Divine honour and the religious welfare of his people (2 Sa 6^{1-5} $7^{1.2}$). As a king he sought the prosperity of the state, and as the visible representative of Jehovah he strictly conformed to the spirit of the theocracy. It was due to this character of his administration, probably, rather than to his private virtues, that he is designated 'as a man after God's own heart' (1 Sa 13^{14}; see also Ac 13^{22}), who was to 'execute all His will.' It is, indeed, impossible to vindicate all his acts, or to regard him as a perfect character. And yet when we look

at the piety of his youth, the depth of his contrition, the strength of his faith, the fervour of his devotion, the loftiness and variety of his genius, the largeness and warmth of his heart, his eminent valour in an age of warriors, his justice and wisdom as a ruler, and his adherence to the worship and will of God, we may well regard him as a model of kingly authority and spiritual obedience.

Solomon continued the policy and shared the blessing of his father. His dominions extended from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, and from the Red Sea and Arabia to the utmost Lebanon (1 Ki 4^{21} &c.). The tributary states were held in complete subjection, and, as they were still governed by their own princes, Solomon was literally 'king of kings.' The Canaanites who remained in Palestine became peaceable subjects or useful servants. His treasures were immense, composed largely of the spoils won by his father from many nations, and treasured up by him for the purpose of building a temple to Jehovah. To these Solomon added the proceeds of oppressive taxation. The largeness of his harem transgressed the bounds of even Oriental licence, though possibly dictated by worldly policy.

The wisdom of Solomon is celebrated both in Scripture and in Eastern story. Three thousand proverbs gave proof of his virtues and sagacity. A thousand and five songs placed him among the first of Hebrew poets; while his knowledge of natural history was shown by writings which were long admired.

His very greatness betrayed him. His treasures, wives, and chariots were all contrary to the spirit and precepts of the Law (Dt $17^{16.17}$). His exactions alienated the affections of his people; and, above all, he was led astray by his wives, and built temples to Chemosh, or Baal-Peor, the obscene idol of Moab; to Moloch, the god of Ammon; and to Ashtaroth, the goddess of the Sidonians. His later days, therefore, were disturbed by 'adversaries,' who stirred up revolt in the tributary states; the tribe of Ephraim became a centre of disaffection; Hadad did 'mischief' in Edom; Damascus declared its independence under Rezon; and Ahijah was instructed to announce to Solomon himself that, as he had broken the covenant by which he held his crown, the kingdom should be rent from him and part of it given to his servant, 1 Ki 11^{31}. To this 'servant' Jeroboam, Ahijah prophesied that he would become ruler of ten out of the twelve tribes, verses 29–39. Yet his reign, on the whole, was most prosperous. 'Judah and Israel were many, as the sand which is by the sea in multitude, eating and drinking and making merry.' The land was free from hostile raids. From Dan even to Beersheba, they dwelt safely every man 'under his vine and under his fig-tree.'

The great event of Solomon's life was the erection of the Temple. As this building fulfilled a prophecy (2 Sa 7^{13}), and was a symbol

of Jehovah's abode with the people, so it was itself both a prophecy and a type,—a type of the Jewish people and of the Church, and a prophecy of God's continued presence (Jer 7). Its history, therefore, is an index to the history of the Jews themselves. When it fell, they were scattered; as it rose from its ruins, they gathered round it again; and history dates the Captivity, with equal accuracy, from the destruction of the Temple, or from the first capture of Jerusalem (see § 349), 1 Ki $9^{7.8}$ 2 Ch 7^{20} Jer 7 Is 44^{28}.

CHAPTER XIV

HISTORICAL AND PROPHETICAL BOOKS FROM THE DEATH OF SOLOMON TO THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY

Historical View (1 Ki 12 to 2 Ki 25; 2 Ch 10-36)[a].

293. Division of the Kingdom.—With the reign of Solomon ended the glory of united Israel. The kingdom was thenceforth dismembered, the immediate cause being the folly of Rehoboam, although there had been much disaffection, owing in great measure to the enormous pressure of the taxation needful to maintain the royal state. Ten tribes, of which Ephraim was chief, separated from the rest, and formed the kingdom of Israel; Judah, with which Benjamin was now united, alone remained faithful to the house of David. To the kingdom of Judah, however, most of the Levites, and many who feared God out of all the tribes, ultimately adhered, 2 Ch 11^{13-16}.

The history of these kingdoms presents striking **contrasts** and instructive **lessons.**

294. The Kingdom of Israel.— Jeroboam, the first King of Israel, an Ephraimite, was raised to the throne with Divine sanction conveyed through the prophet Ahijah, and a conditional promise was given that his kingdom should

[a] See INTRODUCTIONS to the respective books; also CHRONOLOGICAL APPENDIX.

be as David's (1 Ki 11[38]). But Jeroboam had neither the faith nor the obedience of David. To preserve the independence of his kingdom, he established a separate priesthood, and established the calf-worship at Dan and Bethel, declaring *this* to be the true method of serving Jehovah[a]. He thus framed a system of idolatry, which became ever afterwards, in one form or another, part of the national religion. He himself, therefore, is branded in history as 'Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin.' From this time to that of Hoshea, the nineteenth and last Israelite king, we find none free from the charge of general depravity. Of king after king, it is said that he 'did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord.' Omri, famous and powerful among the neighbouring nations, as the monuments show, was in character among the worst. Ahab, his son, under the influence of Jezebel, his Sidonian queen, introduced the worship of the Phœnician Baal, idolatry of deeper dye than that of Jeroboam. Jehu, indeed, destroyed the prophets of Baal, and for his partial obedience was rewarded with enlarged temporal blessing; but he 'took no heed to walk in the law of the Lord, for he departed not from the sin of Jeroboam, who made Israel to sin.' The nation copied their kings. There were a few exceptions, but it needed, in Elijah's days, a direct revelation to discover them; and out of the hundreds of thousands of whom Israel was composed, but 7,000 are mentioned as not having bowed the knee unto Baal.

Meantime Israel was not without warning. Within fifty years appeared the prophets Jehu and Micaiah, Elijah and Elisha; the two latter working more miracles than any prophet had wrought since the days of Moses and Joshua. A few years after their protracted ministry came Jonah,

[a] Compare the sin of Aaron, Ex 32[4,5]. The violation of the *second* commandment was idolatry, even though the worship was professedly rendered to Jehovah under the calf-symbol.

Hosea, and Amos. The messages of these prophets were confirmed by Divine chastisements.

The reign of Jeroboam II, although outwardly prosperous (2 Ki 14^{25}), formed no exception to the prevailing apostasy, and, in contrast with the house of David, in which, notwithstanding much degeneracy and sin, the succession was maintained, according to the Divine promise, to the end, the line of Israelite kings was so broken that in the course of about 220 years *nine* different dynasties occupied the throne.

1. Jeroboam I; Nadab; slain by Baasha.
2. Baasha; Elah; murdered by his servant Zimri.
3. Zimri; committed suicide after a week's reign.
4. Omri (Tibni, rival-king); Ahab; Ahaziah; Jehoram; killed in battle by Jehu.
5. Jehu; Jehoahaz; Jehoash; Jeroboam II; Zechariah; slain in conspiracy by Shallum (Am 7^{9}).
6. Shallum; murdered by Menahem.
7. Menahem; Pekahiah; slain by his captain Pekah.
8. Pekah; slain in conspiracy by Hoshea.
9. Hoshea; deposed by the Assyrian monarch, after nine years' reign.

295. The ruin of the last two kings was directly traceable to the fatal policy of **alliance with heathen powers.** Pekah had sought the aid of Rezin, king of Syria, against Ahaz, and had at first prevailed. Ahaz, imitating his rival's policy, applied for help to Tiglath-pileser (or Pul), King of Assyria. He came and chastised the Israelites, carrying into Media the two and a half trans-Jordanic tribes, and making the rest tributary. Such was the **first captivity of Israel.** Ten years later, Hoshea appealed to So, King of Egypt (probably Sabaco the Ethiopian, founder of the 25th dynasty[a]), to assist him in throwing off the tribute, Hezekiah unhappily joining in the confederacy. This revolt brought up Shalmaneser, son of Tiglath-pileser, with a large host; Samaria fell before the power of Sargon, Shalmaneser's

[a] Herodotus II, § 137. For the different theory by Winckler see in Hastings' *Dict. Bible*, art. So. There seems, however, no solid reason for rejecting the general view, as above.

successor, and was annexed to the Assyrian crown; **the second captivity of Israel,** completing the depopulation of the land. Hezekiah escaped, the army of Sennacherib, son of Sargon, being miraculously destroyed.

Origin of the Samaritans.—The conquered Israelite territory was afterwards peopled by settlers from the region of the Tigris and Euphrates. They intermarried with those of the Israelites who had remained, and ultimately took the name of Samaritans. The ravages of lions in the depopulated country were attributed by them to the anger of 'the God of the land'; and on their appeal to the Assyrian king, a priest of Jehovah was sent to instruct them. At first their religion was of a motley kind, 'they feared Jehovah and served their own gods.' After the reforms by Josiah, however, which extended to Bethel and the northern districts (2 Ki 23^{15} 2 Ch $34^{6.7}$), the people seem to have submitted to the destruction of their idols, and nominally to have adopted the Israelite religion. This fact, too, led to further complications, as the succeeding history shows.

What became of the Ten Tribes is not known [a]. Customs, rites, and features like theirs have been discovered in all parts of the world. Many of them seem to have returned at different periods to their own land. Cyrus addressed his proclamation to *all* the people of Jehovah (Ezr 1^{1-3}), and some of the rites connected with the consecration of the Temple imply that there were present remnants of all the tribes; while many Israelites seem to have been settled in Galilee and Peræa long before the days of our Lord (1 Mac 5^{9-23}). The appellation of Israelite, indeed, was no longer restricted to the northern tribes; and in New Testament times the old nationality seems in a

[a] On the supposed discovery of the Ten Tribes in one or another part of the world, see Milman, *History of the Jews*, Book viii, pp. 375 sq. (5th ed.).

measure restored. See Ac 26^{7} Jas 1^{1} Lu 2^{36} (Anna the prophetess 'of the tribe of Asher').

296. The Kingdom of Judah.—Very different were the destinies of the Southern Kingdom. Twenty kings, all descendants of David, for nearly 400 years, occupied the throne[a]. Some of these kings are marked with special commendation (Asa, Jehoshaphat, Josiah, Hezekiah), others were impious and depraved (Ahaz, Manasseh, Amon). Some, again, whose career on the whole was praiseworthy committed grievous faults, faithfully recorded by the historians (Joash in the murder of Zechariah, Uzziah in the profanation of the sanctuary), but the Divine purpose was steadfastly maintained in the long preparation for the Messiah. See Ac 2^{30} R. V. and the royal genealogy in Mt 1, showing the line of succession even after 'the carrying away to Babylon.'

Only once during the kingly period does there appear any serious effort to break the Davidic line. It was when the dread of Assyria had led Rezin, King of Syria, and Pekah, King of Israel, to form a confederacy into which they strove to force Ahaz of Judah. On the surface it might appear a wise policy: Damascus, Samaria, and Jerusalem might be strong enough to resist the dreaded power of the North. But for this purpose it would be necessary to overthrow the house of David, a scheme for which the feebleness and worthlessness of its present representative seemed to afford the opportunity, while a pretender to the throne of Judah was ready, in the person of 'the Son of Tabeel,' a personage otherwise unknown. Isaiah graphically shows the frustration of the design, ch. 7.

The internal condition of the kingdom of Judah (including Benjamin) was on the whole prosperous; and its annals were for the most part uneventful. It is specially recorded of **Asa** that in addition to measures to purify the land from idolatry, not even sparing his own mother, he

[a] It is noticeable that even when kings of Judah were cut off by violent deaths (Ahaziah, Joash, Amon), no attempt was made to interfere with the Davidic line of succession.

built and fortified several cities. Of **Jehoshaphat** it is related that he caused a knowledge of the Law to be diffused throughout the kingdom, and appointed 'ministers' (as we should say) 'of public instruction.' In 2 Ch 17 there is an interesting picture of a peaceful and prosperous community under a wise, far-seeing king. Jehoshaphat also, after the example of Solomon, attempted to maintain a mercantile fleet at what was then the port of Ezion-geber, but a shipwreck frustrated his hopes. **Uzziah**, again, during his long reign, in the latter part of which his son Jotham was associated with him, successfully cultivated the arts of peace as well as of war. See 2 Ch 26, 'He loved husbandry,' and showed his commercial sagacity by securing and refortifying the port of Elath at the head of the eastern arm of the Red Sea, which since the days of Solomon had been held by Edom; and which was again captured from Ahaz by either Syria or Edom [a], fifty years afterwards.

297. External Dangers: Egypt.—The national existence of Judah was more than once threatened; but, under the Divine protection, the little kingdom, centred in its mountain-fortress of Jerusalem, was able to hold its own. Egypt at the first was its most formidable foe, being governed by the fierce and aggressive kings of the Bubastite or twenty-second dynasty. In the days of Rehoboam, Shishak pillaged the Temple and threatened the kingdom, but the proud young king, humbled before Jehovah, 'strengthened himself in Jerusalem and reigned' (2 Ch 12^{13}). Zerah (probably Osorkon II) invaded south-western Palestine during the reign of Asa, as the head of a vast, almost innumerable horde of Ethiopians, but suffered decisive defeat at Mareshah, in the Shephelah or maritime plain.

'The victory,' writes Canon Rawlinson, 'had most important consequences. It put an end to Egyptian schemes of Asiatic conquest,

[a] 2 Ki 16^{6} R.V. text and margin.

if not for ever, at any rate for three centuries[a]. It relieved Judæa from all pressure on her southern frontier, and enabled her to turn her whole attention towards the north. It so weakened the Bubastite dynasty of the Sheshonks and Osorkons, that within a short time they lost their hold on large portions of Egypt. Egypt grew friendly towards Judah instead of hostile, and the Israelite kingdom learned to lean upon the Pharaohs for support (see 2 Ki 17^4 18^{21-24} Is $20^{5,6}$ 30^{2-7}), instead of dreading their ambition.'

Confederacy against Jehoshaphat. In the south-east of the kingdom Jehoshaphat, in the course of his peaceful reign, had to encounter a confederacy of Moab, Ammon, and Edom; the armies met on the slopes above En-gedi, where the songs of the Levites, accompanied by trumpet, harp, and psaltery, struck such panic into the heathen hosts that they turned their arms one against another, and the scene of encounter became memorable as the Vale of Berachah ('Blessing'), or, as once in the Prophets, the valley of Jehoshaphat (Joel $3^{2,12}$)[b]. The invasion and victory are not mentioned in Kings; 2 Ch 20 gives its vivid details.

Hostility of Israel. The enemies, however, whom Judah had most to fear were nearer home, and the relations with Ephraim, as the Northern Kingdom was distinctively termed, were continually strained. Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, had to meet the aged Jeroboam in battle, inflicting upon him a decisive defeat (1 Ki 15^7 2 Ch 13^{2-20}). A more serious and prolonged strife between Asa and the Israelite king, Baasha, led to momentous consequences. Baasha was erecting a fortress at Ramah, on the frontier, only six miles from Jerusalem, in rivalry to the great stronghold of Zion. The counter-policy which Asa adopted was mistaken and sinful, although its immediate results were successful. To thwart Baasha, he subsidized the King of Syria to attack Baasha's kingdom on the north, the

[a] 'Till the expedition of Neco, B. C. 609.'

[b] To be distinguished from the valley of that name formed by the Kidron. See Introd. to Joel.

Israelite forces being thus drawn away from Judah. Ramah was dismantled; its materials being used by Asa, as if in stern irony, to erect new fortresses for the southern kingdom. 'Hanani the Seer' perceived the terrible mistake that had been made; his strong and faithful rebuke is recorded in 2 Ch 16^{7-9}. The king in a rage shut up the prophet in prison; but the course of events only too sadly confirmed Hanani's words.

A kindred error, although at first sight more excusable, was the alliance between Jehoshaphat and Ahab, in the marriage of Jehoram, son and successor to Jehoshaphat, with Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel. Their son Ahaziah (or Jehoahaz, 2 Ch 21^{17}) was slain, together with Joram, son of Ahab, at Jezreel, leaving an infant son to inherit the throne of Judah. Hence, the usurpation and tyranny of the young king's grandmother, with the miserable train of evils that followed.

298. The result of heathen alliances in later days has already been noted. Ahaz sought, as we have seen, the aid of Tiglath-pileser against the kings of Israel and Syria; and though, at first, he was delivered from impending evil, he really received from the Assyrians 'no help at all.' The payment of a heavy tribute was the immediate consequence; and other results soon followed. It cost Hezekiah most of his treasure, and but for special interposition would have cost him his throne. It cost Manasseh his liberty (through his alliance with the Egyptian Tirhakah); and Josiah (who led the forces of Judah to resist the march of Pharaoh-Neco eastward to Carchemish), his life. Jehoahaz, son of Josiah, was carried captive to Egypt. Jehoiakim, the brother and successor of Jehoahaz, who owed his crown to Neco, remained for four years tributary to Egypt; which power in turn yielded to the forces of Babylon at Carchemish, so that Jehoiakim became

subject to Nebuchadnezzar, who at this time succeeded his father Nabopolassar. Four years after the subjugation of Judæa, Jehoiakim revolted from the Babylonian king (2 Ki 24[1]), who, after a while, attacked and captured him, intending at first to carry him to Babylon (2 Ch 36[6]), but afterwards putting him to death. Jehoiakim's son, Jeconiah (Coniah or Jehoiachin), succeeded him for a short time, but was deposed and carried to Babylon (597), Zedekiah, uncle of Jeconiah, and the third son of Josiah, being made king, after a solemn oath of allegiance, in his room. Tempted by Pharaoh-Hophra, and against the remonstrance of Jeremiah, he revolted, and again (587) Nebuchadnezzar came against Jerusalem. After a siege of eighteen months, the city was taken at midnight; most of the inhabitants were put to death, the children of Zedekiah were slain, and he himself (his eyes put out) was carried in chains to Babylon. At the same time, or a few months later, Nebuzaradan, the general of Nebuchadnezzar, burned the city, destroyed the Temple, and carried off the remainder of the sacred vessels and the greater part of the nation, a few poor only being left to till the soil. This series of events brought on by degrees the **Babylonian Captivity**, on which see the next chapter.

It is remarkable that no attempt was made to colonize the country, as had been done in the case of Israel; the providence of God thus keeping it vacant, to be reoccupied by the people on the completion of their captivity. Jewish *communities*, properly so called, remained in Babylonia (see § 351, p. 530), also in Egypt (Migdol, Tahpanhes, Noph and Pathros, Jer 44[1]); but in Judæa the people were only a disorganized, desolate remnant; the land forlornly keeping its 'Sabbaths' until those to whom God had given it should repossess their heritage.

299. *Events recorded in the Books of Kings and Chronicles supposed to be referred to or illustrated in the Psalms.* (*Compare* §§ 281, 391.)

Historical Connexion.	*References.*	*Psalms.*
On Solomon being made king	1 Ch 29^{19}	72 (Del.)
Solomon's marriage to the daughter of the king of Egypt	1 Ki 3^{1} 9^{24}	45 (Calvin, Grotius)
Building of the Temple and of Solomon's House	1 Ki 6 7^{2} 2 Ch 3 4	127 (Hengst., Kay)
Transfer of Ark by Solomon from the Tabernacle to the Temple	1 Ki 8 2 Ch 5	132 (Del., De Wette, Tholuck)
Heman the Ezrahite's lament concerning his lot after the death of Solomon	2 Ch 12	88 (Del., Moll.)
Defeat of Rehoboam by Shishak	1 Ki 14^{25} &c. 2 Ch 12	89 (Calv., Del.)
Jehoshaphat's reforms	,, 19^{4-11}	82 ,,
Confederacy of Moabites, Ammonites and others against Jehoshaphat	,, 20^{1-13}	46 (Del.), 47, 48 (Del.), 83 (Thol., De Wette, Hengst., Del.)
Jehoshaphat's deliverance	2 Ch 20^{20-30}	46 (Del.), 47 (Del.), 76 (Del.), ? 115
Invasion by the Philistines of Judah in time of Hezekiah	2 Ki 16^{7-9} 2 Ch 28^{18}	2 (Mauser)
Threatened invasion by Sennacherib	2 Ki 19^{8-19} 2 Ch 32	80 (Calv., Hengst.)
Overthrow of Sennacherib before Jerusalem	2 Ki 19^{20-35} 2 Ch 32	75 (Hengst., Moll., ? Del.), 76 (Sept., Hengst., Moll., Del.), 87 (Thol., Hengst., Del.)
Destruction of Jerusalem	2 Ki 25 2 Ch 34^{11-19}	74 (De Wette, Köster), 79 (Moll.), 80 (Sp. Comm.)

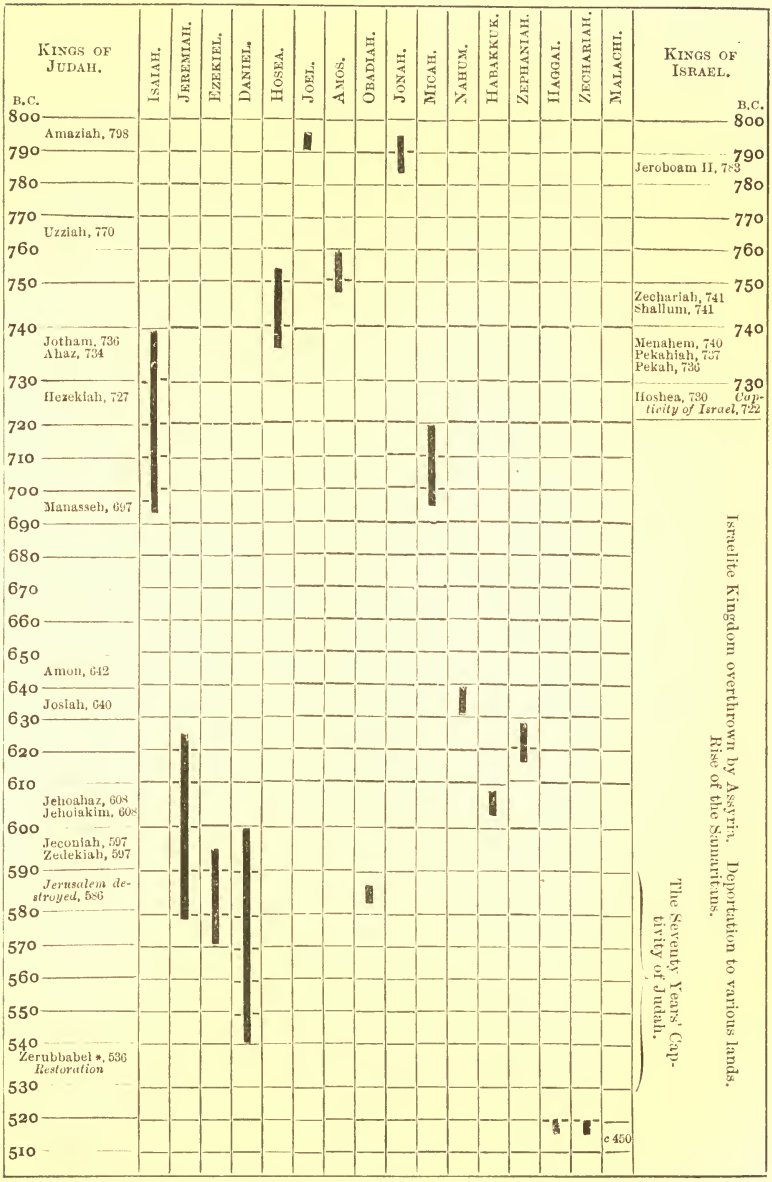
300. *Principal Quotations from and References to the Books of Kings in the New Testament.*

1 Ki 2^{10}	Ac 2^{29} 13^{36}
,, 10^{1}	Lu 11^{31}
,, 17^{1-9}	Lu $4^{25.26}$
,, 17^{22}	Heb 11^{35}
,, 18^{42}	Jas $5^{17.18}$
,, 19^{10-18}	Rom $11^{3.4}$ Jas $5^{17.18}$
2 Ki 1^{10}	Lu 9^{54}
,, 4^{34}	Heb 11^{35}
,, 5^{14}	Lu 4^{27}
,, 24^{15}	Mt 1^{12} Ac 7^{43}

Principal Quotations from and References to the Books of Chronicles in the New Testament.

1 Ch $2^{5.9}$	Mt $1^{3.4}$ Lu 3^{32}
,, 3^{10-16}	,, 1^{7-12}
,, 29^{9}	2 Cor 9^{7}
,, 29^{11}	1 Tim 1^{17}
2 Ch 18^{16}	Mt 9^{36}
,, $24^{20.21}$	,, 23^{35} Lu 11^{51}

301. COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE (APPROXIMATE) OF THE PROPHETIC WRITINGS.



The age in which Joel prophesied is very uncertain.

* It is held by many that there was a 'Second Isaiah' in the latter part of the Captivity.

Prophecy during this Period.

302. Revival of the prophetic spirit.—It was during the period now under review that the **spirit of prophecy** appeared in its most signal manifestations. The succession, indeed, of the inspired messengers of Jehovah had never ceased. Prophets like the 'man of God,' who protested against Jeroboam's idolatry at Bethel, or Hanani, who so nobly rebuked Asa for confederacy with heathen Syria, or Zechariah, whose testimony for God in the days of Joash cost him his life, or Elijah and Elisha in the northern kingdom in the days of Ahab and his successors, performed each his part in appealing to the conscience of the people and declaring Jehovah's will; but the first *prophetic books* date from the eighth or ninth century B.C. Of the sixteen prophets whose writings are included in Scripture, Jonah, Amos, and Hosea addressed the Israelites before the destruction of Samaria, as did Isaiah and Micah in part; though these latter prophesied to Judah chiefly. After the captivity of the Ten Tribes, Jeremiah prophesied briefly concerning them, as did Ezekiel. Most of the prophecies, however, are devoted to the destinies of Judah, of heathen nations, and of the Church.

303. General Lessons of Prophecy. A synoptical view of the prophecies of Scripture is given at the close of the Introduction to Malachi, § 372, grouped according to the aim or general purpose of each.

1. Prophecy on the subject of heathen nations becomes most copious in the age when these nations seem to triumph most. Their victories, and the boasting idolatrous spirit these victories cherished, severely tried the faith of true believers, and seemed to shake the credit of their religion, Ps 79 80 Lam. The pride of the conquerors is therefore rebuked, and the faith of the Church confirmed by a series of

predictions denouncing the overthrow of the very nations whose successes are foretold. See the prophecies of Isaiah to various nations; of Nahum to Assyria; of Habakkuk to the Chaldeans; of Obadiah to Edom; of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel.

2. The gradual extension of Divine revelation is highly instructive. Jonah and Nahum address, in their written prophecies, Gentiles only. Gentiles only are also the theme of the prophecies of Habakkuk and Obadiah, and have large place in most of the other prophets. Plainly, God is not the God of one place or people. His providence rules over the earth, and all people are subject to Him. Heathen nations, it is true, are introduced into Scripture prophecy, as into Scripture history, because of their connexion with the Church, or chosen nation, but the lesson remains. All are within His government, and it is distinctly intimated that all are ultimately to become obedient to His law.

3. It will be remarked, also, that the era of the decline and fall of the temporal kingdom (both of Israel and Judah) is the very era selected for the fullest and most expressive disclosure of a new and spiritual kingdom. As the first dispensation seems hastening to decay, the objects and promises of the second are set forth to our view. All the prophets who speak of the ruin speak also of the restoration, and blend with the restoration predicted blessings, such as had never yet been possessed. This arrangement clearly indicates the unchangeableness of the Divine counsel. And it does more. It displays Divine mercy. In the heart of the devout Jew, under a dispensation which promised temporal blessing as the token of Divine favour, prophecy and recent events must have created the utmost perplexity. The threatened and actual visitations were all deserved; but in that fact he found no relief. To quiet the agitations of his afflicted faith, the evangelical prophecies were interposed. By means of them, the hopes of the Church were

sent on into the more distant future and present anxieties were alleviated. As, therefore, at first, prophecy lightened the darkness of fallen nature, so now it lightens the darkness of misused or neglected grace. How much even inspired prophets needed this consolation may be gathered from the Lamentations of Jeremiah and from several of the psalms, Pss 74 79.

In the meantime, also, the spirituality of true religion, and the nature of that work on which it is founded, are more clearly disclosed. The prophets bring out the true meaning of the ancient Law, insisting on the inferiority of ritual worship, and indicating with quite evangelical plainness the Divine nature, the great Sacrifice, and the ultimate rule of the Sufferer.

4. The most remarkable lesson remains. While nearly all the prophets point to the gospel and the reign of our Lord, each speaks in language at once appropriate and peculiar. All foretell a glorious future, and the same glorious future; but the terms in which they foretell it are taken either from impending evil or contemplated good. That future is the opposite of present calamity, or it is the completion of present blessing. Joel, for example, foresees desolating invasions of Judah, but in the end the scene of desolation is Egypt and Edom; while Judah shall dwell for ever, and Jerusalem from generation to generation, $3^{19.20}$. Amos foresees the overthrow of both Samaria and Zion; but beyond these calamities he beholds a different scene. 'In that day will I raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen . . . and I will build it as in the days of old,' 9^{11}. And such is the character of all predictions till the end of the Captivity. Restoration literally is the first theme; but the predictions that foretell it borrow from it phraseology intended to express the glory of the latter days.

304. The prophets of the period form **two distinct**

groups, separated by a blank of about seventy years, including the whole reign of Manasseh. The former group includes the prophecies delivered in both the Northern and Southern Kingdoms; the latter has to do with the Southern Kingdom only. During the former, again, the power of ASSYRIA was paramount in western Asia, and once and again made Judah tributary: the latter was marked by the growing power of BABYLON, which led to the Captivity. Hence the prophets are sometimes described as belonging respectively to the 'Assyrian' and the 'Babylonian' periods.

The following tables[a] show their names and order, with the sections of the history to which they belong.

TABLE I. *Assyrian (and Pre-Assyrian) Periods.*

(From the division of the kingdom to the Captivity of Israel.)

{ 1 Ki 12—2 Ki 17 }
{ 2 Ch 12–31 }

Prophets in Israel.

JONAH: history of his mission to Nineveh.
AMOS: prophecies affecting different nations and Israel.
HOSEA: warns Israel, foretells overthrow, and points to latter days.

Prophets in Judah.

JOEL: the desolation of Judah, outpouring of the Spirit, judgements against different nations.
ISAIAH: warnings and predictions, chiefly addressed to Judah; prophecies against many nations.
MICAH: prophecies to Israel and Judah, and on the latter days.
NAHUM: after the fall of Samaria foretells the destruction of Nineveh.

Of these seven prophets, some account must now be given.

The Book of Jonah

Ninth century B.C.

305. A prophet of Israel.—Jonah succeeded Elisha as the messenger of God to the Ten Tribes. One glimpse of

[a] For Table II, see p. 511.

him only is given in the history, 2 Ki 14^{25}, where it is recorded that he foretold the enlarged territory and brief prosperity of Israel under Jeroboam II, in whose reign the prophet himself probably lived. He was a native of Gath-hepher, in Zebulun or Galilee, a few miles north of Nazareth.

306. Outline.—This book, with the exception of ch. 2, is a simple narrative, and relates that Jonah, being sent on a mission to Nineveh (the great Assyrian metropolis, at that time the chief city of the Gentile world, and distinguished equally for magnificence and wickedness), attempts to flee westwards to Tarshish; but, being overtaken by a storm in the Mediterranean, he is cast into the sea, swallowed by a great fish[a], and continues in its belly three days (ch. 1); when, earnestly praying to God, he is delivered (ch. 2). At the renewed command of God, he goes to Nineveh, and announces its destruction; upon which the Ninevites, believing his words, fast, pray, repent, and are graciously spared (ch. 3). Jonah, fearing to be thought a false prophet, repines at the mercy of God, and wishes for death. Leaving the city, he is sheltered by a gourd, which, however, shortly withers; and Jonah, manifesting great impatience and rebellion, is shown, through his concern about the gourd, the propriety of God's mercy to Nineveh (ch. 4).

Historicity of the Book.—That this book is a strictly historical narrative is argued, not only from the plain meaning of the language employed, but also from the manner in which the existence and ministry of this prophet, together with the main facts of his history, are referred to by our Lord (Mt 12^{39-41} 16^{4} Lu $11^{29,30}$), Who, explicitly recognizing his prophetical office, as He does that of Elijah, Isaiah, and Daniel, represents his being in the belly of the sea-monster as a real miracle; grounds upon it as a fact the certainty of a future analogous event in His own history; and, after mentioning the prophet's preaching at Nineveh, and the repentance of the inhabitants,

[a] In Mt 12^{40} 'whale' is an inexact rendering of the word for 'sea-monster.' The species is undetermined in either Old or New Testament.

concludes by declaring respecting Himself, 'Behold, a greater than Jonah is here.'

307. The spiritual lessons of the narrative are highly instructive. Our Lord was asked for 'a sign': He refused any but that of Jonah, whose preaching was its own witness and won Nineveh to repentance: His own generation remained unrepentant, though 'a greater than Jonah is here' (Lu 11^{29-32}. Mt adds the sign of 'three days and three nights in the heart of the earth' 12^{38-41}).

The whole narrative presents, too, the most striking contrast between the tender mercy of God, and the rebellion, impatience, and selfishness of His servant; and further, between the readiness with which the Ninevites repented, at the preaching of a prophet who visited them as a stranger, and the manner in which the Israelites treated the servants of Jehovah, who lived and laboured amongst them.

But, undoubtedly, the **great purpose** of the book was to teach the people of Israel that the Divine regard and compassion were not confined to them alone, but were extended to other subjects of God's government; also to intimate to them their high destiny, in carrying the tidings of salvation to the pagan world, and to keep up the expectation of that happy period, when repentance and the forgiveness of sins should be preached in the name of Christ to all nations. The history is thus a real example of the genius of the gospel.

In this view, some expositors have regarded the history as an allegory of post-exilic times, setting forth the relation of Israel to the heathen world and the unfaithfulness of God's people to the call made upon them to be witnesses for Him. On this interpretation, see § 139, p. 224. Whatever may be thought of it, there can be no doubt that the book finely illustrates the universality of the Divine purpose in regard to the nations, while it administers stern rebuke to Judaic intolerance.

'The Book of Jonah,' writes Dean Farrar, 'is a remarkable and beautiful book, full of large lessons of toleration, of pity, of the impossibility of flying from God, of the merciful deliverances of God, of the just retributions of God, of the infinite love of God, of man's little hatreds shamed into fatuity, dwarfed into insignificance by God's abounding tenderness. It teaches us that no man can be to the nations a herald of God's righteousness who is not a herald also of His mercy.'—*The Minor Prophets*, Men of the Bible Series, p. 243.

The Book of Amos

cir. B.C. 760.

308. Sent from Judah to Israel.—The prophets Amos and Hosea were commissioned to the Ten Tribes, and were for a time contemporaries. They prophesied during the reigns of Uzziah and Jeroboam II, and Amos saw his first vision 'two years before the earthquake,' which happened, as we learn from Zechariah, in the days of Uzziah (Zec 14^5, see also Is 5^{25}).

He appears to have prophesied in Bethel (7^{10-13}), but he did not belong to the kingdom of Israel, being an inhabitant, and probably a native, of Tekoa, a city about twelve miles south of Jerusalem, on the borders of the vast open pastures ('wilderness') of the hill country of Judah. By profession he was a herdsman, and a dresser of sycomore trees (7^{14}): 'No prophet, neither a prophet's son,' i.e. not trained to that office, but called by an irresistible Divine commission (3^8 7^{15}) to prophesy unto Israel. This fact he explicitly declares when Amaziah, the idolatrous priest in Bethel, charged him with conspiring against Jeroboam. His previous occupation ought to have removed all suspicion of political connexion with the house of David, and to us it illustrates the grace which selects its ministers 'from the tents of the shepherd, as well as from the palace of the sovereign,' qualifying each for the duties to which he is called (see 1 Cor $1^{27,28}$). Amos withdrew from Bethel unmolested, and, as it has been said, 'went home to Tekoa to write his prophecies.'

Amos speaks of himself as the author (7^8 $8^{1,2}$), and his prophetic character is established by the testimony of Stephen the first martyr, and James (Ac $7^{42,43}$ 15^{15-17}), as well as by the exact fulfilment of his predictions. The style of Amos is simple, but by no means deficient in picturesque beauty. His manner of life may be traced in the illustrations he selects; which are taken mostly from rural employments: many of them are original and striking, while all have the

life and freshness of nature. His knowledge of the events of remote antiquity (9^7), and of others more recent, not elsewhere recorded (6^2), the regular course of his thoughts, and the correctness of his language, all tend to show that the responsible and often dangerous (3^{12}) occupation of a shepherd was still as favourable to mental culture as in the days of Moses and David.

The people of Israel were now at the summit of worldly prosperity, but were rapidly filling up the measure of their sins. The mission of Amos was, therefore, rather to threaten than to console. He rebukes, among other things, the corruption of their manners, which kept pace with their prosperity: he charges the great men with partiality as judges, and violence towards the poor: and he foretells, as a punishment from God, the captivity of the Ten Tribes in a foreign country; a prediction accomplished about sixty years afterwards, when Shalmaneser and Sargon, kings of Assyria, destroyed the kingdom.

309. Outline.—The book begins with a 'text,' quoted also by Joel (3^{16}) and by Jeremiah (25^{30}), and proceeds to announce Divine judgements against the states around Judah, and against the two Hebrew nations themselves (1^2). The prophet then sets before the Ephraimites their sins in detail, showing in three addresses, each beginning with the summons *Hear ye this word*, what Jehovah had done to bring them back to Himself; how they may return to Him; and the chastisements which were in reserve for their obduracy (3–6). This is followed by five symbolical visions, representing successive punishments to be inflicted on the Israelites, each more severe than the preceding. The certainty and the near approach of their ruin is declared (8-9^8).

But, beyond the punishment of the people's sins, the prophet is commissioned to foretell new things in the distant future. Jehovah will not utterly destroy the house of Israel; but, after sifting and cleansing it among the nations, will raise it again to more than its former glory, in the kingdom of the Messiah (9^{11-15}). In the blessings of this kingdom the Gentiles are also to share (see Ac $15^{16.17}$). The book is remarkable for the explicitness with which it recognizes the

universal sovereignty of Jehovah (cf. Ro 3^{29}). The title of God most frequently employed is 'The Lord (Adonai) Jehovah.'

After the third vision the narrative of Amaziah's attempt to ruin the prophet (7^{10-16}) is introduced, showing how Amos vindicated his prophetic mission, and predicted the doom of his calumniator. Between the fourth and fifth visions, again, there is a stirring denunciation, especially against fraudulent commercial dealings, with the renewed appeal, *Hear ye this* (8^{4-14}).

A special feature in the Book of Amos is the extent to which his language and allusions imply a familiarity with the books of Moses. See 2^{10} (Dt 29^{5}); 4^{6-10} (Dt 4^{30} 30^{2}); 4^{11} (Dt 29^{23}); 5^{11} (Dt $38^{30.39}$); 5^{12} (Num 35^{31}).

References to Amos in the New Testament.

310. There are citations by Stephen in his address to the Sanhedrin, and by James in the Council of Jerusalem; Ac $7^{42.43}$ 15^{16-18}. In the former, the extension of the phrase 'beyond Damascus' to 'beyond Babylon' is very noticeable. In the latter, the 'residue of *men*' is from the LXX, the Hebrew reading being, as in A.V. and R.V., 'the remnant of *Edom*': 'Man' and 'Edom' are alike in the Hebrew consonants. Whichever reading be adopted, the testimony of the prophet to the universality of the gospel is very striking.

There is also a remarkable coincidence between 3^{7} and Rev 10^{7}, declaring the revelation of the mystery of God to the prophets.

The Book of Hosea

B.C. 785–740.

311. A Prophet of Israel.—The prolonged ministry of this prophet was confined to the Northern Kingdom, to which he evidently belonged, in the days of King Jeroboam II, and afterwards. His name, signifying 'Salvation,' is identical with the early name of Joshua (Num $8^{13.16}$), and with that of the last King of Israel (usually written Hoshea). It is held

on good grounds that he prophesied at least until the days of Menahem.

Burden of his message.—Hosea addresses the Ten Tribes under the titles of Israel, of Samaria, which had been, since the days of Omri, their capital, and of Ephraim, the most distinguished of the tribes, to which Jeroboam, their first king, belonged. The spirit of idolatry manifested in his days at Dan and Bethel, had now been continued in various forms for more than 150 years, and had diffused every form of vice among all classes. The last short interval of outward prosperity under Jeroboam II was already beginning to yield to general anarchy and decay. The kings and princes were murderers and profligates (7^{3-7}): the idolatrous priests had spread their shameful festivals and their deceitful oracles all over the land (4^{12-14} 10 12 13^{2}): the great parties in the state resorted for help sometimes to Assyria, at other times to Egypt (2 Ki 15^{19} 17^{4}), the two great world-powers of the time: while the whole nation relied entirely on human help (5^{13} 7^{8-12} $8^{9.10}$ 10^{13}, &c.): worldly and sinful objects were pursued with the same eagerness by Ephraim as by Canaan ($12^{7.8}$): a listless security blinded all minds (5^{4} 12^{8}): giving place in the moment of danger to a repentance merely of the lips (7^{16}): and, what was the root of all the other evils, God and His word were forgotten (4^{1-6} 8^{12}).

This condition the prophet most earnestly condemns, using the facts of his own sad domestic history to reprove their idolatry. With keen and sorrowful emphasis, intensified by bitter experience, he describes their departure from God as adultery—the violation of a solemn covenant, and the alienation of affection from God. These lessons were illustrated in the assassination of four kings successively, and in the general disorders of the state.

For probably sixty years these warnings and appeals were continued, without success:—a pathetic example of persevering fidelity under the greatest discouragements.

312. Outline.—The book may be divided into two parts, comprising, (1) A PERSONAL NARRATIVE, chs. 1–3; and (2) PROPHETIC DISCOURSES, chs. 4–14.

The History and its application.—The former part has been regarded by many as wholly symbolical, in accordance with other Old Testament imagery drawn from conjugal relations, Eze 16, &c.; but it is now generally thought to have been based upon the prophet's own experience. It relates how Hosea had married one Gomer[a], daughter of Diblaim, who bore him two sons and a daughter, but turned out to be unchaste. She forsook him for a paramour, who treated her harshly, and in the end sold her into slavery. The prophet, loving her notwithstanding all, redeemed her from bondage and gave her again a place in his house, where she sat desolate 'many days.' All this is used as a picture of the relationship between Jehovah and His people, setting forth His own tender love, repaid by their rebellion and infidelities, followed by their chastisement and rejection, with their eventual repentance and restoration. These three chapters are an abridgement of the whole book; and the gracious promises which they contain, and which are not noticed in the seven following chapters, reappear in the eleventh, and close the prophecy.

The second part contains several prophetic discourses evidently delivered at different times. Separate beginnings of these discourses may be traced, 4^1, 5^1, 8^1, 9^1, 11^{12}, and 14^1. It begins with rebukes and threatenings, including a warning to Judah to leave Israel 'alone' 4^{15-17}, i. e. not to share her guilt; but by degrees the horizon becomes clear, and the glory of the latter times shines forth with unclouded lustre.

Various attempts have been made to classify the latter chapters of the book chronologically, but without success. The general drift is clear, but there is no other indication of the order of the several prophecies than their place in the book.

Considering the long period to which the ministry of Hosea extended, it may appear surprising that his writings are comprised within so small a compass: but it must be remembered that, as in the case of others of the prophets, there is no reason to suppose that this book contains all that he uttered. Such portions only of his inspired communications are recorded, as the Holy Spirit saw fit to preserve for the benefit of the Jews, and of the world.

The language of Hosea is peculiarly difficult. His style is very

[a] It is an incidental objection to the allegorical view, that no symbolical meaning can be attached to the appellations *Gomer* and *Diblaim*. They are simply ordinary names.

concise and abrupt, abounding with figures and metaphors, which are often much intermixed; and the transitions from one subject and figure to another are frequent and sudden. The particular occasions on which his prophecies were delivered are in themselves rarely obvious, and are never specified by the author. Some parts of them, however, are peculiarly pathetic, animated, and sublime. The leading note of his utterances is an impassioned tenderness, in harmony with the personal experiences which he describes.

313. His chief predictions.—Among the more remarkable of his predictions are those in which he foretells the downfall of Samaria, with the captivities and sufferings of Israel, 5^{5-7} $9^{3.6-11}$ 10^{5-8} (where 'Jareb' is an appellative, probably 'the combatant king': so 5^{13} 13^{16}); the deliverance of Judah (fulfilled in the destruction of Sennacherib's army), 1^{7}, compare 2 Ki 19^{35}; the punishment of Judah and her cities, 5^{10} 8^{14}; the eventual conversion of Israel, and its union with Judah, $3^{4.5}$; while the final ransom of God's people from death and the grave is celebrated in the loftiest strains, $1^{10.11}$ 2^{23} 13^{14} $14^{4.8}$.

All these predictions are not equally clear: but the evangelical tenor of most, nothing can exceed. They are blended in the original with a form of phraseology closely allied to the phraseology of the ancient Law. To the Law the prophet appears specifically to allude (8^{12}), as to a written document or series of documents: 'I wrote for him the ten thousand things of My law, but they were counted as a strange thing[a]' (R.V. marg.).

Chapters 6, 13, 14 are peculiarly rich in statements adapted to awaken those feelings of penitence and faith which become the Christian and the Church in every age.

Citations of Hosea in the New Testament.

314. The Son of Jehovah called out of Egypt (11^{1}) Mt 2^{15}. See § 157. Rejection and restoration (1^{10} 2^{23}) Ro $9^{25.26}$ 1 Pet 2^{10}; the great declaration 'mercy rather than sacrifice' (6^{6}) Mt 9^{13} 12^{7} and the

[a] For an able and convincing exposition of this important passage, see Dr. Robertson's *Early Religion of Israel*, pp. 342–4.

promised destruction of death (13[14]) 1 Cor 15[55.56]. See also references that imply familiarity with the prophet's language, in Mt 20[19] and parallels (6[2]) Lu 21[22], (9[7]) Lu 23[30], and Rev 6[16] (10[8]).

The Book of Joel

Eighth century B. C.

315. A prophet in Jerusalem.—Joel, 'Jehovah is God,' was the son of Pethuel (1[1]), the only fact of his personal history which the Scriptures directly mention. Several persons at different periods bore the same name[a]. From references in his book it is inferred that he was an inhabitant of Jerusalem, and a prophet of the Southern Kingdom, not a priest (1[13–14] 2[17]).

The date of Joel has been much discussed. The chief fact bearing upon it is that his prophecy mentions among the enemies of his country the Phœnicians, Philistines, Edomites, and Egyptians, making no reference to Assyrians and Babylonians, a clear indication that he wrote either before these powers had become formidable, or after they had ceased to be so. He must have been, therefore, among the earliest or the latest of the prophets. The former view has been most generally held and appears to be correct. The whole book indicates, moreover, that the prophet lived at a time when the people of Judah had not fallen into that extreme depravity which, in later times, drew down upon them such heavy chastisements. These several points indicate his period as somewhere between the reigns of Joash and Uzziah. He was contemporary with Hosea and Amos; and as they addressed *Israel*, so he addressed *Judah*.

316. Outline.—In the first chapter (1–2[11]), the prophet delineates, with most graphic force, an impending devastation, successive armies of locusts (1[4]), and burning drought

[a] Samuel's eldest son, 1 Sa.8[2]. See also 1 Ch 6[36] 7[3] 11[38] 15[7] 27[20].

(verses 18, 19), representing in this form, probably, the calamities consequent on coming invasions.

He then, in the second chapter, exhorts to penitence, fasting, and prayer (2^{12-17}), promising the removal of these evils, and rich evangelical blessing. He foretells in the clearest terms the effusion of the Holy Spirit (2^{18-31} Ac 2^{1-21} 10^{11}), and the 'terrible day of the Lord' (2^{31} 3^{14} cf. Mt 24^{29}).

In the former chapter the delineation is evidently *literal*, depicting the most grievous form of calamity that can befall an agricultural people. The question is whether in the second chapter also the same interpretation holds, or whether the locust-plague is symbolically used for a hostile invasion (cf. Rev 9^{3-11}); or for repeated invasions, as those by Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, and Nebuchadnezzar; or even for the subjugation of the country by yet later foes. Others, as Olshausen, combine these views, and deem it a description of impending calamity generally, both literal and figurative. 'Locust' is certainly used with this double reference in Scripture; and in the second chapter expressions are used with apparently a double aspect, as like expressions were afterwards used by our Lord, Mt 24, referring to an earlier and a final visitation. Indeed, as all great and Divine deliverances prefigure or represent deliverance through the Cross, so all great punitive visitations supply figures for describing the Judgement.

In ch. 3, he foretells the assembling of the nations in the Valley of Jehovah's Judgement (Jehoshaphat[a]) and their destruction, the establishment of Jerusalem as the holy city, and the glorious state of peace and prosperity to be enjoyed by the Church in the days of the Messiah.

The **style** of Joel is remarkably clear and elegant; obscure only towards the close, where its beauties are shaded by allusions to events not yet accomplished. The double destruction foretold in chs. 1, 2, 11, the first by the locusts, the second by the enemies of whom they were harbingers, is painted in terms that are reciprocally metaphorical, and admirably adapted to the twofold character of the description.

[a] Not the valley usually so named; but the scene of Jehoshaphat's victory over the confederated trans-Jordanic tribes, 2 Ch 20. This was in the wilderness of Judah, below En-gedi.

Joel and Amos.—The words of Joel 3^{16} furnish a key-note to Am 1^{2}; another indication of Joel's earlier date. On the contrary and less probable supposition, Joel takes the announcement of impending doom from Amos.

References to Joel in the New Testament.

317. Peter, on the Day of Pentecost, quotes Joel's prediction respecting 'the last days' 2^{28-32} as fulfilled in the gift of the Holy Spirit, Ac 2^{17-21}. The closing words of this prophecy are quoted by Paul, Ro 10^{13}.

The locust-symbol of a destroying army, chs. 1, 2, is reproduced in the Apocalypse, Rev 9^{7-9}.

The Book of Isaiah

B.C. 740–701.

318. Isaiah's Personal History.—Isaiah, the greatest of the prophets, was called to the prophetic office in the reign of Uzziah, King of Judah, and continued to prophesy during the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, perhaps also during a portion of the reign of Manasseh. He was statesman as well as prophet; and we find him repeatedly speaking and acting in connexion with public affairs. Of his father, Amoz, nothing is known, though Jewish tradition makes him a brother of King Amaziah; from the same doubtful source comes the legend that Isaiah was put to death by Manasseh, being sawn asunder for contradicting or adding to the Mosaic Law[a] (Is 6^{1} compared with Ex 33^{20}). His wife is styled by him the 'prophetess' (8^{3}), and they had two sons, whose names and history illustrate and enforce his predictions (7^{3} $8^{3.4}$). His name means *Salvation*

[a] This account of Isaiah's martyrdom cannot be definitely traced beyond the second century A.D. There *may*, however, be reference to it in Heb 11^{37}. The legend is given in detail in the book entitled *The Ascension of Isaiah*. See Deane's *Pseudepigrapha*, 1891, p. 236 sq.

of Jehovah, and is, in a large degree, descriptive of his character and writings.

The duration of his ministry is uncertain. From the last year of Uzziah, when the prophet received his Divine commission, to the fourteenth (or perhaps twenty-fourth [a]) of Hezekiah, when Isaiah's name last occurs in the history (2 Ki 20[1] Is 38[1]), was a period of forty years, and, according to the above-mentioned Jewish tradition, he survived till the days of Manasseh.

When Isaiah entered on his office, the throne was occupied by UZZIAH, or Azariah, a king whose general character was that of integrity and piety; and under whose reign the nation enjoyed great temporal prosperity. He was a worshipper of the true God; though he failed to remove the *asherahs* and high places established for idolatrous worship. Uzziah was succeeded by his son JOTHAM, whose general character was like that of his father; but the idolatrous altars were still allowed to remain, and owing to the increase of luxury and sensual indulgence, true piety declined more and more. The next king, AHAZ, was a wicked and idolatrous prince; and his reign was very disastrous. The law of God was broken in the most reckless manner, and the Temple not only defaced and plundered, but, at last, shut up. During this period, Isaiah came forward publicly, as a reprover of sin; but his counsels and warnings were disregarded. HEZEKIAH'S character was the reverse of that of his father. He abolished idolatry, restored the Temple and worship of Jehovah, and relieved the people from foreign oppression. He treated Isaiah with great respect; and during the agitating occurrences of his reign, the prophet had an important part in directing the public counsels.

319. The life of Isaiah includes **the last years of the Northern Kingdom of Israel.** Under Jeroboam II, the contemporary of Uzziah, it had flourished; but for several years it had been unsettled, one military adventurer after another seizing the crown; and at length, in the sixth year of Hezekiah, Samaria was overthrown, the inhabitants of the land being removed.

His prophecies, however, have little reference to the condition of Samaria, and are directed chiefly to Judah.

[a] See § 320, 5.

The relation of Judah to neighbouring nations it is important to remember. With Moab, Edom, and the Philistines, Judah had continued conflicts. Though within the boundaries of Judah, and subdued by David, they were constantly endeavouring to maintain an independent position; and during the reign of godless, feeble kings, their efforts were generally successful. Assyria had increased in strength, and was extending her conquests on all sides. Egypt had been subdued by Ethiopia, and both countries were united under one dynasty. Assyria and Egypt were both preparing for a coming struggle, and each in succession sought the alliance of both Judah and Israel, as a bulwark against the other. The right policy, in regard either to the temporal interests or to the religious character of the Jewish kingdoms, was clearly to stand aloof from both. Babylon was at this time an inferior kingdom, struggling against Assyria for independence, and rising slowly into importance. Hence the policy of Merodach-baladan in sending an embassy to Hezekiah: hence, also, the need of Divine teaching, to foretell the future power of Babylon, and the subjugation by *it* of the kingdom of Judah a century and a half after Isaiah's time ($39^{6,7}$).

The most remarkable events of this period are, the invasion of Judah by the combined forces of Syria and Israel in the days of Ahaz; twelve years later the invasions of Shalmaneser and Sargon, which issued in the overthrow of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes; and the two Assyrian invasions of Judah, the second and more formidable of which ended in the destruction of Sennacherib's army. Within the same period fall the two most remarkable epochs of chronology—A. U. C., B. C. 753, and the era of Nabonassar, B. C. 747. Just before the days of Isaiah is the date of the first Olympiad, B. C. 776. See, on these dates, Part I, § 201.

320. Outline.—The Book of Isaiah falls into **two distinct portions,** containing thirty-nine and twenty-seven chapters respectively. To these a separate consideration must be given.

First Part, 1–39.—This contains prophetic addresses and warnings of different dates, many of them bearing immediately on the morals, piety, and welfare of the nation; while others relate to the heathen nations by which Judah was surrounded and brought into conflict. This part of the book may be divided into five sections.

1. Reproofs, warnings, and promises addressed to Judah

and Israel, chiefly during the early part of the prophet's ministry, including, after a prefatory chapter (1), the great prophetic discourse (2–4), founded probably, as in Mic 4^{1-4}, upon a text from an older prophecy. The parable of the Vineyard follows, with solemn warnings of judgement (5). The section is closed by Isaiah's account of his call and commission (6).

2. Account of the alliance of Syria with the Northern Kingdom of Israel (Ephraim) against Judah in the days of King Ahaz, who looks to Assyria for aid—a policy steadfastly denounced by Isaiah ($7-9^{7}$). The 'sign' of *Immanuel* given to reassure the king and people. Assyria to be overthrown, Israel exalted (9^{8}–10), a prophecy including the Ten Tribes. The close of chapter 10 gives a graphic description of the advance of the Assyrian host (under Sargon) in its futile attempt upon Jerusalem. The power of Assyria, like a forest of Lebanon in its might and pride, to be overcome by the sprout from the stem of Jesse (10^{33}–11^{10}), type of the Messiah Who will establish a Kingdom of Peace, and awaken a grateful song of praise (11^{8}–12).

3. The Ten Burdens : a series of predictions regarding neighbouring hostile nations; in which are described the sins and destruction of Babylon ($13-14^{23}$); Philistia (14^{28-32}); Moab (15, 16); Damascus, i. e. Syria (17); Ethiopia and Egypt (18–20); the 'Wilderness of the Sea,' i. e. Babylon (21^{1-10}); Dumah, i. e. Edom ($21^{11,12}$); Arabia (21^{13-17}); the 'Valley of Vision,' i. e. Jerusalem (22); and Tyre (23).

The nations here named are 'specimens of the heathen world as regards their attitude towards the Kingdom of God on earth,' including Jerusalem, as exposed by its sins to judgement. The graphic description of Ethiopia as 'the land rustling with wings' (R. V.) refers to its swarms of insect-life[a] (Heb. *tsiltsal*; cf. the word

[a] Delitzsch remarks (*Comm.* in loc.) that 'the prophet, in association with the swarms of insects, has in his mind the motley swarms of

tsetse, the native name of *Glossina morsitans*). The 'Sea' poetically indicates the Euphrates, and the wilderness is the great Babylonian plain abutting to the south-west on the Arabian Desert. Jerusalem, a 'valley,' because encircled by mountains (see Ps 125^2), was the home of prophecy—an aggravation of its unfaithfulness.

In connexion with these 'burdens' uttered at various times are two remarkable episodes—the appearance of the prophet, barefooted and stripped of his outer garment, as a type of the shame to which dependence on Egypt would bring the people (20); the deposition of Shebna, steward of the royal household, and the appointment of Eliakim in his place (22^{15-25}).

Most remarkable, however, among these multiplied predictions is that of the final reconciliation of Egypt with Assyria and Egypt in the Kingdom of Jehovah (19^{23-25}).

4. The chapters that follow (24–27) are undated and have no definite historical background[a]. In a strain of sublimity unsurpassed they portray the judgements of Jehovah against the world's sin, with the security and triumph of His people. This part of the prophecy—'Isaiah's Apocalypse' as it has well been called—has afforded to the Church of all ages many of its richest promises and tenderest consolations[b]. From these, we pass in chs. 28–31 to a renewed 'Book of Woes'—against profligate and doomed Samaria (28), against David's 'Ariel,' Jerusalem, the 'Hearth of God,' where His altar fires burned (29), and against the nations of heathendom with all who seek their alliance (30, 31). Then comes the vision of a kingdom of righteousness and peace (32), followed again by a tremendous outburst against Assyria, now gathering for the onslaught upon Judah (33), and against Edom (34)—the very climax of terrible predictions. In lively contrast with all this, the long series of prophecies closes (35) with a picture of the blessedness prepared for 'the redeemed' and 'the ransomed of Jehovah,' when sorrow and sighing shall flee away.

5. History of the invasion of Sennacherib, with the destruction of his army in answer to Hezekiah's prayer. Hezekiah's sickness, his miraculous recovery, and the prolongation of his life for fifteen years (36–38). Visit of ambassadors from Merodach-baladan, King of Babylon,

people of this great kingdom, which were fabulously strange to an Asiatic.'

[a] Excepting one brief reference to Moab, 25^{10}.

[b] See 26^3 'perfect peace'; 26^1 'a Rock of Ages'; $26^{19.20}$.

ostensibly to congratulate the king on his recovery, possibly also to inquire into the astronomical phenomenon [a]; but principally, no doubt, to cement the alliance against Assyria. Isaiah is inspired to perceive the ominous character of the alliance, and predicts in explicit terms the Babylonian Captivity of a far-off day (39).

In the narration of these successive events there is a chronological difficulty, which recent discoveries in the Assyrian records have gone far to solve. In ch. 36^{1} and the parallel passage 2 Ki 18^{15} 'Sennacherib, King of Assyria' is said to have invaded Judah in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah. But the fourteenth year of Hezekiah corresponds with the tenth year of Sargon, the father of Sennacherib. Hence some critics have supposed that for 'fourteenth' we should read 'twenty-fourth.' But it now appears from the monuments that there was a prior invasion of Judah by Sargon which created great alarm, but came to nothing (to this probably the vivid description in 10^{28-32} refers). Some transcriber may have added the name Sennacherib to the words 'the king of Assyria.' Or it may be (less probably) that in this first invasion Sennacherib was his father's general. In any case an interval must be placed between 36^{1} and 36^{2}, the details that follow belonging to the second and more eventful invasion.

It must also be observed that the illness of Hezekiah occurred before this invasion of Sennacherib, although narrated after it. For as the king lived for fifteen years after his recovery (38^{5}), and reigned in all for twenty-nine years (2 Ki 18^{2}), the illness must have occurred in his fourteenth regnal year or contemporaneously (according to the view above given) with Sargon's abortive attack. See Chronological Appendix.

321. Second Part, 40–66.—This division of the book differs from the former in being a continuous prophetic discourse, of which the starting-point is the Babylonian Captivity, as predicted in ch. 39^{5-8}. But while the leading theme is the deliverance from exile, the inspired seer goes on to dwell upon the accomplishment of redemption, and the triumphs of God's Kingdom to the end of time.

[a] For an account of the sun-dial of Ahaz, on which the shadow went back, see Smith's *Dict. Bible*, second ed., art. 'Dial.'

The main theme of the entire book, in both its divisions, is thus 'the grace of God to Israel in successive testing-times.' These times are noted in the historical sections—the deliverance from *Syria and Ephraim* in the days of Ahaz (7, 8), the rescue from the yet more formidable power of *Assyria*, foreshadowed to Ahaz and more fully declared to Hezekiah (10^5–12, &c.); passing to the greatest deliverance of all, that from *Babylon*, which power, in 'the perspective of prophecy,' was one with Assyria (13–27, 40, &c.); the whole, by many links, being connected with the future great Redemption. There is thus a sublime unity of conception pervading the book. It exhibits the world-powers in their conflict with the Kingdom of God, which triumphs in the end, and wins the whole earth to its beneficent sway.

Many modern critics, however, hold that the passages which relate to the deliverance from Babylon were the work of a **later prophet**, to whom they attribute the chapters from 40 to the end. The opinion has so far gained ground that to speak of 'Second Isaiah' has become almost a commonplace of critical and general literature [a]. While, to a large extent, this view is associated with outspoken or tacit denial of the predictive element in prophecy, there are many critics who disclaim such denial, and yet hold to the existence of this Deutero-Isaiah. A brief reference to this question is therefore necessary.

This broad severance of the book into two sections, the one written by Isaiah, the other by an unnamed prophet of the Exile, may be considered apart from that further critical dismemberment with which it is too often associated. In the one case we are dealing with a solid body of opinion; in the other with varying speculations which split up Isaiah into anonymous fragments [b].

External evidence is all in favour of the unity of the book. Until within the last hundred years, the unhesitating belief of the Jewish

[a] Otherwise 'the Deutero-Isaiah,' 'the Babylonian Isaiah,' 'the Great Unnamed' (Ewald).

[b] See, e. g., *Isaiah printed in Seven Colours* (Haupt), ed. Cheyne, 1898. Critical sagacity is even supposed to be so fine as to discriminate between different authors in one and the same verse. Some passages in the First Part, alleged to be later than Isaiah's time, are $13–14^{28}$ $21^{1–10}$ 24–27 34 35 36–39.

and Christian Church (with the doubtful exception of the Jewish writer Aben Ezra in the twelfth century A. D.), as well as the implicit authority of CHRIST and His Apostles, has assigned the whole to Isaiah the son of Amoz [a]. The LXX and other versions give no hint of dual authorship. The ancient belief is well expressed by the son of Sirach, who writes (Ecclus $48^{24.25}$ R.V.), when recounting the annals of Hezekiah's day, that Isaiah the prophet

'Saw by an excellent spirit what should come to pass at the last;
And he comforted them that mourned in Sion.
He showed the things that should be to the end of time,
And the hidden things or ever they came.'

In the New Testament, as shown below, the references to 'Isaiah the prophet' are divided almost equally between the two parts of the book, those to the latter part being slightly the more numerous. Now, the main problem lies in *the change of place, time, and situation which confronts us in* ch. 40. The final prophecy of Isaiah, against Sennacherib, 37^{21-35}, is uttered B. C. 701: the prophecies which begin with ch. 40 seem to be addressed to the captives in Babylon in the later years of their exile, say 598-550. If Isaiah wrote them, instead of the prophet of righteousness to his own generation he has become the seer, carried forward in vision a century and a half, and writing what he saw as a bequest for his exiled nation.

Dr. (afterwards Dean) Bradley, before the University of Oxford in 1875, sketches this view (without pronouncing judgement upon it) in graphic language [b]: 'The Isaiah,' he says, 'of the vexed and stormy times of Ahaz and Hezekiah is supposed in his later days to have been transplanted by God's Spirit into a time and a region other than his own. . . . He is led in prolonged and solitary vision into a land that he has never trodden, and to a generation on whom he has never looked. The familiar scenes and faces, among which he had lived and laboured, have grown dim and disappeared. All sounds and voices of the present are hushed, and the interests and passions into which he had thrown himself with all the intensity of his race and

[a] There is a list of prophetic books in a treatise of the Talmud (*Baba Bathra*) in which the order is given thus: Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, the Minor Prophets; as though Isaiah, at least in part, came after Ezekiel. The order, however, appears to be not of *date* but of *length*. See Dr. C. H. H. Wright in Smith's *Dict. Bible*, vol. i (2nd ed.), p. 1451.

[b] Sermon reported in the Oxford *Undergraduates' Journal*, February, 1875, and quoted by Professor Cheyne in an Essay supplementary to his *Isaiah* (vol. ii. p. 227, 3rd ed.).

character move him no more. The present has died out of the horizon of his soul's vision. . . . The voices in his ears are those of men unborn, and he lives a second life among events and persons, sin and suffering, and fears and hopes, photographed sometimes with the minutest accuracy on the sensitive and sympathetic medium of his own spirit; and he becomes the denouncer of the special sins of a distant generation, and the spokesman of the faith and hope and passionate yearning of an exiled nation, the descendants of men living when he wrote in the profound peace of a renewed prosperity.'

But, it may fairly be asked, is there anything impossible in this, *if the prediction of the future be once admitted as an element in prophecy?* The answer given is—not impossible, but so exceptional as to be, failing conclusive evidence to the contrary, highly improbable, and it is held that tradition is not conclusive, especially as these chapters nowhere claim Isaiah's authorship, and are indeed separated from his undoubted oracles by an historical narrative of some length.

As a rule, the inspired Old Testament seers took their stand upon their own times, and addressed their contemporaries (see § 145). There can be no doubt that, if the fortieth and eight following chapters had come to us anonymously, without any save internal indications of authorship and date, they would have been assigned to the time of the Captivity. When in ch. $1^{7.8}$ the prophet bewails the desolation of Judah, we know that he is describing the existing condition of the land: and when we come upon an entirely similar passage in ch. $64^{10.11}$ it would be natural to conclude that we have there also the words of a contemporary. But the unity of Isaiah would imply that the prophet's position in the former cases was *actual*, in the latter *ideal*.

Then, again, the mention of Cyrus by name (44^{28} 45^{1}) is unlike the usual scope of prophecy. There is one parallel instance—but only one—in the reference to Josiah, 1 Ki 13^{2}, nearly three hundred years before that king's time. These instances may extend our conception of scripture prophecy, but assuredly do not invalidate it. It must be remembered that God Himself, by the mouth of Isaiah, appeals to former declarations regarding the future now being fulfilled, in proof of His own claim to know the end from the beginning. See 41^{21} sq. 43^{9} sq. 44^{7} sq. $45^{19.21}$ 46^{10} sq. 48^{3} sq. If these were simply 'prophecies after the event,' the challenge fails.

There are many incidental considerations bearing upon the main issue. Words and phrases common to the two sections, and those that are peculiar to one or the other, have been much discussed. Among these, the special appellation of Jehovah, 'the Holy One of Israel,' is remarkably characteristic of both, and is hardly found elsewhere in Scripture. Again, while it is urged on the one hand

that the later chapters contain allusions to facts and incidents of Babylonian life, as if from an author conversant with them, it is replied on the other that the local colouring is mostly, and very strikingly, that of Judæa. Rocks, mountains, and forests are in the prophet's landscapes; the horizon of his view extends to the islands of the sea; the flocks are those of Kedar; the rams those of Nebaioth; the trees are the cedar and the acacia, the pine and the box, with the oaks of Bashan and the woodland heights of Carmel. In particular, that terrible section which describes the lingering idolatries of Judah (56', 57) places the scene of them 'in the torrent-valleys, under the cliffs of the rocks, among the smooth stones of the stream.' 'As there are,' writes Dean Payne Smith, 'no torrents, but only canals, in the flat, alluvial soil of Babylonia, so there are no torrent-beds there; but these form a common feature of the landscape in Palestine and all mountainous countries[a].' In fact, the whole description of idolatrous practices given in this section is so inapplicable to all that we know of Babylonia and the Jewish exiles, that it must be referred to another place and period, whatever may be said of the rest.

It is not pretended that the subject is free from difficulty. But whatever conclusion be adopted on a candid consideration of the evidence, it is well to remember, in the words of Delitzsch, italicized by him to convey his sense of their importance, that *if we only allow that the prophet was a prophet, it is of no essential consequence to what age he belonged*[b].

Similarly, Dr. A. B. Davidson remarks, in his *Lectures on Old Testament Prophecy*, that 'the question is one of fact and criticism exclusively, and not a matter either of faith or practice. Such questions ought to be kept as far away as possible from all interference with the articles of religion. How can it affect one's religious condition whether he believes Isaiah to be the single author of the prophecies attributed to him, or to have had others joined with him? And I wish to say that I think we ought to repudiate and resent the attempts that are made to make the question one of religious belief, and to endeavour so to place the question that it do not become so[c].'

A whole literature has grown up around this question. The English student may be referred for varying views to the Bible Dictionaries

[a] *Prophecy a Preparation for Christ*, see p. 295, 2nd ed. (1871).

[b] *Commentary on Isaiah*, 1st ed., 1866. Dr. Delitzsch then held to the single authorship of Isaiah; and to 'the Babylonian horizon' as unveiled by special revelation to the son of Amoz. In his later life, however, he altered his views, and accepted the theory of a Deutero-Isaiah. See the second ed. of his *Commentary*, 1890.

[c] See chap. xv, throughout: 'The Isaianic Problem,' especially p. 271.

and Cyclopædias, and for a vindication of the traditional view to Nagelsbach's *Commentary* in the Lange series, translated by Dr. Lowrie of Philadelphia, 1878; to the work of Principal G. C. M. Douglas, *Isaiah One and his Book One*, 1895; also to *Lines of Defence of the Biblical Revelation* by Professor D. S. Margoliouth, 1900, ch. iii; to the *Introduction* to Isaiah in the *Speaker's Commentary*, by Dr. W. Kay, § iii; and, for another line of argument, to *The Servant of the Lord*, by W. Urwick, M.A., 1877. The arguments for the Babylonian authorship are given by Dr. Driver in his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, and in his book on *Isaiah* in the 'Men of the Bible' series, pp. 185–212, where the arguments on both sides are carefully stated; by Professor A. F. Kirkpatrick in his *Doctrine of the Prophets*, Lect. xiii, 1892; and by Dr. A. B. Davidson in his posthumous *Lectures* quoted on the preceding page. Dean Stanley has summarized the arguments on this side of the question in a popular form in his *History of the Jewish Church*, vol. ii. pp. 499 sq. (ed. 1883). On the other hand, the linguistic evidence is carefully treated and Dr. Driver's list examined in detail by Mrs. Jeffreys, *The Unity of the Book of Isaiah*, with a preface by Dr. Sinker (1899), and the 'position which no Hebrew writer of note has ever assailed' is maintained by a born Jew, Rev. Michael Rosenthal, in his *Two Sermons at St. Mary's, Oxford* (Parker, 1888).

322. Outline continued.—This Second Part of the book may be divided into three main sections, each occupying nine chapters. The *first* (40–48) refers to the deliverance from Babylon, the central theme being the greatness of Jehovah in contrast with the gods of the nations, the most impressive illustration being the subordination of Cyrus, the heathen conqueror, to the accomplishment of the Divine will. The *second* section rises to a yet nobler strain (49–58), where the leading topic is the achievement of redemption through sorrow and sacrifice. Each of these portions ends with the *refrain*, 'There is no peace, saith Jehovah, to the wicked' (48^{22} 57^{21}). Of the *third* section, the prevailing thought is the establishment of God's universal Kingdom and its triumph over every opposing form of evil. The 'holy mountain Jerusalem' appears, as at the beginning of Isaiah's predictions (66^{20}; cp. 2^{2}); and in yet loftier vision the 'new heavens and the new earth' as in the Apocalypse of John (66^{22}; cp. Rev 21^{1}).

323. The Servant of Jehovah.—But the leading feature of these first and second sections, enstamping upon them a character absolutely unique, and allying them with all that is greatest in the scheme of Divine revelation, is the delineation of THE SERVANT OF JEHOVAH. Rightly to understand the several passages in which this conception is wrought out, is to gain an insight at once into the spirit of prophecy, and into the nature of Redemption.

Comparing the passages in which this Servant of Jehovah is described, we note that the designation is in several instances applied to *Israel* (or 'Jacob') *collectively*, $41^{8.9}$ $44^{1.2.21}$ 45^{4} 48^{20} 49^{3}. These passages are, in fact, the key to the rest—Israel, as Jehovah's servant, the object of Divine guardianship, bearing a Divine commission, witnessing for God to the nations, the appointed minister of His will. Such was the ideal Israel—often indeed falling below this high character—'blind' and 'deaf' (42^{19}), but still the chosen depositary and instrument of the Divine purpose (44^{26}). But the ideal seeks a yet higher realization, and becomes *personally* realized, in One Who Himself and alone combines all the attributes delineated. 'Behold, My Servant shall deal wisely, He shall be exalted and lifted up, and be very high.' Henceforth the prophecy concentrates itself upon Him. To employ the fine illustration of Delitzsch, 'The idea of the Servant of Jehovah assumes, to speak figuratively, the form of a pyramid: the base was Israel as a whole; the central section was that Israel which was not merely Israel according to the flesh, but according to the spirit also; the apex is the Person of the Mediator of salvation springing out of Israel.' In this character He becomes the representative of His people, He bears their griefs and carries their sorrows, the chastisement of their peace is upon Him and His soul is made an offering for sin. So is Jehovah's purpose accomplished: the pleasure of the Lord prospers in His hand.

After this crowning delineation, there is no mention by the prophet of Israel, or any human agent, as 'the Servant of Jehovah.' The one true Servant has appeared, and all others are servants in subordination to Him.

324. It is here that Isaiah is most truly seen as the **Evangelical Prophet.** If in the former part of the book the Messiah is revealed as King—the Branch from the root of Jesse—in this He appears as the Sufferer for sin, the

Redeemer and Sacrifice. The two views are not contradictory but supplemental. In the vision of the Apocalypse, the seer was bidden to behold 'the Lion of the Tribe of Judah, the Root of David.' 'And I looked,' he continues, 'and lo a Lamb as it had been slain.' Here, as in a parable, appears the spirit of the two books which bear the name of the prophet Isaiah.

325. *Principal Quotations and Allusions in the New Testament.*

PART I.

1^{9} 'a remnant' (LXX 'a seed'). So Ro 9^{29}.
6^{1-3} 'His Glory.' Cp. Jn 12^{41} Rev $4^{2.6.8}$.
$6^{9.10}$ the heart hardened to Divine teaching, Mt 13^{13-15} Jn 12^{39-44} Ac 28^{25-27}.
7^{14} the Emmanuel passage, Mt 1^{21-23}.
$8^{12.13}$ 'Sanctify Jehovah of Hosts,' 1 Pet $3^{14.15}$.
8^{14} the stumbling-stone, Ro $9^{32.33}$.
$8^{17.18}$ 'the children whom Jehovah hath given me,' Heb 2^{13}.
$9^{1.2}$ light to the people that walked in darkness, Mt 4^{14-16}.
$10^{22.23}$ a remnant to be saved, Ro $9^{27.28}$.
11^{4} 'the rod of His mouth and the breath of His lips,' 2 Th 2^{8}.
11^{10} 'the root of Jesse' ('shall rise to rule,' LXX), Ro 15^{12}.
21^{9} 'Fallen is Babylon,' Rev 14^{8} 18^{2}.
22^{22} 'the key of the house of David,' Rev 3^{7}.
25^{8} 'death swallowed up in victory' (LXX), 1 Cor 15^{54}.
$28^{11.12}$ 'with another tongue' (cited as from 'the law,' 1 Cor 14^{21}).
28^{16} the corner-stone laid in Zion, Ro 9^{33} 1 Pet 2^{4-6}.
29^{10} 'the spirit of slumber,' Ro 11^{8}.
29^{13} lip-service and estranged hearts, Mt $15^{7.9}$ Mk $7^{6.7}$.
29^{14} the wisdom of the wise destroyed, 1 Cor 1^{19}.
29^{16} 45^{9} the creature challenging its Creator, Ro 9^{20}.
$34^{4.10}$ the coming judgement, Rev $6^{13.14}$.
35^{3} weak hands and feeble knees, Heb 12^{12}.

PART II.

40^{3-5} the voice crying in the wilderness, Mt 3^{3} and parallels.
40^{6-8} fading glory and abiding truth, Jas $1^{10.11}$ 1 Pet $1^{24.25}$.
40^{13} 'Who hath known the mind of Jehovah?' Ro 11^{34} 1 Cor 2^{16}.
41^{4} The First and the Last, Rev $1^{8.11.17}$ 2^{8} 21^{6} 22^{13}.
42^{1-4} the Servant of Jehovah, Mt 12^{17-21}.
45^{23} 'To Me every knee shall bow,' Ro 14^{11} Phil $2^{10.11}$.

49^{6} 'a Light to the Gentiles,' Lu 2^{32} Ac 13^{47}.
49^{8} 'the acceptable time,' 2 Cor 6^{2}.
49^{10} 'they shall not hunger nor thirst,' Rev $7^{16.17}$.
$52^{6.7}$ (see Nah 1^{15}) 'feet beautiful upon the mountains,' Ro 10^{15}.
53 The suffering Servant of Jehovah: the Saviour from sin and sorrow. This chapter is almost reproduced in the N. T., applied at every point to Christ. Compare verse 4 with Mt 8^{17}, verses 5, 6 with 1 Pet $2^{24.25}$, verses 7, 8 with Ac $8^{32.33}$, verse 9 with 1 Pet 2^{22}, verse 12 with Mk 15^{28} Lu 22^{37} Heb 9^{28}.
54^{1} 'Rejoice, thou barren,' Gal 4^{27}.
54^{13} Thy children taught of God, Jn 6^{45}.
55^{3} 'the sure mercies of David,' Ac 13^{34}.
55^{10} 'seed to the sower and bread to the eater,' 2 Cor 9^{10}.
56^{7} 'a house of prayer for all people,' Mt 21^{13} and parallels.
57^{19} 'peace to him (LXX 'them') that is (are) far off,' &c., Eph 2^{17}.
59^{17} 'breastplate of righteousness, and helmet of salvation,' Eph $6^{14.17}$ 1 Th 5^{8}.
$59^{20.21}$ 'the Deliverer out of Zion,' Ro $11^{26.27}$.
$60^{3.10.11}$ the nations and the heavenly City, Rev 21^{24-26}.
$61^{1.2}$ glad tidings to the meek, Lu 4^{17-19}.
63^{3} treading the winepress, Rev $19^{13.15}$.
64^{4} mysteries of Divine love, 1 Cor 2^{9}.
$65^{1.2}$ 'found of them that sought Me not,' Ro $10^{20.21}$.
65^{17} 'New heavens and a new earth,' 2 Pet 3^{13} Rev 21^{1}.
$66^{1.2}$ Throne, footstool, and sanctuary, Mt $5^{34.35}$ Ac 7^{48-50}.
66^{24} Undying worm and quenchless fire, Mk 9^{44}.

To this array of passages, many phrases and allusions might be added, evidently derived from the prophet. In fact, *Isaiah in the New Testament* would be among the most interesting and profitable of Bible studies.

The Book of Micah

B. C. 730–695.

326. His personal history.—Micah, a contemporary of Isaiah, appears to have been a native of Moresheth-gath (1^{14}), hence the title 'Morasthite.' The place was a village about twenty miles south-west of Jerusalem, and in Philistine territory: Jerome places it near Eleutheropolis. Thus,

while Isaiah was a prophet of the court and city, Micah was a country prophet. The book contains many notes of the prophet's personality: 'And I said' (2^1); 'Woe is me!' (7^1). He seems to have been commissioned not long after Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah had begun their ministry; and he includes both Israel and Judah in his reproofs and warnings (1^1). There is a striking resemblance between the predictions of doom regarding both Samaria and Jerusalem, comp. 1^6 with 3^{12}. Greek writers (Epiphanius and others) say he was slain by Jehoram, son of Ahab; confounding him with Micaiah the son of Imlah, 2 Ki 22^{8-28}. The names are different forms of the same word, signifying 'Who is like Jehovah' (see Ex 15^{11}); Micah does not appear to have suffered martyrdom, but died in peace in the days of Hezekiah; see Jer 26^{10-19}, where it appears that Jeremiah might have been put to death for foretelling the destruction of the Temple, had it not appeared that Micah had foretold the same thing above a hundred years before. He is not only referred to as a prophet in Jeremiah, as above, but is quoted by Zephaniah (3^{19}), Ezekiel (22^{27}), and Isaiah (41^{15}). The passage 4^{1-4}, nearly identical with Is 2^{2-4}, was probably not borrowed by either of the prophets from the other, but was a prediction of an earlier time; each prophet in turn being inspired to make it the text of his discourse.

327. Outline.—His predictions may be divided into three sections.

He *first* describes the approaching ruin of both kingdoms; particularizing several of the towns and villages of Judah in his own neighbourhood, ch. 1. He then rebukes and threatens the princes, prophets, and people for their prevailing sins; introducing, however, an intimation of mercy (2^3). In the *second* section, he proceeds to unfold the future and better destinies of the people; dwelling at length upon the happiness and glory of the Church under the

reign of the Messiah; then reverting to the nearer deliverance of the Jews, and the destruction of the Assyrian power (4, 5). The *third* division exhibits the reasonableness, purity, and justice of the Divine requirements, in contrast with the ingratitude, injustice, and superstition of the people, which caused their ruin. The ethical teaching of this part of the prophecy is clear and sublime[a], its power being enhanced by interposition, as it were, of Jehovah Himself, pleading with His people. From the contemplation of this catastrophe, the prophet turns for encouragement to the unchanging truth and mercy of Jehovah, which he sets before the people as the most powerful inducement to heartfelt repentance (6, 7).

Micah has much of the poetic beauty of Isaiah, and of the vigour of Hosea. His style is, however, occasionally obscure, through conciseness and sudden transitions from one subject to another.

He foretells, in clear terms, the invasions of Shalmaneser[b] and Sennacherib[c]; the dispersion of Israel[d]; the cessation of prophecy[e]; the utter destruction of Jerusalem[f]; nor less clearly, the deliverance of Israel[g]; the birthplace of the Messianic King and His 'issuings forth' of power from the remotest past[h]; the promulgation of His gospel from Mount Zion, and its results, and the exaltation of His kingdom over all nations.

[a] 6^{5-8}. It may be noted that this paragraph is not to be taken, with some expositors (including Bishop Butler), as the words of Balaam. It is an utterance of Micah himself, as in response to Jehovah's pleading. Note that, connected with the reference to Balaam, the phrase 'from Shittim unto Gilgal' means 'from the last station east of Jordan to the first station on the west,' i. e. the eventful period of crossing of the Jordan into the Promised Land.

[b] 1^{6-8} (2 Ki $17^{4.6}$).

[c] 1^{9-16} (2 Ki 18^{13}).

[d] $5^{7.8}$.

[e] $3^{6.7}$.

[f] 3^{12}.

[g] 2^{12} 4^{10} 5^{8}.

[h] 5^{6} 'Goings forth' (or 'comings forth') is from the same root as 'shall come forth' in the same verse, and must be explained accordingly. 'From ancient time' (or 'from the days of old') is illustrated by vii. 20' (Kirkpatrick). He appeared from the beginning for the defence and deliverance of His people.

Citations from Micah in the New Testament.

328. 5^{2} The birth at Bethlehem of the coming King, Mt 2^{6}. This passage is especially remarkable for having been quoted by the 'chief priests and scribes' of Jerusalem, as an accepted prophecy of the Messiah. Comp. Jn 7^{42}. There are also striking reproductions of the prophet's language (7^{6}) in Mt $10^{35,36}$ Mk 13^{12} and Lu 12^{53}, also of 7^{20} in Lu $1^{2,73}$.

The Book of Nahum

B. C. 660–620.

329. Purpose of his Prophecy.—The Book of Nahum ('Consolation') is a striking illustration of the moral use of prophecy, of its fitness to console the believer, and strengthen him for present duties.

Nahum's history.—Of Nahum himself, nothing is known, except that he belonged to Elkosh (1^{1}), a place now unrecognized, but which Jerome asserts to have been a little village (viculus) belonging to Galilee [a]. He probably prophesied in Judah, after the Ten Tribes had been carried captive, and between the two invasions of Sennacherib. At this period of perplexity, when the overthrow of Samaria must have suggested to Judah many fears for her own safety, when Jerusalem had been drained of its treasure by Hezekiah, in the vain hope of turning away the fury of Sennacherib, and when distant rumours of the conquest of part of Egypt added still more to the general dismay, the prophet is raised up to reveal the power and tenderness of Jehovah, to foretell the subversion of the Assyrian empire, the death of Sennacherib, and the deliverance of Hezekiah.

Nineveh, the destruction of which is foretold by the prophet, was at that time the capital of a great and flourishing empire. It was a city

[a] Prologue to *Comm. on Nahum.*

of vast extent and population, and was the centre of the principal commerce of the world. Its wealth, however, was not altogether derived from trade. It was a 'bloody city,' 'full of lies and robbery' (3^1). It plundered the neighbouring nations; and is compared by the prophet to a family of lions, which 'fill their holes with prey, and their dens with ravin' ($2^{11.12}$). At the same time it was strongly fortified: its colossal walls are said by Diodorus Siculus to have been a hundred feet high, and wide enough at the summit for three chariots to be driven abreast on them; with fifteen hundred towers, bidding defiance to all enemies. Yet, so totally was it destroyed, that, in the second century after Christ, not a vestige remained of it; and its very site was long a matter of uncertainty.

330. Outline.—This book is surpassed by none in sublimity of description. It consists of a single poem; which opens with a solemn description of the attributes and operations of Jehovah (1^{2-8}). Then follows (1^{9-14}) an address to the Assyrians, describing their perplexity and overthrow; verses 12 and 13 being thrown in parenthetically, to console the Israelites with promises of future rest and relief from oppression. Chapter 2 depicts the siege and capture of Nineveh, and the consternation of the inhabitants. Chapter 3 describes the utter ruin of the city, and the various causes contributing to it. The example of No-Amon (or Thebes), a great and strong city of Egypt, which fell under the judgement of God, is introduced (3^{8-10}) to illustrate the similar punishment coming on the Assyrians. It is observable that in Nahum there is no reference to the sins of Judah as punished by the Assyrian trouble, nor is there any prediction of the Babylonian yoke (Kirkpatrick).

New Testament Reference.

331. The words of Nahum (1^{15}) 'Behold upon the mountains the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace!' are nearly as in Is $52^{6.7}$. From one of these prophets, or perhaps with a remembrance of both, they are cited Ro 10^{15}.

Prophets of the Babylonian Period (see p. 482).

TABLE II.

(Decline and Fall of the Kingdom of Judah ; and the Captivity under Nebuchadnezzar.)

{ 2 Kings 20–25. }
{ 2 Chronicles 32–36. }

Prophets in Judah.

ZEPHANIAH : warns Judah ; prophesies against various nations ; predicts restoration.

HABAKKUK : prophecies on the Chaldæan invasion and the Return.

JEREMIAH : in Jerusalem, and afterwards in Egypt ; predictions concerning Judah, Israel, and heathen nations, largely historical ; followed by LAMENTATIONS over the fall of the city.

OBADIAH : prophecies concerning Edom and the Latter Days.

EZEKIEL : on the Chebar ; beholds the Divine glory ; counsels and warnings to his fellow exiles ; speaks of the destruction of Jerusalem ; prophesies concerning heathen nations ; Restoration ; Symbols of the future Church.

The Book of Zephaniah

B. C. 630–620.

332. Period of his ministry.—Between the cessation of the prophecies of Isaiah, Micah, and Nahum, and the days of Zephaniah, Jeremiah, and the later prophets, there was an interval of fifty years, during which there was no prophet whose writings have reached us. The lessons taught by the destruction of Samaria, and by earlier prophets, especially Isaiah, seem to have been left to produce their proper effects on the minds of the people. The wicked reign of Manasseh occupied nearly all this interval, and seemed to render reformation by prophetic teaching hopeless. With Josiah, however, the prophetic spirit revived, and ZEPHANIAH ('Jehovah hath guarded') is the earliest of the prophets of his age. He seems to have prophesied near the commencement of Josiah's reign, and at all events

before the eighteenth year[a], when the altars of Baal were destroyed. He probably assisted Josiah in his efforts to restore the worship of the true God. Of the prophet personally nothing is known. As he traces back his pedigree for four generations (1^1) he was probably of noble birth.

333. Outline.—The first chapter contains a general denunciation of vengeance against Judah and those who practised idolatrous rites; Baal, his black-robed priests (Chemarim) and Malcham (Moloch), being all condemned; and declares 'the great day of trouble and distress' to be at hand (1^{2-3}).

There is an evident reference here to the invasion of the Scythians, which at this time filled the land with consternation[b]. The surrounding countries were ravaged, especially Philistia, but there was hope that Jerusalem might be spared (2^3). This hope was actually fulfilled: and the first catastrophe deferred.

The second chapter predicts the judgements in connexion with this great invasion, about to fall on the Philistines, those especially of the sea-coasts (Cherethites), the Moabites, Ammonites, and Ethiopians; and describes in terms wonderfully accurate the desolation of Nineveh: prophecies which began to be accomplished in the conquests of Nebuchadnezzar. The result was to be the reverence paid to Jehovah when 'the gods of the earth' were thus discredited. The heathen should worship Him 'every one from his place' (2^{11}), while in the latter part of the prophecy they are described as bringing their offerings to Him (3^{10}).

In the third chapter, the prophet arraigns Jerusalem, rebukes her sins, and concludes with the most animating promises of her future restoration, of the gathering of the

[a] There is a slight chronological indication in the mention of 'the king's sons' in 1^8. In the eighteenth year of Josiah, Jehoiakim would have been twelve and Jehoahaz ten years old.

[b] See Herodotus i. 105, 106.

nations into the Church of God, and of the happy state of the people of Jehovah in the latter days (3^{1-7} 3^{8-20}).

Dr. Keith has noticed the exactitude with which Zephaniah, Amos, and Zechariah foretell the destinies of the four chief cities of Philistia—Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Ekron. Comparing Am $1^{6.7.8}$ Zec 9^{5} and Zep 2^{4-6}, it will be seen that of *Gaza* it is declared that baldness shall come upon it, and that it should be bereaved of its king. At present, amid ruins of white marble indicating its former magnificence, a few villages of dry mud are the only abode of its inhabitants. Of Ashkelon and Ashdod it is said that both shall be 'without inhabitants'; and so they are. Gaza is inhabited; Ashkelon and Ashdod are not, though their ruins remain. Different from the destiny of each was to be the end of Ekron: 'it shall be rooted up.' Now its very name is lost, nor is the spot known on which it stood. . . . Clearly, prophecy and providence—predictions and the events that fulfil them—are guided by the same hand[a].

New Testament References.

334. The phrase 'the day of wrath' (source of the mediæval poem, *Dies Iræ*) $1^{15.18}$ is characteristic of this prophet, and is found in Ro 2^{5} Rev 6^{17}. The prophet also (3^{8}) has the metaphor of 'pouring out' the Divine anger, reflected in the imagery of the vials (bowls, R.V.) of wrath, Rev 16^{1}.

The Book of Habakkuk

B.C. 625–607.

335. Time of his prophecy.—Nothing is known with certainty of the parentage and life of Habakkuk (a name which signifies 'embracing,' or 'a wrestler'); but from the fact that he makes no mention of Assyria, and speaks of the Chaldæan power as growing with almost incredible rapidity, it is concluded that he prophesied in Judah during the reign of Jehoahaz and Jehoiakim, shortly before the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar (1^{5} 2^{3} $3^{2.16-13}$). This view is con-

[a] See Keith on Prophecy, ch. viii, p. 102 (Religious Tract Society's edition).

firmed by his reference to the state of the kingdom. The reforms instituted by Josiah were evidently past, and reaction was setting in. It is probable that the duel between Chaldæa and Egypt had come to an end in the great battle of Carchemish; and that Judæa lay open to the northern power. Habakkuk therefore was contemporary with Jeremiah. Many legends were current among the Jews respecting him, but they shed no light on his career. As a specimen, see *Bel and the Dragon*, verses 33–39.

Of all the nations who afflicted the Jews, and in them the Church of God, the chief were the Assyrians, the Chaldæans, and the Edomites; and three of the prophets were commissioned specially to pronounce their destruction. Nahum foretells the destruction of the Assyrians; Habakkuk that of the Chaldæans; and presently we shall find Obadiah foretelling the destruction of Edom.

336. Outline.—The prophet begins by lamenting the iniquities and lawless violence that prevailed among the Jews. God then declares that He will work a strange work in their days, and raise up the Chaldæans, described with terrible vividness, who should march through the breadth of their land and take possession of its dwellings. In this description, the prophet forecasts the three invasions (in the reigns of Jehoiakim, Jeconiah, and Zedekiah); depicts the fierceness of their attack and the rapidity of their victories; then points to the pride and false confidence of the victors, and humbly expostulates with God for inflicting such judgements upon His people by a nation more wicked than themselves. He then receives and communicates God's answer to his expostulation, to the effect that the vision, though it tarry, shall surely come: that the just shall live by their faith, and are to wait for it. He then pronounces five 'Woes' upon the Chaldæans; for insatiate ambition (2^{6-8}), for unscrupulous greed (2^{9-11}), for injustice and cruelty (2^{12-14}), for drunken debauchery (2^{15-17}), and for gross idolatry (2^{18-20}). These are

revealed in vision to the prophet upon his watch-tower; being prefaced by the assurance to the people of God that 'the just shall live by his faith,' a promise whose depth of meaning it was given to the Apostle Paul to discern, Ro 1^{17} Gal 3^{11}; cf. Heb 10^{37-38}.

The prophet, hearing these promises and threatenings, concludes his book with a sublime song, both of praise and of prayer (3). He celebrates past displays of the power and grace of Jehovah, supplicates God for the speedy deliverance of His people, and closes by expressing a confidence in God which no change can destroy. This psalm, which was evidently intended for use in public worship, being 'set to Shigionoth' or dithyrambic measures (see Introd. to Psalms), was designed to afford consolation to the pious Jews under their approaching calamities.

Citations in the New Testament.

337. Besides the profound declaration in 2^4, two sentences of this prophet are also employed with evangelical meaning; the warning in 1^5, quoted by Paul at Antioch, Ac $13^{40.41}$; the certain, although tarrying vision, 2^3 (Heb 10^{37}). There is also a resemblance between 2^{11} and Lu 19^{40}; and between 3^{18} and Lu 1^{47}.

The Book of Jeremiah

B.C. 627–577.

338. His personal history.—Jeremiah was the son of Hilkiah, a priest of Anathoth, in Benjamin. He was called to the prophetic office about seventy years after the death of Isaiah, in the thirteenth year of King Josiah, whilst he was very young (1^6) and still living at Anathoth. It would seem that he remained in his native place for several years; but at length, probably in consequence of the persecution of his fellow townsmen, and even of his own family (11^{21} 12^6), as well as, under the Divine direction, to have a wider field

for his labours, he left Anathoth, and came to Jerusalem. He also visited the cities of Judah (11^6), and prophesied altogether upwards of forty years.

During the reign of Josiah, he was, doubtless, a valuable coadjutor to that pious monarch in the reformation of religion. From his notice of Jehoahaz (Shallum) (22^{10-12}), he probably prophesied without hindrance during his reign. But when Jehoiakim came to the throne he was interrupted in his ministry; 'the priests and prophets' becoming his accusers, and demanding, in conjunction with the populace, that he should be put to death (26). The princes did not dare to defy God thus openly; but Jeremiah was either placed under restraint, or deterred by his adversaries from appearing in public. Under these circumstances, he received a command from God to commit his predictions to writing; and having done so, sent Baruch to read them in the Temple on a fast day. The princes were alarmed, and endeavoured to rouse the king by reading out to him the prophetic roll. But it was in vain: the reckless monarch, after hearing three or four pages, cut the roll in pieces, and cast it into the fire, giving immediate orders for the apprehension of Jeremiah and Baruch. 'But Jehovah hid them;' and Jeremiah soon afterwards, by Divine direction, wrote the same messages again, with some additions (36).

In the short reign of Jehoiachin (Jeconiah) we find the prophet still uttering the voice of warning (see 13^{18}; compare 2 Ki 24^{12} and ch. 22^{24-30}), though without effect.

In the reign of Zedekiah, when Nebuchadnezzar's army laid siege to Jerusalem, and then withdrew upon the report of help coming from Egypt, Jeremiah was commissioned by God to declare that the Chaldæans would come again, and take the city, and burn it with fire. Departing from Jerusalem, he was accused of deserting to the Chaldæans, and was cast into prison, where he remained until the city was taken. Nebuchadnezzar, who had formed a more just estimate of his character, gave a special charge to his captain, Nebuzar-adan, not only to provide for him, but to follow his advice. The choice being given to the prophet, either to go to Babylon, where doubtless he would have been held in honour at the royal court, or to remain with his own people, he preferred the latter. He subsequently endeavoured to persuade the leaders of the people not to go to Egypt, but to remain in the land; assuring them, by a Divine message, that if they did so God would build them up. The people refused to obey, and went to Egypt, taking Jeremiah and Baruch with them (43^6). In Egypt, he still sought to turn the people to the Lord (44); but his writings give no information respecting his subsequent history.

Ancient tradition, however, asserts that the Jews, offended by his faithful remonstrances, put him to death in Egypt.

339. His prophetic contemporaries.—Jeremiah was contemporary with Zephaniah, Habakkuk, and Ezekiel. Between his writings and those of Ezekiel there are many interesting points both of resemblance and of contrast. Both prophets were labouring for the same object, at nearly the same time. One prophesied in Palestine, the other in Chaldæa; yet the substance of both messages is the same. In the modes of expression adopted by the prophets, however, and in their personal character, they widely differed. The history of Jeremiah brings before us a man forced, as it were, in spite of himself, from obscurity and retirement into the publicity and peril which attended the prophetical office. Naturally mild, susceptible, and inclined rather to mourn in secret for the iniquity which surrounded him than to brave and denounce the wrong-doers, he stood forth at the call of God, and proved himself a faithful, fearless champion of the truth, amidst reproaches, insults, and threats. This combination of qualities is so marked, that it has well been regarded as a proof of the Divine origin of his mission. In Ezekiel, on the other hand, we see the power of Divine inspiration acting on a mind naturally of the firmest texture, and absorbing all the powers of the soul.

The style of Jeremiah corresponds with this view of the character of his mind. It is peculiarly marked by pathos. He delights in expressions of tenderness, and gives touching descriptions of the miseries of his people.

340. Arrangement of his discourses.—The prophecies of this book do not all stand in respect to time as they were delivered. Why they are not so arranged, and how they are to be reduced to chronological order, it is not easy to say. Attempts have been made by Ewald and others to account for the present arrangement, but not very

successfully. The best explanation is that there has been some dislocation of the order; and from the notes of time that are given, and the contents of the several discourses, the sections have been thus classified.

1. In the reign of Josiah, 1–12. The beginning of ch. 11 seems to mark the time when the book of the Law was newly discovered in the Temple (2 Ki 22^{3-13}).

2. Under Jehoiakim, 13–20, in connexion with which series of discourses is recorded the conspiracy of 'the princes of Judah' against the prophet, with his deliverance (25, 26). Ch. 22^{1-19} denounces Jehoiakim for his unrighteousness, and declares the fate of his brother and predecessor (Jehoahaz or Shallum). Ch. 35 draws lessons of constancy and obedience from the conduct of the Rechabites. Chs. 45 (to Baruch, the prophet's scribe) and 36 refer to the roll of the above prophecies as read to Jehoiakim in the fifth year of that king's reign, and by him cut to pieces and burned.

3. Under Jehoiachin, 22^{20-30}. The fate of the king (called here Coniah) is pathetically depicted. He is to be a lifelong prisoner in Babylon, and to leave no heir to the throne of David; being thus virtually childless.

4. Under Zedekiah. The following passages belong to this period: 21 27[a] (counselling submission to the Babylonian yoke); 28 (recording the prediction of the false prophet Hananiah of deliverance within two years); 34 (the king's fate, and the punishment of the slave-owners' perfidy); 37, 38 (an account of the prophet's arrest and imprisonment); 39 52^{1-30} (the capture of Jerusalem). Chs. 30–33 give the assurance of restoration, and of the New Covenant, with the remarkable episode (32) of the purchase by the prophet of his ancestral property at Anathoth, in the assurance that the land would be regained.

5. Prophecies against hostile nations, 46–52. These were probably uttered at different times, and are gathered into

[a] In 27^{1} the true reading is obviously 'Zedekiah.' See R.V. marg.

these four chapters from their similarity of subject. They relate to Egypt, Philistia, Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Kedar, and the kingdoms of Hazor, Elam, and Babylon. The brief discourse against Elam (49^{34-39}) was delivered at the beginning of Zedekiah's reign; the wonderful prophecy respecting Babylon (50, 51) in that king's fourth year when he went with the chief officer of his court into Chaldæa on some errand to us unknown. This discourse was to be cast into the Euphrates bound to a stone, an emblem of the sinking of the proud city (compare Rev 18^{21}).

6. After the fall of Jerusalem. One of the most striking parts of the book is in ch. 29, a letter sent by Jeremiah to the exiles in Babylon with Jehoiachin, counselling them as to their conduct in captivity. Instead of rebelling and repining they were to settle down as peaceful and industrious inhabitants of the land, seeking the prosperity of the country, and repudiating those false prophets who sought to stir up discontent. After twenty years, the prophet declares the captivity would cease. This wise and noble letter had a lasting influence for good, and was remembered when the day of deliverance came (Ezr 1^{1}).

7. To the end of Jeremiah's life, 39–44. This section is mainly historical, and its details have been already noted, § 338. The chief prophetic discourse which it contains is a protest against the idolatry of the Jews in Egypt (44).

Among the special predictions of Jeremiah were his prophecies of the fate of Zedekiah [a], the duration of the Babylonian captivity [b], and the return of the Jews [c]. The downfall of Babylon [d] and of many nations [e] is also foretold in predictions, the successive completion of which kept up the faith of the Jews in those that refer to the Messiah [f].

[a] $34^{2,3}$: compare 2 Ch 36^{19} 2 Ki 25^{5-7} Jer 52^{11}.
[b] $25^{11,12}$ (see Dn 9^{2}).
[c] 29^{10-14} (Eze 1^{1}).
[d] $25^{12\ 50-51}$.
[e] 46-49.
[f] 23^{3-8} 30^{9} 31^{15} 32^{36} 33^{26}.

He foretells very clearly the abrogation of the Mosaic law; speaks of the ark as no more remembered (3^{16}); and reaches the very height of Old Testament prediction in his great prophecy of the New Covenant (31^{31-34}).

References in the New Testament.

341. Compare 7^{11} with Mt 21^{13} 'a den of robbers'; 9^{24} with 1 Cor 1^{31} 'glorying in the Lord'; 10^{7} with Rev 15^{4}; 11^{10} with 1 Thess. 2^{4}; 17^{10} with Rev 2^{23}; 22^{5} with Mt 23^{38}; 25^{10} with Rev $18^{22.23}$; 51^{7-9} with Rev 14^{8} $17^{2.4}$ $18^{3.5}$; 51^{45} with Rev 18^{4}; and $51^{63.64}$ with Rev 18^{21}. The appellation 'Dayspring,' as applied to the Messiah. Lu 1^{78}, is from the LXX of Jer 23^{5}, where the Heb. is 'Branch' (so Zec 3^{8} 6^{12}). For the application of the passage 'Rachel weeping for her children' (31^{15} Mt $2^{17.18}$), see Part I, § 157.

The most noteworthy of such New Testament applications is that of 31^{31-34} in Heb 8^{8-13} and 10^{15-17}. The prophet describes the New Covenant in terms which make this passage a true anticipation of the gospel, and which possibly suggest the phrase 'New Covenant' in the institution of the Lord's Supper; so placing Jeremiah by the side of Isaiah as an 'Evangelical Prophet.'

The Book of Lamentations

cir. B.C. 586.

342. This book is an **Appendix to the prophecies of Jeremiah.** Its authorship has been ascribed to him by uniform ancient tradition, although it nowhere contains his name. The tradition has been questioned on internal grounds, but without sufficient reason. The book expresses with pathetic tenderness the prophet's grief for the desolation of the city and Temple of Jerusalem, the captivity of the people, the miseries of famine, the cessation of public worship, and the other calamities with which his countrymen had been visited for their sins. The leading object was to teach the suffering Jews neither to despise 'the chastening of the Lord,' nor to 'faint' when 'rebuked of Him,' but to turn to God with deep repentance, to confess

their sins, and humbly look to Him alone for pardon and deliverance.

By the Jews the book is ranked among the *Megilloth* (rolls) and is read in the synagogues on the 9th of Ab (July), the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple.

No book of Scripture is more rich in expressions of patriotic feeling, or of the penitence and trust which become an afflicted Christian.

The book consists of five chapters, each being a separate complete poem. (On the poetical form, see Introduction to ch. xvi.) The form of these poems is strictly regular. With the exception of the last (5), they are in the original Hebrew alphabetical acrostics, in which every stanza begins with a new letter. The third has this further peculiarity, that all three lines in each stanza have the same letter at the commencement.

As a composition, this book is remarkable for the great variety of pathetic images it contains, expressive of the deepest sorrow, and worthy of the subject which they are designed to illustrate. It also contains, amidst its words of grief, occasional sentences of richest consolation. See $3^{22-24.25.26.58}$.

In the New Testament there is perhaps a reminiscence of 3^{15} in 1 Cor 4^{13}.

The Book of Ezekiel

B. C. 592–570.

343. His personal history.—Ezekiel (*God will strengthen*, or *prevail*) was, like Jeremiah, a priest as well as a prophet. He was one of the great company of captives carried to Babylon, with the young King Jehoiachin, by Nebuchadnezzar, B. C. 597, ten years before the destruction of Jerusalem. These captives were distributed into different settlements throughout Babylonia, forming small com-

munities with a certain organization, and freedom to worship, each in their 'little sanctuary.' The company to which Ezekiel belonged, consisting as it appears, of people well-to-do, had its abode at Tel-abib (Corn-hill), by the river Chebar; that is, either the Habor (2 Ki 17^{6}) in Lower Mesopotamia, near Carchemish, among the descendants of the Israelite exiles, or, as most recent expositors think, some river or canal nearer Babylon. There the priest-prophet was the most notable figure in the group of exiles, who, however, for the most part resisted his words, clinging to the hope of a speedy return to the land of their fathers. It was Ezekiel's bitter task to disenchant them; and his life was still further saddened by the sudden death of his wife in the ninth year of their exile (24^{18}). Tradition says that he was put to death by one of his fellow exiles, a leader among them, whose idolatries he had rebuked.

He commenced prophesying in the fifth year after the captivity of Jehoiachin (1^{2}), that is, in Zedekiah's reign (592), and continued till at least the twenty-seventh year (29^{17}). The year of his first prophesying was also the thirtieth from the commencement of the reign of Nabopolassar and from the era of Josiah's reform. His influence with the people is obvious, from the numerous visits paid to him by the elders, who came to inquire what message God had sent through him (8^{1} 14^{1} 20^{1} &c.).

His writings show remarkable vigour, and he was evidently well fitted to oppose 'the people of stubborn front and hard heart,' to whom he was sent. His characteristic, however, was the subordination of his whole life to his work. He ever thinks and feels as the *prophet*. In this respect his writings contrast remarkably with those of his contemporary Jeremiah, whose personal history and feelings are frequently recorded. That he was, nevertheless, a man of strong feeling is clear from the brief record he has given of his wife's death (24^{15-18}).

The central point of Ezekiel's predictions is the destruction of Jerusalem. *Before* this event, his chief object was to call to repentance those living in careless security; to warn them against indulging the

hope that, by the help of the Egyptians, the Babylonian yoke would be shaken off (17^{15-17} : compare Jer 37^{7}) ; and to assure them that the destruction of their city and Temple was inevitable and fast approaching. *After* this event, his principal care was to console the exiled Jews by promises of future deliverance and restoration to their own land ; and to encourage them by assurances of future blessings. His predictions against foreign nations come between these two great divisions, having been for the most part uttered during the interval between the Divine intimation that Nebuchadnezzar was besieging Jerusalem (24^{2}) and the arrival of the news that he had taken it (33^{21}). The periods at which the predictions on these different subjects were delivered are frequently noted, being reckoned from the era of Jehoiachin's captivity. See Part I, § 201.

344. Outline.—The book may be divided (Hävernick) into nine sections.

1. Ezekiel's call to the prophetic office, $1–3^{21}$. Here Jehovah from between the cherubim gives the prophet a commission ; shows him a roll inscribed with prophetical characters, and bids him eat it, that is, digest its contents. This sublime and mysterious vision with which the prophecy begins (see also ch. 10) impressively showed that the presence and glory of the Lord were as truly in that heathen land as in Jerusalem.

2. Predictions and symbolical representations, foretelling the approaching destruction of Judah and Jerusalem, 3^{22-27}. The 390 years of *Israel's* defection, and the forty years during which Judah had been especially rebellious, are set forth in the typical siege of ch. 4. The threefold judgement of pestilence, sword, and dispersion, finds expression in the symbolical representations of ch. 5. The prophet's companions in exile are thus warned that their hope of an early return to their own land is futile, and that their only hope lay in patient service of Jehovah.

3. Visions presented to the prophet a year and two months later than the former, 8–11, in which he is shown the Temple polluted by the worship of Tammuz (afterwards Adonis) ; the worshippers turning, like Persian sun-wor-

shippers, to the east: the consequent judgement on Jerusalem and the priests, a few faithful being marked for exception (9); and at the close, promises of happier times and a purer worship. The symbol of the Divine presence is gradually withdrawn: first from the Temple, and then from the city.

4. Specific reproofs and warnings, 12–19. Here he shows the captives by two signs (12) what was about to be the fate of the people; exposes the false prophets who, at Jerusalem and at Babylon (Jer 23^{16} 29^{8}), spoke of peace and rest (13^{18}); repeats his threatenings to some elders who visited him in the hope of getting something from him that might contradict Jeremiah (14); sets forth Israel as a fruitless vine (15), and as a base adulteress (16). He shows (17) by one eagle (Nebuchadnezzar), who had taken away the top of the cedar (Jehoiakim), and by another eagle (Pharaoh), to whom the vine that was left (Zedekiah) was turning, the uprooting of the whole; and, digressing to upbraid Zedekiah for the oath which he was now breaking (compare verse 15 with 2 Ch 36^{13}), he predicts the replanting and flourishing of the whole under Messiah the Branch. He shows that this suffering is the consequence of their own acts (18), and not only of the acts of their fathers.

5. Another series of warnings, 20–23, given about a year later, when Zedekiah had revolted to Egypt. Zedekiah to be overthrown; mitre and crown (priesthood and royalty) alike to disappear, and the subversion of the existing order to prepare the way for Him 'whose right it is' ($21^{26.27}$).

6. Predictions uttered two years and five months later, on the very day when the siege of Jerusalem commenced (24^{1}; compare 2 Ki 25^{1}), a fact revealed to the exiled prophet at that time. On that very day his wife suddenly died; but he weeps not, as a sign to the people that the fall of Jerusalem would be to them a hardening calamity, leaving no time or opportunity for mourning.

7. Predictions against seven heathen nations (25–32), Ammon (25^{1-7}), Moab (25^{8-11}), Edom (25^{12-14}), Philistia (25^{15-17}), Tyre (26–28^{19}), Sidon (28^{20-24}), and Egypt (29–32). These predictions extended over a period of three years, during which time Jerusalem was besieged. With regard to the destinies of Israel, the prophet was to be silent until a refugee from Jerusalem should arrive with the tidings of that city's destruction. Then he might speak again (24^{25-27}).

8. His predictions concerning Israel renewed (33–39), the fugitive from Jerusalem having arrived as had been foretold (33^{21}). First, the character of the true shepherd of the people is described, in contrast with the false (33, 34). Then, in a threefold way, the future of the restored people is delineated. (1) The land to be delivered from its Edomite enemies, who will be finally overthrown (35–36^{15}); (2) the nation to be restored, purified, and revivified (36^{16}–37^{14}), illustrated by the vision of the valley of dry bones; Judah and Israel to be reunited (37^{15-28}); symbol of the two sticks; (3) victory complete over the invasion of barbarian forces (38, 39); 'Gog and Magog,' from the wild regions of the north, symbolizing the fierce and apparently overwhelming might of the power of evil (compare Rev 20^{7-10}).

9. Symbolic representations of the Messianic times; the grandeur and beauty of the new city and Temple (40–48)[a].

Quotations from Ezekiel in the New Testament.

345. The words, 'He that heareth, let him hear' (3^{27}), may possibly have been the original of the phrase, as found in Mt 11^{15} Mk 7^{16} Lu 14^{35} Rev 13^{9} &c. The solemn warning that judgement must begin at the house of God, 1 Pet 4^{17}, has its original in Eze 9^{6}. 'One flock and one shepherd,' Jn 10^{16}, may be traced to Eze 37^{24}.

But the mass of quotations from Ezekiel is found in the Apocalypse. Compare $1^{5.6,10.18}$ with Rev $4^{6.8}$; 1^{23} with Rev 4^{3}; $2^{9.10}$ with Rev 5^{1};

[a] See *Annotated Paragraph Bible*, at the close of Ezek., for an outline map representing the ideal of the holy kingdom.

$3^{1.3}$ with Rev 10^{8-10}; 6^{11} with Rev 6^{8}: 26^{13} with Rev 18^{22}; 37^{10} with Rev 11^{11}; 38^{2} with Rev 20^{8}; $39^{7.18.20}$ with Rev $19^{17.1}$; $40^{1-3.5}$ with Rev $21^{10.15.16}$, and 47, 48 throughout with Rev 21, 22. These parallels form a most instructive study.

The Book of Obadiah

cir. B. C. 586.

346. Time of his prophecy.—The time when Obadiah delivered his prophecy is somewhat uncertain, but it was probably between the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans under Nebuchadnezzar (B. C. 587) and the conquest of Edom, which took place five years afterwards. Others give an earlier date to this book (time of Hezekiah [a]), though with less reason. The personal history of the prophet is not known, but his name, signifying 'Servant of Jehovah,' was borne by several others mentioned in Scripture [b]. There is an occasional resemblance to Jeremiah and Ezekiel; while some passages reproduce the language of the earlier prophets Joel and Amos [c].

347. Outline.—Israel had no greater enemy than the Edomites. They were proud of their wisdom, verse 8, and of their rocky and impregnable position, verse 3. The prophet foretells the uncovering of their treasures, and rebukes their heartless treatment of the Jews, their kinsmen, in rejoicing over their calamities and encouraging Nebuchadnezzar utterly to exterminate them (Ps 137^{7}); for all which an early day of retribution was to come: 'As thou hast done, it shall be done unto thee,' verse 15.

[a] Or even that of Jehoram (see 2 Ch $21^{16.17}$), Kirkpatrick.

[b] Ahab's steward, 1 Ki $18^{3.4.16}$. See also the lists in 1 Ch 7^{3} 8^{38} 9^{16} 12^{9} 27^{19} 2 Ch 34^{12} Ezr 8^{9}.

[c] Compare verses 3, 4 and Jer 49^{14-16}; verse 9 and Eze 25^{13}; verse 12 and Eze 35^{15}; verse 16 and Jer 49^{12}; also verse 17 and Joel 2^{32}; verse 14 and Am 1^{11}.

But the chosen race themselves had just been carried into captivity; the holy land was deserted, and the chastisement denounced against the Edomites might therefore appear not to differ from that which had already been inflicted upon the seed of Jacob. The prophet therefore goes on to declare that Edom should be as though it had never been, and should be swallowed up for ever (a prophecy which has been remarkably fulfilled); while Israel should rise again from her present fall; should repossess, not only her own land, but also Philistia and Edom; and finally rejoice in the holy reign of the promised Messiah. See Part I, § 188.

Compare Am $1^{11,12}$ 9^{11-15} Joel $3^{19,20}$ Jer $49^{7,\ 22}$ Eze 35.

There are no references to this short prophecy in the New Testament.

CHAPTER XV

HISTORICAL AND PROPHETICAL BOOKS FROM THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY TO THE CLOSE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT CANON

THE CAPTIVITY: THE JEWS IN BABYLONIA.

348. The Babylonian Captivity was a remarkable, and, at the time it occurred, an unexampled dispensation of Providence.

The whole land was desolated, the ark destroyed, the Temple burned to the ground, and the city of Jerusalem laid waste; while the mass of the people were delivered into the hands of barbarous enemies, and taken out of their own into a distant country. The short book of the 'Lamentations' of the prophet Jeremiah, who lived in the midst of these scenes, is a heart-touching memorial of this visitation and of its results. See also Psalms 80, 89, 137.

Babylonian Kings during the Captivity.

Nebuchadnezzar	604–561
Evil-merodach	561–559
Neriglissar	559–555
Laborisoarchod	555 (9 months)
Nabonidus	555–538

Cyrus conquered Babylon, 538

349. Duration of the Captivity.—The 'seventy years,' assigned (Jer 25^{11} and other passages) as the duration of the Captivity, are either a round number, or may be reckoned

from the time when the defeat of the Egyptians at Carchemish, B. C. 605 (see 2 Ki 24^{7} Jer 46^{2}) secured to Babylon the sovereignty of Western Asia, including Palestine. This was in the year of Nebuchadnezzar's accession to the throne of Babylon, the third year of Jehoiakim (Dan 1^{1}). Several captives—the youthful Daniel and his companions among them—were then carried to Babylon. Eight years afterwards Jehoiakim, endeavouring to throw off this vassalage, was effectually crushed by Nebuchadnezzar, and disappears from the history[a]; and his son Jeconiah (Coniah or Jehoiachin) was placed by the Babylonian monarch upon the throne; occupying it, however, for only three months, at the end of which occurred the chief deportation of king and people to Babylon.

The number of the exiles proves how greatly the land had been depopulated. 'Ten thousand captives' besides 'craftsmen and smiths' are mentioned in one account: another estimate, proceeding on some different principle, gives the number at various times as amounting to four thousand six hundred[b]. They comprised the flower of the nation; 'none remained, save the poorest sort of the people of the land.' As vassal-king of this miserable remnant, Nebuchadnezzar set up Josiah's youngest son Mattaniah, changing his name to Zedekiah, 'Righteousness of Jehovah,' and exacting from him an oath of allegiance, Eze 17^{12-14}. The high-priest was left behind in Jerusalem to carry on and maintain the Temple services, with a diminished magistracy to maintain order. The King of Babylon evidently contemplated the retention of Judæa as a subject state, useful as a check upon any ambitious designs of the humbled power of Egypt. But there was

[a] All that is known of his fate may be gathered from 2 Ch 36^{6} and Jer 22^{19} 36^{30}. He seems to have escaped from the chains in which he was bound to be carried to Babylon, and to have been slain in attempting flight outside the city walls.

[b] Compare 2 Ki 24^{14} with Jer 52^{28-30}.

in Jerusalem a strong pro-Egyptian party, who induced the infatuated king to declare himself on their side. In spite of the earnest protest of Jeremiah, an alliance with Pharaoh was concluded; Moab, Ammon, Edom, and Phœnicia joining the confederacy. Nebuchadnezzar, enraged by Zedekiah's perfidy, dispatched an army to besiege Jerusalem. The city held out for a year and a half, but was at length taken by assault; the king's chief abettors, including the high-priest, being carried to Riblah and slain. Zedekiah himself was blinded and taken to Babylon. The Temple was burned, and its treasures seized by Nebuchadnezzar.

350. Events in Judæa.—Over the scanty population left in Judæa, the Babylonian king placed Gedaliah (Jer 40^{6}) as governor; but he retained office for only two months, when he was treacherously murdered by Ishmael, a scion of the royal house, with a party of Ammonites, by whom a considerable remnant of the Jews were made prisoners. These, however, were rescued by Johanan on their way to the Ammonite country; and a halt was called in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem[a]. The policy of a retreat to Egypt was strongly advocated, and as strongly resisted by the prophet Jeremiah. He was, however, overruled (Jer 40–42) and compelled to accompany the Jews, who settled at Tahpanhes (Daphne) on the Egyptian frontier. The eventual fate of this little colony is prophetically described by Jeremiah, 42^{15-22} 44^{26-28}.

351. Life in Babylonia.—Of the fifty years that followed these stirring events, few records remain; but the results abundantly appear. In Babylon, of the two captive kings, Jeconiah remained as a prisoner of state until the accession of Evil-merodach, when he was released;

[a] At Geruth-Chimham, the caravanserai or 'inn' on the property made over by David to the son of Barzillai. Expositors have noted with interest that this may have been the very spot of the Nativity.

he was, indeed, so honoured by his late subjects that their years were reckoned (as in the prophet Ezekiel) from the date of his exile; while Zedekiah, the perfidious, was kept in close confinement until his death.

It had been predicted that Jeconiah would be childless (Jer 22^{30}); that is, as explained, that he would have no heir to his throne. In fact, he had several sons (1 Ch $3^{17.18}$), of whom one, Salathiel or Shealtiel, was the father of Zerubbabel, so well known for his subsequent part in Jewish history (Mt 1^{12}). Another is known as Sheshbazzar. See Introduction to the Book of Ezra.

Jewish Communities.—The Jews in Babylonia were from the first a separate people; and they speedily proved themselves to be of a superior race to their oppressors, as well as the adherents of a nobler faith. In several places they appear to have constituted themselves into district communities, with elders, and a government of their own; as by the river Chebar in the days of Ezekiel (see Eze 4). The idolatry by which they were surrounded had no longer any attractions for them[a]; it rather aroused a strong antagonism. From home associations (Ps 137) as well as from a deeper conviction, due to contrast, of the greatness and divinity of their ancient religion, they clung to it with passionate intensity, and arose to a clearer conviction than heretofore that Jehovah was God of all the earth.

Thus they became witnesses for Him to the surrounding heathen, and exerted a moral influence which never wholly passed away. Not only so; their principles and belief were consolidated. The very deprivation of Temple, altar, and sacrifices, threw them back upon the foundations of their faith. Schools of theology arose amongst them; and when the day of restoration came, it found them, not with dim convictions and a shattered doctrinal system, but with an assured monotheism, and a distinct religious creed,

[a] In this respect they differed from many among the remnant of the Jews whom Johanan had conducted to Egypt. See Jer 44^{25}.

never again to yield to heathen fascinations. It is interesting to know that the Jews who remained in Babylonia sent their offerings to Jerusalem for the service of the Temple (Ezr 1^{4-6}; see Zec 6^{9-14}).

'It is,' writes Professor Cornill, of Königsberg, 'one of the greatest ironies of fate known to universal history—or, to speak more correctly, it is one of the most striking evidences of the wonderful ways which Divine Providence takes for the attainment of its most important and most significant ends—that the first completion and the permanent consolidation of the exclusive Judaism which sealed itself hermetically against everything non-Jewish, and rejected everything heathen, was accomplished and made possible only under the protection and by the aid of a heathen government.'

352. Literature of the period.—It is probable that the Exile was a period of considerable literary activity in collecting, preserving, and editing ancient records: the results appear in after-times. But in addition to the prophecies of Ezekiel and, possibly, of 'Second Isaiah[a],' Babylon is also the scene of a writing which occupies a unique place in the Old Testament—the Book of Daniel.

The Book of Daniel

B. C. 605–534[b].

353. His personal history.—Of Daniel little is known beyond what may be gathered from the book which bears his name. He was not a priest, like Jeremiah and Ezekiel; but, like Isaiah, was of the tribe of Judah, and probably of the royal house (1^{3-6}). He was carried to Babylon as a youth (1^{4}) in the third year of Jehoiakim (B. C. 605), eight years before Ezekiel. There he was placed in the court of Nebuchadnezzar, and became acquainted with the science of the Chaldæans, attaining a wisdom superior to their own. By Nebuchadnezzar he was raised to high rank and great

[a] See § 321. [b] But see below.

power; a position he retained, though not uninterruptedly, under both the Babylonian and Persian dynasties. He prophesied during the whole of the Captivity (1^{21}); his last prophecy being delivered two years later, in the third year of the reign of Cyrus (10^{1}). Ezekiel mentions Daniel, with Noah and Job, as a righteous man ($14^{14.20}$) and as endowed with special wisdom (28^{3}). If this be the same, the classing of a young contemporary with the great names of old is very remarkable. Our Lord quotes him as a prophet (Mt 24^{15}). See Dn 9^{27}.

The first event which gained Daniel influence in the court of Babylon was the disclosure and explanation of the dream of Nebuchadnezzar. This occurred in the second year of the *sole* reign of that monarch, i. e. in 603. Subsequently his companions were delivered from the burning fiery furnace (3); and some years later occurred the second dream of Nebuchadnezzar (4). The date of the events recorded in ch. 5 seems to be B. C. 538, towards the close of the reign of Nabonidus, represented in Babylon by his son Belshazzar. That night the young prince (denominated 'king') was slain, and the dynasty changed. Daniel had been made the *third* ruler in the kingdom (verse 29); and though this honour was made an empty one by the course of events, Daniel still found favour in the eyes of 'Darius' ($6^{2.28}$).

For 'Darius the Mede' see Part I, § 192.

354. Outline.—The book is divided into two parts; the historical, 1–6, and the prophetic, 7–12. In the former part Daniel is spoken of in the third person; in the latter (apart from introductory notices, 7^{1} 10^{1}) he himself is the narrator.

Historical Section. Daniel and his companions at the court of Nebuchadnezzar (1); the king's dream of the great image, typifying four kingdoms (2); the burning fiery furnace (3); Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the great tree destroyed, interpreted as foreshadowing his madness (4); Belshazzar's feast (5); Daniel in the lions' den (6).

Apocalyptic Section. Vision of the four great beasts coming up from the sea, their judgement before the 'Ancient

of days,' and the giving of an everlasting kingdom to 'one like unto a son of man' (7). Vision of the ram with two horns ('the kings of Media and Persia,' 8^{20}) overcome by the rough he-goat ('the king of Greece,' 8^{21}). The he-goat's great horn ('the first king,' 8^{21}) is broken: out of it come up four horns ('four kingdoms,' 8^{22}), and out of one of these 'a little horn which waxed exceeding great' ('a king of fierce countenance and understanding dark sentences,' 8^{23}). He oppresses the 'people of the saints' (i. e. Israel, cf. 7^{25}), and defiles the sanctuary for 2300 evenings and mornings (i. e. 1150 days or $3\frac{1}{3}$ years): then he 'shall be broken without hand' (i. e. by Divine visitation, cf. 2^{34}).

The interpretation given by Gabriel of the vision in ch. 8 leaves little doubt of its **historical application.** The Persian empire established by Cyrus lasted for two centuries, from B. C. 538–333, when it was overthrown by Alexander the Great at the decisive battle of Issus. By subsequent conquests he had at the time of his early death (in 323, aged thirty-two—the 'broken horn') established an almost world-wide dominion which, in default of an heir, was partitioned out among his generals. After twenty years of rivalry and conflict *four* kingdoms were established—Macedonia and Greece, Thrace and Bithynia, Egypt and Syria, with Babylonia and the East allotted to Seleucus. Hence Judæa passed under the sway of the Seleucid kings, of whom the ninth was Antiochus Epiphanes (B. C. 175–164), the 'little horn.' His persecutions of the Jews led to the revolt under Judas Maccabæus, and to the reconsecration of the Temple (in 165) about three years after its pollution. A few months later Antiochus died under some great mental distress.

In ch. 9 Daniel, after prayer and confession of sin, is given understanding of Jeremiah's prophecy concerning the accomplishing of the desolations of Jerusalem in seventy years (Jer 25^{12} 29^{10}). The final section (10–12) is a vision portraying the history of Persia and Greece (cf. ch. 8) until the times of Antiochus Epiphanes and Ptolemy Philometor, the contemporary King of Egypt.

Interpretation of the later chapters. It is impossible to deal here with the many difficulties of interpretation, in general and in detail, with which this part of Scripture is beset. But as the clear prediction

of ch. 8 is repeated and expanded in the remainder of the book it is natural to suppose that it is anticipated in the kindred but obscurer prophecies of chs. 7 and 2, and that the kingdoms of Media, Persia, and Greece are also among the four typified by the Beasts and the Image. Moreover, the first of the four is that of Nebuchadnezzar himself, Babylon (2^{38}).

At this point expositors divide. Are Media and Persia *one* empire, the Medo-Persian, founded by Cyrus, symbolized by the ram with shorter and longer horns? If so, Greece is the third, and the fourth is naturally identified with Rome, under whose power the empire founded by Alexander eventually passed. Out of this assumption spring many varied interpretations of the ten kingdoms (the toes of the image, ch. 2, and the horns of the fourth beast, ch. 7) into which the Roman empire was to be broken up: also of the 'little horn' of ch. $7^{8.20.21.25}$, largely identified with the papacy.

Or, on the other hand, are Media and Persia to be regarded as *two*, the second and third of the four kingdoms, the fourth being the empire founded by Alexander the Great? In this case the outlook of the prophecy is more limited and of less ambiguous interpretation. The ten kings are probably Alexander's successors: the 'little horn' of ch. 7 is identical with that of ch. 8, Antiochus Epiphanes, who is represented as removing three powerful rivals before securing his kingdom ($7^{8.20.28}$).

The *Roman* view is that of antiquity generally (though with the exception of Ephrem Syrus (A. D. 300–350)), and in modern times has been held by Hengstenberg, Auberlen, Hofmann, Keil, Dr. Pusey, Dr. Rule, and many others: the *Grecian* is advocated by Ewald, Delitzsch, Bishop Westcott, Prof. Bevan, Dr. Driver, and the new Bible Dictionaries.

Closely connected with the interpretation of the fourth kingdom is the discussion raised in recent years as to the **date and authorship of the book.** If, according to the uniform tradition of the Jewish and Christian Church, it was written by Daniel in Babylon, not only is the historicity of chs. 1–6 assured, but the prophecies concerning Antiochus Epiphanes, uttered four centuries before the event, stand out as a marvel of prediction. The possibility is not to be denied: the issue must not be decided either by a virtual elimination of the predictive element from Old Testament prophecy, or, on the other hand, by a care for tradition and the inspiration and authority of Scripture which refuses candid consideration of the grounds on which the Book of Daniel is now, by a large number of scholars, assigned to a date long subsequent to the Captivity. The grounds are mainly these:

(1) The main interest of chs. 7–12 centres in the times of Antiochus

Epiphanes: the analogy of other prophetic writings would suggest that it is there we should look for the historical standpoint of the prophet. If he writes as a captive in Babylon how strangely he subordinates the needs and sufferings and hopes of his own generation to those of a remote posterity! While it is admitted that the prophet predicts, it is asserted that he does not, as a fact, detach himself from contemporary history, and picture the distant future in minute detail (see §§ 144–146, 321).

(2) Some historical details of chs. 1–6 are difficult to reconcile with the fuller knowledge of Babylonian times reached by modern discoveries: especially the identity of 'Darius the Mede.'

(3) It is held that various indications of late date are afforded by the book itself, its place in the canon, and its use in subsequent literature.

(*a*) The linguistic phenomena are peculiar. The section 2^4–7^8 is in Aramaic: fifteen words from the Persian and three from the Greek occur: the Hebrew is that of the later language. The *Persian* words, it has been said, presuppose a period after the Persian empire had been well established: the Greek words *demand*, the Hebrew *supports*, and the Aramaic *permits*, a date *after the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great* (B. C. 332)[a].

(*b*) In the Hebrew canon, Daniel is not placed among the 'Prophets' (though that section contains the post-exilic writings of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi), but among the Kethubhim (Hagiographa), a collection which, there is reason for thinking, marks the latest stage in the formation of the Old Testament (see § 21).

(*c*) There is no mention of Daniel in the roll of 'famous men' in Ecclesiasticus (B. C. 200). The similarity of his position at a foreign court to that of Joseph, together with the statement that no man had ever been born 'like unto Joseph' (Ecclus 49^{15}), is held to be especially significant.

For these and other reasons the book is assigned by many modern critics to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, between the desecration of the Temple and his death (168–164). It thus becomes an appeal to the author's suffering countrymen, based on reminders of what God had wrought for His steadfast servants of old, permeated by a religious interpretation of history as the unfolding of the Divine purpose for His people, and culminating in a reassertion of the Messianic hope and the final triumph of the Kingdom of God.

No judgement is here pronounced on the sufficiency of these reasons. But it may be pointed out—

(1) That the late date leaves untouched the supposition—most

[a] Dr. Driver, *Daniel*, p. lxiii.

probable on other grounds—that the author incorporated true traditions of Daniel and his companions in Babylon.

(2) That not only does the book still contain 'genuine predictions (Driver, *op. cit.* p. lxvii), but, more especially, that in its religious interpretation of history and of the circumstances amid which it was written, it exhibits in a marked degree the characteristics of inspired prophecy.

(3) That to suggest an alternative between a genuine work of Daniel and a 'forgery' is to misapprehend the literary methods of the ancient world. Apart from the facts of narrative in the third person, already referred to, it is quite conceivable that this Eastern writer would clothe his inspired message to his persecuted compatriots in story and vision gathered round the ancient traditions of Daniel in Babylon.

(4) That, finally, the religious value of the book, its revelation of the Divine working, its promise of the Christ, and all moral and spiritual lessons which it has so freely yielded to the Church in all ages, have been, and must ever remain, independent of any conclusion of criticism as to when and by whom it was written.

The arguments for the traditional date and authorship of Daniel may be seen in the treatise of Hengstenberg *On Daniel*; in the summary of evidence given by the same author in Kitto's *Bib. Cyclopædia*; in the *General Introduction* of Hävernick; in Moses Stuart's *Commentary*; in the *Lectures* of Dr. Pusey; in Zöckler's Commentary (Lange's *Bibelwerk*); in Auberlen, *Daniel and the Revelation*, Eng. Tr. 1887; and in J. M. Fuller's *Introduction*, 'Speaker's Commentary.' For critical views adverse to its Babylonian date, Professor Cheyne's article *Daniel* in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* may be consulted; also Professor Bevan's *Commentary*; Dr. Driver, *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, Introd. § 3; Dean Stanley, 'Note on the date of the Book of Daniel,' *Lect. Hist. Jewish Church* (XLII); Dean Farrar in *The Expositor's Bible*; and the articles in the new Bible Dictionaries.

355. *Parallels to Daniel in the Apocalypse of John:—*

Dn 2^{44} (the kingdom of God)	Rev 11^{15} 12^{10}.
$5^{4.23}$ (description of idolatry)	Rev 9^{20}
$7^{7.8.21.24}$ (the beast with horns)	Rev $13^{1.2.5.7}$.
7^{9} (the thrones)	Rev 20^{4}.
ib. (the Ancient of days)	Rev 1^{8}.
Dn 7^{10} (the ministering myriads)	Rev 5^{11}.
7^{13} (the final Advent)	Rev 1^{7} 14^{14}.
7^{22} (judgement given to the Saints)	Rev 20^{4}.
7^{25} 12^{7} ('a time and times,' &c.)	Rev 12^{14}.
8^{10} (falling stars)	Rev 12^{4}.

Dn 12^4 8^{26} (the vision to be sealed) Rev 10^4 (22^{10}).	Dn 12^1 (the great tribulation) Rev 7^{14}.
$10^{5.6}$ (the Man : see 7^9) Rev 2^{18} 19^{12}.	ib. (the book of life) Rev 17^8 20^{15} 21^{27}.
$10^{13.21}$ (Michael the prince) Rev 12^7.	12^7 (the angelic oath) Rev $10^{5.6}$.

Compare also the form of benediction, ch. 4^1, with 1 Pet 1^2 2 Pet 1^2 and Ju ^{2}: the reference to ch. 6^{22} in Heb 11^{33}, and especially 'the abomination of desolation,' ch. 12^{11}, with our Lord's citation, Mt 24^{15}. (In Mark 13^{14} the reference to 'Daniel the prophet' is omitted in the best texts.) One of the sources of our Lord's self-chosen title of 'Son of man' is almost certainly Dn 7^{13}.

The Restoration.

356. Cyrus.—The restorer of the Jewish nation was Cyrus the Great, renowned as the founder of the Persian Empire, but known in Scripture as the 'shepherd,' the 'servant,' the 'anointed,' of Jehovah, in the accomplishment of His purpose in regard to His people: Is 44^{28} 45^{1-7} 2 Ch $36^{22.23}$ Ezra 1^{1-4}. Herodotus describes the rise of Cyrus to power, and his many campaigns, one of which led to the downfall of the Babylonian empire, while Xenophon weaves the facts of his career into a biographical romance. In one prophetic description Cyrus appears as making his way by Divine guidance through the 'two-leaved' gates of Babylon; another inspired record shows the handwriting on the wall which announced in the midst of a festival [a] the extinction of the kingdom. Secular historians relate [b] how Cyrus defeated the forces of Babylon in the open field, and captured the city without a struggle by entering its undefended river-gates on a day given up to careless revelry. In some tumult that ensued, the young vice-king [c] lost his

[a] See Byron's poem, *Belshazzar's Feast.* It is, however, remarkable that Daniel is there described as 'a stranger and *a youth.*' The prophet was a youth when the Captivity began—seventy years before!

[b] See Herod. i. 190; Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 5, 15.

[c] For the identification of Belshazzar, son of Nabonidus, see § 192, p. 316.

life; his father, Nabonidus, surrendered about the same time from Borsippa, where he had sought a refuge, and was allowed to live in Carmania.

Cyrus, in his decree, acknowledges the sovereignty of Jehovah. It is related by Josephus that he was influenced to this course by being shown his name in the prophecy of Isaiah. The recorded language of the king (2 Ch 36^{23}, repeated Ezr 1^{2}) well accords with this statement: 'All the kingdoms of the earth hath Jehovah, the God of heaven, given me, and He hath charged me to build Him a house in Jerusalem.' The politic monarch recognizes the gods of the nations which he overthrew; but he gives special honour to the God of Israel. In his own inscriptions recently brought to light[a], he declares his resolve to permit the subjects of the conquered states generally to return to their homes and re-establish their worship, adding that he was bidden to this course by the Babylonian god Merodach.

The results of the king's decree and the subsequent history of the Jews until the close of the Old Testament canon are found in the historical books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, and in the prophecies of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi; which thus form a separate and most important section of Scripture.

The Book of Ezra

B. C. 536–457.

357. Personal history.—Ezra was one of the captives at Babylon, where, probably, he was born. He was son (grandson) of Seraiah (7^{1}), the chief priest, who was slain at Riblah, after the taking of Jerusalem (2 Ki 25^{18-21}), and therefore a descendant of Aaron, through Hilkiah, the illustrious high-priest in Josiah's time. He was a 'ready scribe,' or rather instructor, in the Law of God. He was a man of deep humility (9^{10-15}), of fervent zeal for God's

[a] See § 192, p. 317.

honour (7^{10} 8^{21-23}), deeply grieving over the sins of the people, and sparing no pains to bring them to repentance (9^{3} $10^{6.10}$). He joined the Jews at Jerusalem many years after their return, going up thither with a second large company.

Parts of the book (4^{8}–6^{18} 7^{12-26}) are written in Aramaic, and show incorporated material consisting chiefly of conversations or decrees in that tongue. Ezra appears in the first person as the author of 7^{27} 8^{34} 9: other narrative portions of the book speak of him in the third person. The whole period comprehended in the book, which is evidently a continuation of Chronicles (2 Ch $36^{22.23}$ and Eze 1^{1-3}), extends from B.C. 536 to 457, or about seventy-nine years. The Book of Nehemiah, part of Ezra in the Hebrew canon, narrates the joint activity of Ezra and Nehemiah from 445–432.

The history in this book consists of two portions, separated from each other by fifty-eight years, including the whole reign of Xerxes. The former part, ending 6^{22}, contains the history of the returning exiles, and of the rebuilding of the Temple, which had been decreed by Cyrus, in the year B.C. 536, and was completed in the reign of Darius the son of Hystaspes (generally distinguished by historians as Darius Hystaspes) in the year B.C. 515. The latter portion, from 7^{1}, contains the personal history of Ezra's journey to Jerusalem, with commission from Artaxerxes Longimanus, in the year B.C. 457; and his exertions for the reformation of the people[a].

358. Outline.—The contents of the book may be divided as follows:—

I. *The return of the Jews* from their captivity in Babylon, and the rebuilding of the Temple, 1–6.

The proclamation of Cyrus for the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the Temple (1). List of the people who returned with Zerubbabel, grandson of King Jehoiachin, as governor, and Joshua, grandson of Jehozadak, as high-priest, with their offerings for the Temple (2). Erection of the altar of

[a] For the succession of Persian kings after Cyrus, see CHRONOLOGICAL APPENDIX.

burnt-offering; and laying the foundation of the Temple (3). Opposition of the Samaritans, and suspension of the building for fourteen years (4). Prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah; recommencement of the building; letter of the Samaritans to Darius (5). Decree of Darius reaffirming that of Cyrus; completion and dedication of the Temple (6).

In the account given of the Return and of the Temple building there appears a 'Sheshbazzar' as well as a 'Zerubbabel,' and they have often been regarded as one and the same person under different names. Sheshbazzar led the company from Jerusalem, 1^{11}, but Zerubbabel also conducted them, 2^{2} 3^{2}. Sheshbazzar, again, laid the foundation of the Temple, 5^{16}, but Zerubbabel superintended the work, $3^{2.8}$ Hag 1^{12} 2^{1-4} Zec 4^{10}. All this suggests identity (so Josephus). But some have supposed that Sheshbazzar was a son of Jeconiah (perhaps the 'Shenazzar' of 1 Ch 3^{18}), brother, therefore, of Salathiel and uncle of Zerubbabel. In the apocryphal 1 Esd 2^{12} he is called 'Sanabassar.'

II. *Ezra's journey* to Jerusalem, and the *reformations* which he effected, 7–10.

Ezra's commission from Artaxerxes; and his journey from Babylon to Jerusalem, with his companions (7, 8). Ezra's mourning for the sins of the people; and confession and prayer (9). Repentance and reformation of the people (10).

359. Connexion with prophecy.—The first part of the book should be read in connexion with the contemporaneous prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah. The coincidences with the former have been thought to show that Haggai was the annalist before Ezra's day. Compare Ezr $5^{1.2}$ with Hag 1; Ezr $3^{6.10-12}$ with Hag 2^{18}; as well as the repeated references in both books to the Law of Moses[a].

In the return of the Jews from Babylon we see the fulfilment of prophecy (Is 44^{28} Jer 25^{12} 29^{10}). This restoration of the Jewish Church, Temple, and worship was an event of the highest consequence, as tending to preserve true religion in the world, and preparing the way

[a] See further instances in the article on the Book of Ezra by Professor J. M. Fuller in Smith's *Dict. Bible*, 2nd ed.

for the appearance of the Great Deliverer, an ancestor of whom, Zerubbabel, was appointed in the providence of God to lead His people from Babylon.

The deliverance of the Jewish people is much spoken of by the prophets as a most glorious display of the providence of God; and, like the redemption of their forefathers out of Egypt, it may be viewed as a type of the great salvation of Christ, and of the journey of His redeemed people to the heavenly Canaan, under the care and guidance of God their Saviour, Is 35^{10} 42^{16} 51^{11}.

Among the remarkable dispensations of Providence recorded in this history, we may notice especially how wonderfully God inclined the hearts of several heathen princes—Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes—to favour and protect His people, and to aid them in the work of rebuilding their city and Temple (chs. 1, 4, 6, 7). We see, too, how God overruled the opposition of the Samaritans, the decree of Darius being much more favourable than that of Cyrus (Ezr 1 and 5^{6}). There is also another display of God's special and discriminating providence in the fulfilment of His promises to His people. Whilst in the land of *Samaria* colonies of strangers had been planted, which filled the territory of Israel with a heathen race, so as to prevent the return of the ancient inhabitants; it appears that, in the land of *Judah*, full room was left for the return and restoration of the Jews.

360. Traditions respecting Ezra.—Unlike Nehemiah, Ezra seems to have remained in Jerusalem. Thirteen years after his first visit there, he appears again upon the scene (Ezr 7^{8} Ne 8^{1}). According to Jewish tradition, five great works are ascribed to him: (1) the foundation of the 'Great Synagogue,' (2) the settlement of the canon of Scripture, with the threefold division into Law, Prophets, and Hagiographa, (3) the substitution of the square Chaldee characters for the old Hebrew and Samaritan, (4) the compilation of Chronicles, possibly of Esther, with the addition of Nehemiah's history to his own, and (5) the establishment of synagogues.

But much of this is legendary, and all that is certain about him in these respects is intimated in chs. 7–10. He also zealously co-operated for a time with Nehemiah, who succeeded him in the government, in promoting the reformation of the people.

The Book of Nehemiah

B. C. 444–418.

361. Authorship.—This book is in the Hebrew canon united with Ezra. Ch. 7^{6-73} was probably extracted from Zerubbabel's register, as in Ezr 2; and 12^{1-26} from the 'book of the Chronicles'; see verse 23. There are clear indications of Nehemiah's authorship in 1–7 and 12^{27-43} 13^{4-31}: the section 12^{44}–13^{3} uses the third person.

The Book of Nehemiah takes up the history of the Jews about twelve years after the close of the Book of Ezra; and gives an account of the improvements in the city of Jerusalem, and of the reformations among the people, which were carried out by Nehemiah.

Though the Temple had been rebuilt under the administration of Ezra, the walls and gates of the city were yet in the state of ruin in which the Chaldæans had left them; and consequently the inhabitants were exposed to the assault of every enemy. Nehemiah was the instrument raised up for their protection. Though a Jew and a captive, he had been, through the overruling providence of God, appointed cupbearer to King Artaxerxes Longimanus in his royal residence at Shushan—an office which was one of the most honourable and confidential at the court. Though thus in the midst of ease and wealth, yet when he heard of the mournful condition of his countrymen he was deeply afflicted by it. He made it the subject of earnest prayer; and after four months, the sadness of his countenance having revealed to the king his sorrow of heart, an opportunity was given him of petitioning for leave to go to Jerusalem.

362. Outline.—The king appoints him governor of that city, with a commission to rebuild the walls, and protect the people, 1–2^{8}. Nehemiah accordingly travels to Jerusalem and makes by night the circuit of the ruined walls, 2^{9-18}.

The rebuilding of the city wall was much impeded by Sanballat and Tobiah, leading men in the rival colony of Samaria; they first scoffed at the attempt, then threatened to attack the workmen, and finally used various stratagems to weaken Nehemiah's authority, and even to take his life

($2^{19.20}$ 4^{1-5} 6^{1-14}). The priests and people, however, divided into companies, zealously carried on the work (3). But in addition to dangers from without, Nehemiah encountered hindrances from his own people, arising out of the general distress, which was aggravated by the cruel exactions of the nobles and rulers, 4^{10}–5^{5}. These grievances were redressed on the earnest remonstrance of Nehemiah, who had himself set a striking example of economy in his office, 5^{6-19}. It appears, also, that some of the chief men in Jerusalem were at that time in conspiracy with Tobiah against Nehemiah, 6^{17-19}. Thus the wall was built in 'troublous times' (Dn 9^{25}), and completed in fifty-two days, $6^{15.16}$. Its completion was joyously celebrated by a solemn dedication under Nehemiah's direction, 12^{27-43}.

Nehemiah next turned his attention to other measures for the public good. He appointed various officers (7^{1-3} 12^{44-47}); and roused the people to greater interest in religion, by a public reading of the Law by Ezra, who here reappears. This was followed by an unexampled celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles, the observance of a national fast, and by the entering into a solemn covenant 'to walk in God's law,' 8–10.

The inhabitants of the city being as yet too few to ensure its prosperity, Nehemiah brought one out of every ten in the country to take up his abode in the ancient capital, which then presented so few inducements to settlers that 'the people blessed all the men that willingly offered themselves to dwell at Jerusalem,' 7^{4} $11^{1.2}$.

After about twelve years (5^{14}), Nehemiah returned to Babylonia (12^{6}). How long he remained there is unknown. 'After certain days,' by leave of the king, he came again to Jerusalem, where he exerted himself vigorously for the further reformation of his countrymen, particularly in the correction of abuses which had crept in during his absence, in particular the intrusion of the Moabite and Ammonite, espe-

cially Tobiah, into the precincts of the Temple; the neglect of proper provision for the Levites, the violation of the Sabbath by trading, and the toleration of intermarriages with the heathen. On this last point, see the Book of Malachi, $2^{11.12}$. Whether Nehemiah returned to his royal master, or remained as governor (Tirshatha) of Judæa, is unknown. No account is given of his death. With his book closes the History of the Old Testament. But in the lists of priests (12) there are additions by a later editor; as the succession (verse 22) is carried down to the days of 'Darius the Persian' (Codomannus) B. C. 336–331.

Nehemiah presents a noble example of true patriotism, founded on the fear of God (5^{15}), and seeking the religious welfare of the state. His respect for the Divine Law, his reverence for the Sabbath (13^{18}), his devout acknowledgement of God in all things (1^{11} 2^{18}), his practical perception of God's character (4^{14} 9^{6-33}), his union of watchfulness and prayer (4^{9}), his humility in ascribing all good in himself to the grace of God (2^{12} 7^{5}), are all highly commendable. In the ninth chapter we have an instructive summary of the history of the Jews in its most important light, showing at once what God is, and what men are. Few books, indeed, of the Bible contain a richer illustration of Divine philosophy—that is, of true religion taught by example.

The Book of Esther

c. B. C. 473.

363. Jews in foreign lands.—Few, comparatively, of the Jews had availed themselves of the privilege to return to the land of their fathers. Most of the existing race had been born in Babylonia; they had made that country, as well as Persia afterwards, their home, and had become surrounded by associations and comforts not easily to be abandoned. Not more than 50,000 persons had gone up under Zerubbabel; and the second band, under Ezra, more than seventy years later, numbered in all about 6,000. Yet later, other bands probably sought the city and Temple of God, but even still the great bulk of the people remained in the land of their exile.

The Book of Esther, reckoned by the Jews among the *Megilloth* (§ 23), belongs to the period between the completion of the Temple and the mission of Ezra (516–458). Xerxes, called in this book 'Ahasuerus,' the son of the Darius mentioned in Ezra (Darius Hystaspes), was now upon the throne. His capricious tyranny is vividly depicted by Herodotus (ix). There can be little doubt that the series of festivals described in ch. 1 was to inaugurate Xerxes' expedition to Greece, and that the marriage with Esther, 'in the seventh year of his reign,' took place after the great defeats at Salamis, Platæa, and Mycalé, B.C. 480-479. Xerxes, according to Herodotus, consoled himself under his humiliation by the delights of his harem (ix. 108).

The narrative may have been taken substantially from the records of the Persian kingdom, see 2^{23} 6^{1}. This supposition accounts for the details given concerning the empire of Xerxes, and for the exactness with which the names of his ministers and of Haman's sons are recorded; also for the Jews being mentioned only in the third person, and Esther being frequently designated by the title of 'the queen,' and Mordecai by the epithet of 'the Jew.' It would also account for the secular tone of the book, the name of God being not once mentioned.

364. Outline.—The book describes the royal feast of Ahasuerus, and the divorce of Vashti (1). The elevation of Esther to the Persian throne four years afterwards and the service rendered to the King by Mordecai, in detecting a plot against his life (2). The promotion of Haman, and his purposed destruction of the Jews in the fifth year after the King's union with Esther (3). The consequent affliction of the Jews, and the measures taken by them (4). The defeat of Haman's plot against Mordecai, through the instrumentality of Esther; the honour done to Mordecai; and the execution of Haman (5, 6, 7). The defeat of Haman's plot against the Jews; the institution of the festival of Purim, in commemoration of this deliverance; and Mordecai's advancement (8, 9, 10).

The Book of Esther shows how these Jews, though scattered among the heathen, were preserved, even when doomed by a royal edict, according to the law of the kingdom irreversible. The *only* way for the people to preserve their lives was to resist by force the execution of the decree, a fact which accounts for the terrible details which

follow. It may be reverently said that, although the *name* of God is not found in the book, His hand is plainly seen, *anticipating* threatened evil, *defeating* and *overruling* it to the greater good of the Jews, and even of the heathen (1, 2, 4–10). Let it be remembered that it was not the safety of the Jews in Persia only that was in peril; if Haman had succeeded, as the power of Persia was then supreme at Jerusalem and throughout Asia, the Jews would probably everywhere have perished, and with them the whole of the visible Church of God.

The institution of the festival of Purim[a] ('the Lots') observed by the Jews in all lands with mirth and thanksgiving, a month before the Passover, is a standing memorial of this national deliverance. In the morning the *Megillah* of Esther is read and expounded in the synagogues, the rest of the day being devoted to holiday amusements. According to Jewish tradition, 'all the feasts shall cease in the days of the Messiah, except the Feast of Purim.' Some have thought that the Purim was 'the feast' mentioned Jn 5^1. Otherwise there is no reference to the book in the New Testament.

PROPHETS OF THE RESTORATION

Haggai, Zechariah, 'Malachi'

Book of Haggai

B. C. 520.

365. Period of these prophecies.—The permission of Cyrus to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem had for several years borne but little fruit. An altar of burnt-offering had been erected; and the yearly festivals were observed with such maimed rites as were possible. The foundation of the Temple had now been laid; but the work had been greatly hindered by the Samaritans and other enemies of the Jews, even in the days of Cyrus, and after his death and the accession of the usurper Smerdis it was altogether stopped. The dispirited Jews made no attempt to resume the building, and the bare foundations remained for some fourteen years, when two prophets were raised up by God to stimulate Zerubbabel and the people to new effort.

[a] The origin of the word is uncertain. See Hastings' *Bib. Dict.* s.v.

Of these prophets the first-mentioned is Haggai, otherwise unknown. He was probably born during the Captivity, and was among the number of those who returned with Zerubbabel from Babylon. In each mention of his name he is termed, as if by way of emphasis, 'the prophet' (Ezr 5^1 6^{14}). The history embodied in his book must be read in connexion with that in Ezra (5, 6). The appeal to Darius, successful as against the Samaritans and their abettors, had to be followed by an appeal to the people, who were slow to recommence the work. The time, they said, was not come for Jehovah's house to be built. They were more anxious to build and adorn their own houses, to cultivate their fields, and multiply their flocks. This worldliness, however, brought its own punishment. They 'looked for much,' and 'it came to little.' Drought and mildew were sent to rebuke their neglect of what ought to have been their first work, and Haggai and Zechariah were raised up to reform and encourage them, 1^{4-11} 2^{15-19} Zec 8^{9-12}.

366. Outline.—This book contains four prophetic messages (1^1 $2^{1.10.20}$), all delivered in about four months. They are so brief that they are supposed to be only a summary of the original prophecies.

In the first, Haggai reproves the Jews for neglecting the Temple, and promises that the Divine favour shall attend its erection. Twenty-four days after this prophecy, Zerubbabel and Joshua, and all the people, resumed their work, and were encouraged by a gracious message from God.

About four weeks afterwards, the zeal of the people appears to have cooled; and many doubts arose in their minds. To remove these, Haggai declares that the Lord of hosts is with them; and that the glory of the new Temple shall be greater than that of the former, 2^{1-9}.

Two months later, Haggai addresses them a third time, rebuking their listlessness, and promising them the Divine

blessing from the time the foundation of the Lord's house was laid, 2^{10-19}. On the same day another prophecy was delivered, addressed to Zerubbabel, the head and representative of the family of David, and the person with whom the genealogy of the Messiah (see Mt 1^{12} Lu 3^{27}) began after the Captivity, promising the preservation of the people of God, amidst the fall and ruin of the kingdoms of the world, 2^{20-23}.

These signal predictions were both referred by the Jews to the time of the Messiah, Eph 2^{14} Heb $12^{26.27}$ (Grotius). The *second* Temple was to witness the presence of the Great Teacher Himself; for though that Temple was nearly wholly rebuilt by Herod, Jewish writers still speak of it as the *second*. In the closing prediction (2^{20-23}) Christ Himself is spoken of under the type of Zerubbabel; and the temporal commotions which preceded His first coming, and are to precede His second, are represented by the shaking and overthrow of earthly kingdoms.

Haggai and the New Testament.

367. There is in the New Testament but one quotation from Haggai: ch. 2^{6}, the shaking of the heaven, Heb 12^{26-27}. For the meaning of the phrase in verse 7, rendered in A. V. 'the desire of all nations,' see § 159.

The Book of Zechariah

B.C. 520–518.

368. The prophet and his time.—Zechariah, the son of Berechiah and grandson of Iddo, was of the priestly tribe (see Ne $12^{4.16}$), and returned from Babylon, when quite a youth, with Zerubbabel and Jeshua. He began to prophesy about two months after Haggai (1^{1} Ezr 5^{1} 6^{14} Hag 1^{1}), in the second year of Darius Hystaspes, and continued to prophesy for two years (7^{1}). He had the same general object as Haggai, to encourage and urge the Jews to rebuild the Temple. The Jews, we are told, 'prospered

through the prophesying' (Ez 6^{14}), and in about six years the Temple was finished.

Zechariah collected his own prophecies (1^9 2^2), and is very frequently quoted in the New Testament. Indeed, next to Isaiah, Zechariah has the most frequent foreshadowings of the character and coming of our Lord.

It has been held by many critics that the chapters after 8 are by another hand, and even by two authors. Certainly the style of the two great discourses, 9-11 and 12-14, is very different from that of the former part of the book. The visions have ceased: the circumstances are wholly changed: the prophecy rises to a more solemn strain. The evangelist Matthew, $27^{9.10}$, seems to ascribe Zec 11^{13} to the prophet Jeremiah. This, however, may be an error of some early copyist, perpetuated in later MSS. On the whole, the question of a double or triple authorship seems insoluble. It is noteworthy that among those who attribute the latter part of the book to another prophet, some place him long *before* Zechariah's time, some considerably *after*. The critical canons which lead from the selfsame data to such opposite conclusions must be pronounced somewhat uncertain. On the one hand, it is quite supposable that Zechariah himself may have varied his style according to his subject, especially after the lapse of years, while on the other, the words of the learned Joseph Mede (1632) have much force. 'It may seem,' he says, 'the evangelist would inform us that these latter chapters ascribed to *Zachary* are indeed the prophecies of *Jeremy*, and that the Jews had not rightly attributed them. . . . As for their being joined to the prophecies of *Zachary*, that proves no more that they are his, than the like adjoining of *Agur's* proverbs to *Solomon's* proves that they are therefore Solomon's, or that all the Psalms are *David's* because joined in one volume with "David's Psalms."' See the whole question discussed in Dr. C. H. H. Wright's *Bampton Lectures*, 1879, where the unity of the book is strongly maintained: also Dr. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, for the opposite view.

While the immediate object of Zechariah was to encourage the Jews in the restoration of public worship, he has other objects more remote and important. His prophecies extend to the 'times of the Gentiles'; but in Zechariah the history of the chosen people occupies the centre of his predictions; and that history is set forth both in direct prophecy and in symbolical acts or visions.

369. Outline.—The first part of the book falls into two main sections:—

1. Chapters 1–6, after the warnings given in 1^{1-6}, recount eight visions, seen in one eventful night. The *first*, of angelic horsemen, Jehovah's messengers, who report that all the earth is at rest. Yet the Jews, after seventy years, were still molested; the angel of Jehovah asks how long; and good and comfortable words are spoken in reply in the hearing of the prophet, 1^{7-17}. In the *second*, the prophet sees the four horns, by which the Jews had been scattered; and also four smiths, by whose aid the horns are to be cast down, 1^{18-21}. The prophet has now a *third* vision, of a man with a measuring line, to imply the rebuilding and enlargement of Jerusalem: she shall overflow, or break down her walls, and Jehovah will be at once a wall of fire round about her and the glory in the midst. He exhorts the Jews still in Babylon to return, and foretells yet larger accessions, 2^{1-13}. The *fourth* vision typifies the acquittal and restoration of the priesthood in the person of Joshua; the great prophecies being then repeated of the Branch out of David's root (Is 4^2 Jer 23^5 33^{15}); and of a Stone for a foundation, having seven eyes, to indicate perfect intelligence; and divinely engraven or adorned. In the predicted day all shall dwell safely and in peace, 3^{1-10}. In the *fifth* vision, the prophet sees a golden candlestick, supplied by two olive-trees dropping their oil into it; and these show how, by the Spirit of Jehovah in Zerubbabel and Joshua, the restored community should receive Divine grace, and the Temple be completed, 'not by might nor by power' (verse 6), and against all opposition (verse 7), 4^{1-14}. The *sixth* vision, of a flying roll, teaches the swift judgements that are to fall upon thieves and false swearers, 5^{1-4}. The *seventh*, of an ephah, or measure, and a woman shut up in it with a talent of lead upon her (wickedness), and two winged women carrying the whole to Shinar.

promises the removal of the people's sin to Babylon, the land of their captivity, 5^{5-11}. In the *eighth* vision are sent out chariots and horses, instruments of Divine judgement, 6^{1-8}. Then is enjoined a closing symbolic action, Joshua to be crowned with two crowns of silver and gold, a type of the union of the priestly and kingly offices in the Messiah, by whom the true Temple of Jehovah should be consummated, 6^{9-15}.

2. Chs. 7, 8. In the second part, messengers from Babylon come to learn from the prophet whether Jehovah had sanctioned the new fasts, instituted at the commencement of the Captivity, on account of the destruction of the city and Temple. The prophet replies that God had not sanctioned them, and that what He requires is a return to obedience, which the priests and people had alike neglected, 7. Predictions of restored prosperity, intermixed with warnings, follow: the fasting seasons are to become cheerful feasts, and the Jews are to be a universal blessing, 8.

The remainder of the book is also in two divisions.

1. Chs. 9–11. These, whether by Zechariah or some earlier or later prophet, contain predictions of Zion's triumph. The powers of the world are to be humbled before her, her King is to appear in majesty and meekness, and (in the language of Psalm 72) His dominion is to be from sea to sea, and from the River to the ends of the earth (9, 10). Chapter 11 is again dark; opening with an outburst of sorrow for overwhelming calamity (verses 1–4). The reason is found in the conduct of the 'shepherds' of the people. In vision, or allegory, the prophet personated a good shepherd (verse 7)—'So I fed the flock'—'the miserable sheep!'—his two staves, Beauty and Bands, being an emblem of graciousness and union. But the result was failure: the shepherd broke the staves, surrendering his thankless task; and when he applied for his wages due was mocked with the offer of the price of a slave.

This was indignantly refused—'cast to the potter'; and the substitution of a 'foolish' or worthless shepherd leads to ruin. The passage 13^{7-9} seems to belong to this prophecy. The whole delineation furnishes an expressive type of the rejection in after ages of the Good Shepherd, and the catastrophe that followed.

2. Chs. 12–14. This series of prophecies opens with a siege of confederate peoples against Jerusalem. They are utterly defeated, 12^{1-10}. The Jews mourn over their sins; a fountain is opened for sin and for uncleanness; the idols shall be cut off; false prophets shall cease, 12^{11}–13^{6}. Another assault is made upon Jerusalem, which is destroyed, and the people scattered. Jehovah Himself appears to deliver His people, standing upon the Mount of Olives, which parts asunder to open up a way for them to escape. The besiegers are destroyed, leaving only a remnant who adopt the worship of Jehovah, and go up to Jerusalem every year to celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles: on everything in the city, down to the very pots, shall be inscribed, 'Holy unto the Lord' (14).

References to Zechariah in the New Testament.

1^{8} Rev $6^{2.4.5.8}$.
3^{2} Ju ^{9}.
3^{9} Rev 5^{6}.
8^{16} Eph 4^{25} 12^{1-10}.
9^{9} The entrance of the King into Jerusalem, Mt 21^{5} Jn $12^{14.15}$.
11^{13} The thirty pieces of silver, Mt $27^{9.10}$.
12^{10} Looking to the pierced One, Jn 19^{37} Rev 1^{7}.
13^{9} The smitten Shepherd, Mt 26^{31} Mk 14^{27}.
14^{11} No more curse, Rev 22^{3}.

The Book of Malachi

c. B.C. 450.

370. His name and ministry.—Malachi ('My messenger') is the last of the Old Testament prophets, as Nehemiah is the last of the historians; and the time of his

ministry may most probably be placed in the interval between Nehemiah's two administrations [a].

Whether Malachi was the prophet's own name, or a title expressive of his mission (1^1 R.V. marg., cp. 3^1) is uncertain. Most expositors, with Calvin, incline to the latter view; the prophet, therefore, being anonymous. Still, it is convenient to retain his distinctive title.

The second Temple was now built, and the service of the altar, with its offerings and sacrifices, was established, although perverted and profaned. Priests and people were alike delinquent, as Nehemiah found them; and the prophet denounces the very evils which the historian describes [b].

371. Outline.—The divisions of the book are clearly marked:—

I. Profanity in Divine service (ch. 1), especially disgraceful on two accounts: its ingratitude for Jehovah's favours shown to Israel, in contrast with Edom (1^{2-5}), and its contrast with purer worship outside the Holy Land ($1^{10.11}$). This passage strikingly foreshadows the universal worship of the Church: 'in every place incense is offered unto My name,' anticipating our Lord's great declaration, Jn 4^{21}.

II. Priestly unfaithfulness (2^{1-9}). If the people impiously brought mean and blemished offerings to the altar, the priests, by their corrupt teachings and respect of persons, were guiltier still.

III. Ungodly marriages (2^{10-16}). The great purpose of God in the marriage institution, to raise up a holy seed, was flagrantly transgressed by these alliances with the heathen; and the divorces to which they led were the source not only of bitter domestic sorrow, but of weeping which covered the altar of Jehovah with tears (2^{13}).

[a] It may be gathered from 1^8 'the governor,' that Nehemiah was not now in office. Cp. Ne $5^{14.15}$.

[b] Ne 13^{10-12} (Mal 3^{8-10}) Ne 13^{23-28} (Mal 3^{10-16}) Ne 13^{29} (Mal 2^8). Only the desecration of the Sabbath, Ne 13^{15-22}, is omitted from the prophet's catalogue of sins.

IV. Such sins would bring down judgement (2^{17}–3^{6}). Jehovah's messenger would come to prepare His way: the Lord Himself would appear in His Temple to judge and to purify.

V. The sin of the people in withholding their gifts from God is again set forth; with the promise that faithfulness in this matter would be followed by temporal blessing: and the question of ungodly scoffers, whether religion was profitable, would be set at rest. In contrast with these scoffers is set the example of the faithful, who strengthened one another by holy fellowship and had a place in Jehovah's 'book of remembrance' (3^{7-18}).

VI. The prophet closes the book with an assurance of approaching salvation, predicts the rising of the Sun of Righteousness, and enjoins until that day the observance of the Law. To confirm it, and to prepare the way for judgement, a second Elijah would appear (4).

The last predictions of Old Testament Scripture, therefore, are like the earliest. They rebuke corruption and promise deliverance. They uphold the authority of the first dispensation and reveal the second. The prophet is still the teacher; and his last words are of the Law and spiritual obedience, and again of the gospel and its healing glory (4^{2}).

References to Malachi in the New Testament.

372. 1^{2}. The choice of Israel in preference to Edom is used to illustrate Divine election, Ro 9^{13}.

The 'messenger of God' (3^{1}) and 'Elijah the prophet' ($4^{5,6}$) are identified with John the Baptist, Mt $11^{10,14}$ 17^{11} Mk 1^{2} $9^{11,12}$ Lu $1^{17,76}$ 7^{27}.

It is in Malachi (1^{7}) that the phrase 'the table of the Lord' is first used. Compare 1 Cor 10^{21}.

The beautiful image of the rising Sun of Righteousness has its parallel in 'the Dayspring from on high,' Lu 1^{78}. Compare Jn 1^{4} 8^{12} 9^{5} 12^{46}.

TABULAR VIEW OF THE PROPHETS, IN CHRONO-

Passages chiefly	Jonah, ninth cent.	Joel, eighth cent.	Amos, c. 760.	Hosea, 755–740	Isaiah, 740–701.	Micah, 730–695.	Nahum, 660–620.	Zephaniah, 630–620.
MORAL, DEVOTIONAL.								
General	.	.	.	.	25–27[11] . .	2, 3, 6	.	.
Specially to Israel	.	.	2–8	4–13	9[8–21] 28 . .			
Specially to Judah	.	1[8]–2[14]	2[4.5]	4[15–19] 12[2]	1–5, 22[8–25] 29, 30	.	.	.
HISTORICAL	1–4	.	.	.	7–8[4] 36–39 . .	.	.	.
PREDICTIVE (A)—								
Israel	.	.	2[6] 9[9]	1 } 5[8] 6[3]	7[1–25] 8, 9[8] } 14[24–27]	1, 7	.	
Judah	.	1–2[27]	2[4.5]		22[1–14] 24–26. 52 } 8[5] 9			
Assyria, Nineveh	3, 4	.	.	.	7[17–25] 8[8–10] 10[5–34] 14[26.27] 19[23–25] 20, 30[27–33] 33[1–12] 37[1] 35.	.	1–3	1–3 2[13–15]
Chaldæa, Babylon	.	.	.	.	13, 14, 21[1–10] 46[1.2] 47, 48[14–20].	.	.	.
Egypt	.	3[19]	.	.	19, 20[3–6] 45[14] .	.	.	.
Ethiopia	.	.	.	.	20[2–6] 45[14] . .	.	.	2[12]
Arabia	.	.	.	.	21[11–17] 42[11] 60[7]	.	.	.
Edom	.	3[19]	1[11.12] 9[12]	.	11[14] 21[11.12] 34 .	.	.	.
Moab	.	.	2[1–3]	.	11[14] 15, 16, 25[10–12]	.	.	2[8–11]
Ammon	.	.	1[13–15]	.	11[14] . . .	.	.	2[8–11]
Philistia	.	3[4]	1[6–8]	.	9[12] 11[14] 14[28–32] .	.	.	
Syria, Damascus	.	.	1[3–5]	.	7[8–16] 8[4–9] 17[1–3] .	.	.	.
Phœnicia, Tyre	.	3[4–8]	1[9.10]	.	23. . . .	.	.	2[4–7]
Other Nations	.	.	.	.	. . . .	.	.	.
PREDICTIVE (B)—								
Our Lord's first coming, ministry, and work (Prophecy and Type).	1[17]	.	.	11[1] 13[14]	7[14] 9[6.7] **40–63** .	5[2]	.	.
His kingdom	.	2[28–32]	9[11–13]	.	2[2–4] 11[1–9] 28[16] 49[6]	4[1–4]	.	.
Israel and Judah in the 'latter days.'	.	.	.	1[10.11] 2[14–23] 3[4.5] 11–14	. . . .	.	.	3[8–20]
Ingathering of the Gentiles.	.	.	.	2[23]	2[2–4] 11[10] 19[18–25] 42, 49[5–7] 60[1–14]	.	.	2[11] 3[9.10]

LOGICAL ORDER; WITH THEIR CHIEF CONTENTS.

Habakkuk, 625–607.	Jeremiah, 627–577.	Daniel.	Obadiah, c. 586.	Ezekiel, 592–570.	Haggai, 520.	Zechariah, 520–518.	Malachi, c. 450.
.	(Lam. 1–5)						
.	. . . . .	. .	.	. . .	1^{1-11} 2^{10-19}	1–7	$1, 2, 3^{7-18}$ 4
.	28, 29, 32^{1-25} 35, 36–43^{7} 52	1–6					
.	30, 31	30–31^{26} $50^{4.5.}$ 19.20. 33.34					
1	1–25, 27 29–33, 34, 44	9	.	9–24, 33 } 36, 37	.	1^{7}–8, 11	
1^{5-17}	21^{4-10} 25^{12-14} 27^{12-22} 28^{14} 32^{26-44} $34^{2.3}$ $42^{11.12}$ 50, 51.	. .	.	26^{7} 29^{17-20} 30^{10-12} 32^{11}			
.	43^{10-13} 46^{13-26} 49^{28-30} . $9^{25.26}$ 43^{8-13} 44^{30} 46.	. .	.	29–32 . .	.	10^{11}	
3^{7}	. . . . .	11^{43}	.	30^{4-9}			
.	$25^{23.24}$ 49^{28-33}.						
.	9^{15-26} 27^{1-11} (Lam. $4^{21.22}$)	$11^{40.41}$	V. 1–21	25^{12-14} 32^{29} 30 35, 36^{5}	.	.	1^{2-5}
.	$9^{25.26}$ 27^{1-11} 48 . .	$11^{40.41}$	.	25^{8-11}			
.	$9^{25.26}$ 25^{21} 49^{1-6} . .	$11^{40.41}$	.	21^{28-32}			
.	25^{19-22} 47^{4-7} . . .	. .	.	25^{15-17} . .	.	9^{5-7}	
.	49^{23-27}	. .	.	. . .	.	9^{1}	
.	25^{22} 27^{1-11} 47^{4}. . .	. .	.	26–28 . .	.	9^{2-4}	
.	*Elam* 49^{34-39} . . .	2, 7, 11	.	*Elam* 32^{24} .	.	Grecia (*Javan*), 9^{13}	
.	31^{15}	9^{24-27}	.	. . .	.	$9^{9.10}$ $11^{7.14}$ $13^{6.7}$	3^{1}
.	$23^{5.6}$ 31^{22-34} . . .	$2^{44.45}$ $7^{13.14}$	.	34^{25-29} . .	2^{6-9}	9^{10}	
.	$31^{16.18}$ 30^{1-11} . . .	. .	V. 17–21	37^{15-28} . .	.	10^{3-12} 12	
2^{14}	16^{14-21} . . .	. .	.	. . .	.	6^{15} 8^{20-23}	1^{11}

CHAPTER XVI

POETICAL BOOKS AND 'WISDOM-LITERATURE'

On Hebrew Poetry

373. Characteristics of Hebrew Poetry.—The division of the Old Testament Hagiographa, usually called **the Poetical Books,** comprises Job, Psalms, and Proverbs; some adding Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon. In point of date, some portions of them are earlier, and others are later, than many parts of the historical books; but they are classed by themselves, as being almost wholly composed in Hebrew verse. The writings of the prophets are, for the most part, also in a poetical form. See § 374.

The peculiar excellence of the Hebrew poetry is to be ascribed to the employment of it in the noblest service, that of religion. It presents the loftiest and most precious truths, expressed in the most appropriate language.

There is so much uncertainty respecting the **ancient pronunciation of the language**, that it is not easy to determine the nature of the Hebrew versification. But much light has been thrown upon the subject, in later times, by Lowth, Jebb, Herder, and other scholars. The leading characteristics of Hebrew poetry may be described generally as consisting in the ornate and elevated character of the style, in the use of certain words and forms of words, in the sententious manner of expression, and especially in what is entitled **parallelism**; that is, a certain correspond-

ence, either as to thought or language, or both, between the members of each period. Sometimes the secondary expression is little more than an echo of the first: sometimes it excels it in force and beauty: sometimes it adds to it a new idea; sometimes, to heighten the impression, the main idea is expressed in contrast with some other. It is in a great measure owing to this structure of the sentences that our translation of these books has so much of a poetical cast; for being, for the most part, literal, it retains much both of the form and of the simple beauty of the Hebrew.

374. Varieties of parallelism.—This poetical parallelism admits many varieties, more or less defined[a].

In the simplest construction the first member, forming the rise of the verse, is succeeded by its counterpart, which forms the fall; as in Ps 23^1:

The LORD is my shepherd;
I shall not want.

Sometimes the second member is an echo or an expansion of the first, expressing nearly the same sentiment in a varied form; as in Ps 19^1:

The heavens declare the glory of God;
And the firmament showeth His handywork.

A part of the former member is often amplified in the latter; as in Ps 112^1:

Blessed is the man that feareth the LORD,
That delighteth greatly in His commandments.

In other cases, a proposition too long for one member is extended through two or more, the first breaking off abruptly at an important part of the sentence; as in Ps 110^5:

The LORD at Thy right hand
Shall strike through kings in the day of His wrath.

Or an accessory sentence is subjoined in a second member; as in Job 13^{15}:

Though He slay me, yet will I wait for Him;
Nevertheless I will maintain my ways before Him (R.V.).

[a] See the *Book of Psalms*, R.T.S., Introduction, from which some of the following paragraphs are taken.

Or, to deepen the impression, the main idea is expressed in contrast with some other; as in Ps 1^{6}:

> For the LORD knoweth the way of the righteous:
> But the way of the ungodly shall perish.

This antithetical form, in which the idea contained in the second clause is contrasted, either in expression or in sense, with that in the first, is found mostly in the Book of Proverbs. See chs. 12–15, and many similar instances.

There are numerous parallel *triplets*: as Ps 1^{1}:

> That walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly,
> Nor standeth in the way of sinners,
> Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.

So Ps 68^{18}:

> Thou hast ascended on high,
> Thou hast led captivity captive,
> Thou hast received gifts for men.

See also Ps $93^{3,4}$.

There are, again, *double parallelisms*: as Ps $103^{11,12}$:

> As the heaven is high above the earth,
> So great is His mercy toward them that fear Him.
> As far as the East is from the West,
> So far hath He removed our transgressions from us.

See also Ps 30^{5}.

In stanzas of four lines, the members often have an *alternate* correspondence, the first line answering to the third, and the second to the fourth; as in Ps $33^{13,14}$:

> The LORD looketh from heaven;
> He beholdeth all the sons of men.
> From the place of His habitation He looketh
> Upon all the inhabitants of the earth.

See also Ps $19^{7,8}$, and for an antithetic instance, 44^{3}.

Sometimes, again, the parallelism is of the first line with the fourth, the second corresponding with the third (compare the order of the rhymes in Tennyson's *In Memoriam*). Thus Job $27^{16,17}$:

> Though he heap up silver as the dust,
> And prepare raiment as the clay,
> He may prepare it, but the just shall put it on,
> And the innocent shall divide the silver.

This arrangement is sometimes termed 'introverted parallelism.'

This method of parallelism also characterizes the **Prophetic Writings**, although with certain distinctions, not necessary here to dwell upon,

which lead critics and editors in general to regard them, with the exception of certain lyrical portions, as **poetic prose.** In the Revised Version, accordingly, they are printed as prose, although in the New Testament the passages cited are given in poetical form. Compare, e. g., the R. V. of Jer 31^{15} with Mt 2^{18}, and many other passages. The *Annotated Paragraph Bible* (R. T. S.) adopts the poetical form in both O. T. and N. T. In Hebrew Bibles generally, the poetical passages are printed as prose, being distinguished only by the accents, excepting in the four lyrics—the song of Miriam, Ex 15; the song of Moses, Dt 32; the ode of Deborah, Judg 5; and the elegy of David over Saul and Jonathan, 2 Sa 22; to which, in Dr. Ginsburg's edition, is added the Book of Psalms.

375. Value of this method.—The parallelism often affords important aid in **Interpretation,** by exhibiting the salient points of the passage in their true relation. It is especially useful where the construction is complicated or elliptical, or where uncommon words occur; one member of a sentence which is clear assisting to determine the meaning of another which is ambiguous. Very greatly, too, does this rhythmic arrangement of the thought enhance its force and beauty.

'The nervous simplicity and conciseness of the Hebrew muse,' writes Campbell, author of the *Pleasures of Hope*, 'prevent this parallelism from degenerating into monotony. In repeating the same idea in different words, she seems as if displaying a fine opal, that discovers fresh beauty in every new light to which it is turned. Her amplifications of a given thought are like the echoes of a solemn melody,—her repetitions of it like the landscape reflected in the stream; and whilst her questions and responses give a life-like effect to her compositions, they remind us of the alternate voices in public devotion, to which they were manifestly adapted.'

It is worthy of notice that this characteristic of Hebrew poetry is one which is **not** (like rhyme and syllabic metre) **lost in translation**; and is therefore specially valuable in a book destined to be published in all the languages of the earth. It would, indeed, be going too far to assert that Hebrew poetry is altogether without rhythm and cadence; and there are in fact some very remarkable instances of asso-

nance; but these are not its main features, and may be lost in translation with little or no injury to the effect.

'Suppose,' writes Professor Binnie, 'the poetry of the Bible had been metrical, what would have been the effect? One half of the Old Testament would have been to the Gentiles a fountain sealed. "Paradise Lost," turned into prose, is "Paradise Lost" no more. There are literal translations of Homer and Horace into fair English prose, but they convey no idea of the spirit of the Greek and Latin originals. Had the Prophecies of Isaiah or the Psalms of David been written in the classical measures or in our modern rhymes, they would have fared as ill at the hands of the translators. As the case stands, David and Isaiah may be transferred without material loss, into any language by any deft and scholarly pen. Not only their sense, but their manner and the characteristic felicities of their style, are reproduced not unfairly in our current English Versions.'

Hebrew Acrostics.—Besides the parallelism, there is sometimes an *alphabetical* arrangement of the verses; the initial letters of the successive lines or stanzas following the order of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. This is found in Psalms 9-10, 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, and 145, often termed 'the acrostic Psalms.' This device was perhaps intended to assist the memory: it is found chiefly in poems consisting of detached thoughts on one subject. The greater part of *Lamentations* is composed on this plan.

The Book of Job

'I call this Book, apart from all theories about it, one of the grandest things ever written with pen. One feels, indeed, as if it were not Hebrew; such a noble universality, different from noble patriotism or sectarianism, reigns in it. A noble Book, all men's Book! It is our first, oldest statement of the never-ending Problem—man's destiny, and God's ways with him here in this earth. And all in such free, flowing outlines; grand in its sincerity, in its simplicity; in its epic melody, and repose of reconcilement. There is the seeing eye, the mildly understanding heart. So *true* every way; true eyesight and vision for all things; material things no less than spiritual. . . . Such living likenesses were never since drawn. Sublime sorrow, sublime

reconciliation; oldest choral melody as of the heart of mankind; so soft, and great; as the summer midnight, as the world with its seas and stars! There is nothing written, I think, in the Bible or out of it, of equal literary merit.'—THOMAS CARLYLE, *Lectures on Heroes*, ii.

376. Title and Subject.—This book takes its name from the patriarch whose history it records. Its antiquity, and the conciseness of its style, make it confessedly difficult of interpretation. But these difficulties seldom involve topics of religious importance.

Job is mentioned in Scripture in connexion with other known saints (Eze $14^{14.20}$ Jas 5^{11}); it may be concluded that he was a real person, and that the narrative is no fiction. This conclusion is sustained by the details given of persons and places, and by other internal evidence. Uz, the country which he inhabited, was probably in the north-east of Arabia Deserta.

377. Age and Authorship.—The age in which Job lived is a question that has created much discussion. Ancient opinion fixes it as earlier than Abraham, according to which view it would stand between chapters 11 and 12 of Genesis, as a supplement to the records of the early condition of our race, given by Moses.

On the other hand, some think they detect allusions to the destruction of Sodom, &c., in chs. 15^{34} 18^{15} 20^{26}; and adduce the coincidence of many names occurring in this book, with those of some of Abraham's descendants, through Ishmael and Esau, as indications of a somewhat later age. By some of these writers it is assigned to the period of the sojourn in Egypt. Other critics, on internal grounds, regard the book as the product of a later period, even of the post-exilic age.

Respecting **the author of the book,** a similar difference of opinion prevails. Some have ascribed it to Job himself,

others to Elihu, others (with the Rabbins generally) to Moses[a]. Whoever was its author, its canonical authority is proved by its place in the Jewish Scriptures, and the recognition of the whole collection by our Lord and His Apostles.

It should be borne in mind that the author of the book may conceivably have lived much later than its hero. There were many occasions in the history of Israel in which the lessons of the book would be opportune; and a story from the past may have served the purpose better than any contemporary record. Whoever the unknown writer may have been, and wherever he may have lived, his teachings are for all time; set forth as they are by the pen of a philosopher and poet. How far the speeches are literally reported, and how much is owing to the writer's inspired genius, it is impossible to say: they could hardly have been uttered extempore and taken down from the lips of the speakers. Nothing again as to the date of the book is to be gathered with certainty from its *language*. 'Opinions as to the date of *Job* have varied from the age of the patriarchs to that of the Captivity, or even later; that is to say, 800 or 1000 years. As the supporters of the several theories have uniformly appealed to critical and linguistic reasons, this may serve to show the vagueness and uncertainty of much that arrogates to itself the name of criticism' (Stanley Leathes).

378. Outline.—The book naturally divides itself into three parts.

I. The Historical Introduction in prose, chs. 1, 2, giving a narrative of sudden and severe affliction (through the agency of Satan, represented as appearing in the court of heaven, as Job's accuser), borne with exemplary patience and trust in God.

II. The Argument, or Controversy, in five scenes or divisions.

1. The *first* series of discussions, comprising Job's complaint, 3; the speech of Eliphaz, 4, 5, and Job's answer,

[a] Besides the Rabbinical view that Moses was the author may be quoted the opinions of those who 'with equal arbitrariness ascribe it to Heman the Ezrahite, Solomon, Isaiah, Baruch, Ezra, and Jeremiah.'

6, 7; of Bildad, 8, and Job's answer, 9, 10; of Zophar, 11, and Job's answer, 12–14.

2. The *second* series, comprising the speech of Eliphaz, 15, and Job's answer, 16, 17; of Bildad, 18, and Job's answer, 19; of Zophar, 20, and Job's answer, 21.

3. The *third* series, comprising the speech of Eliphaz, 22, and Job's answer, 23, 24; of Bildad, 25, and Job's answer, 26–31. It has been urged, with some plausibility, that a part of the speech attributed to Job, 27^{7-23}, was really a third reply by Zophar (wrongly placed by a transcriber's error). The symmetry of the speeches would thus be complete; and at the first view the sentiments are more like Zophar's than Job's. The best critics, however, hesitate to accept this view. (Dr. A. B. Davidson, *Cambridge Bible*, pp. xxxv–xl.)

The question discussed thus far is, whether great suffering be not an evidence of great guilt. Job's friends affirm it, and exhort him to repent and reform. Job denies it, appeals to facts, and complains bitterly of his friends for aggravating his distress by false charges.

4. The speech of Elihu, 32–37.

Elihu maintains that afflictions are meant for the good of the sufferer, even when not, strictly speaking, the consequence of sin; he reproves Job for justifying himself rather than God, and vindicates the Divine character and government.

5. The close of the discussion, by the address of the Almighty, not condescending to explain His conduct, but illustrating His power and wisdom, 38–41; and Job's response and penitential submission, 42^{1-6}.

III. The conclusion in prose, 42^{7-17}, giving an account of Job's acceptance and prosperity.

379. The precise **object of the book** has given rise to much discussion. Mercenary selfishness was the charge

brought against Job. In the end the charge is disproved. Job is assured that the Judge of all the earth will do right, and resolves still to trust, even to the last extremity, 19^{23-27}. His restoration shows him not only outwardly prosperous, but as 'raised to higher knowledge of God through his trials victoriously borne.'

'If we bring the prologue and the debate into combination, we perceive that it was the author's purpose to widen men's views of God's providence, and to set before them a new view of suffering. With great skill he employs Job as his instrument to clear the ground of the old theories; and he himself brings forward in their place his new truth, that sufferings may befall the innocent, and be not a chastisement for their sins, but a trial of their righteousness.'—A. B. Davidson.

Not all, of course, that even Job said in these discussions, much less the reasonings of his friends, is to be commended. The principles advanced are often erroneous, also the conclusions.

Those critics who maintain the late origin of the book regard it as applicable to the trials and struggles of Israel. 'The elements of reality in the Patriarch's history are common to him with Israel in affliction, common even to him with humanity as a whole, confined within the straitened limits set by its own ignorance, wounded to death by the mysterious sorrows of life; tortured by the uncertainty whether its cry finds an entrance into God's ear; alarmed and paralysed by the irreconcilable discrepancies which it discovers between its necessary thought of Him in His providences; and faint with longing that it might come unto His place and behold Him, not girt with His majesty, but in human form, as one looketh upon his fellow.'—A. B. Davidson, *Encycl. Brit.* art. Job.

The practical lessons suggested by the book are obvious and important. Uncharitableness is of the devil, $1^{9,10}$. Its origin, no less than its unloveliness, should put us on guard against it. . . . Perfect and upright men are among the first to confess their vileness, 1^{1} 40^{4} 42^{6}. Our progress in holiness may be measured by our humility. . . . What wisdom is needed to conduct controversy wisely, when even Job failed! . . . How needful is a specific revelation, when

even good men, with an accurate knowledge of God, and of many principles of His government, misread the lessons written upon His works! To correct human misapprehension on such questions, God had Himself to interpose.

380. Job and other Books of the Old Testament.—The coincidences in expression between Job and passages in the Psalms, Proverbs, and Isaiah, suggest that the book was familiar in the days of the Hebrew monarchy. The converse supposition that Job, as a later writer, copied from the others, is forced and improbable. The following are among the instances that might be quoted :—

Ps.		Job	Prov.		Job
8^{4}	compared with	7^{17}	2^{4}	compared with	3^{21}
33^{19} & 37^{19}	,, ,,	5^{20}	3^{14}	,, ,,	28^{15}
$37^{5.36}$	,, ,,	5^{3}	9^{10}	,, ,,	28^{28}
38^{2}	,, ,,	6^{4}	10^{28}	,, ,,	8^{13}
$39^{5.13}$	,, ,,	$10^{20.21}$	16^{4}	,, ,,	21^{30}
38^{8}	,, ,,	3^{16}			
$88^{8.18}$	,, ,,	$19^{13.14}$			
94^{12}	,, ,,	5^{17}	Is.		Job
103^{16}	,, ,,	7^{10}	35^{3}	compared with	$4^{3.4}$
111^{10}	,, ,,	28^{28}	59^{4}	,, ,,	15^{35}
119^{73}	,, ,,	10^{8}	59^{10}	,, ,,	5^{14}.

Compare also Jer $20^{14.15.18}$ with Job $3^{3.11}$, Ho 10^{13} with Job 4^{8}, and Zep $1^{15.18}$ with Job 21^{30}. The phrase, Job $11^{18.19}$, descriptive of peaceful rest, is also found Lev $26^{5.6}$ Is 17^{2} Mic 4^{4} Zep 3^{13} Eze 34^{28}.

References in the New Testament.

381.—There is in the N. T. but one explicit quotation from the Book of Job, 1 Cor 3^{19} (prefaced by the formula 'it is written'), from 5^{13}. Compare also Phil 1^{19} with 13^{16}. In Jas 5^{11} there is a reference to the 'patience' (or *endurance*) 'of Job.' The phrase, 'the day of wrath,' Ro 2^{5}, although occurring first in Job, may have been quoted by the apostle from Zep $1^{15.18}$.

The Book of Psalms

'What is there necessary for man to know which the Psalms are not able to teach? They are to beginners an easy and familiar introduction, a mighty augmentation of all virtue and knowledge in such as are entered before, a strong confirmation to the most perfect among others. Heroical magnanimity, exquisite justice, grave moderation, exact wisdom, repentance unfeigned, unwearied patience, the mysteries of God, the sufferings of Christ, the terrors of wrath, the comforts of grace, the works of Providence over this world, and the promised joys of that world which is to come; all good necessary to be either known, or done, or had, this one celestial fountain yieldeth. Let there be any grief or disaster incident into the soul of man, any wound or sickness named, for which there is not in this treasure-book a present comfortable remedy at all times ready to be found. Hereof it is that we covet to make the Psalms especially familiar unto all.'—Richard Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, Book V.

382. The Title.—The Book of Psalms constitutes, in the Jewish canon, the first and most important of the Old Testament *Hagiographa* (§ 9: see Lu 24^{44}). The Hebrew title (*tĕhillîm*) means 'praises'; the English, taken from the LXX, denotes odes adapted to music (ψάλλω, to strike a stringed instrument); an appropriate name, as most of the pieces were intended not only to express religious feeling, but to be sung devotionally in public service. In individual Psalms, the title generally employed is *mizmôr*, 'a song with musical accompaniment' (57 times). The word *shîr*, 'song' or 'ode,' is prefixed to 45, 46; and in combination with *mizmôr* to 30, 48; as well as with *hamma'aloth*, 'the steps,' to 120–134 ('Songs of Degrees'). To five Psalms (17, 86, 90, 102, 142) the word *tĕphillah*, 'prayer,' is prefixed; and the same word, in the plural, is used in the postscript to 72.

383. Arrangement.—According to tradition, the Psalms were collected and arranged by Ezra and his companions (B.C. 450), though with certain additions afterwards. In the book itself there is decisive evidence of its having been formed from several smaller collections.

In the Hebrew and LXX the Psalms are divided into five books, a division familiar to English readers, from its adoption in the R. V. and in other modern editions of the Psalter[a]. The distinguished commentator Franz Delitzsch observes, 'The Psalter is also a Pentateuch; the echo of the Books of Moses from the heart of Israel . . . It is the Five Books of the Church to Jehovah, as the Law is the Five Books of Jehovah to the Church.'

Characteristics of the Several Books.

I. 1–41. Consists, with only four exceptions (1, 2, 10, 33)[b], of Psalms attributed by their titles to David. This book is distinguished by the frequent use of the name Jehovah (LORD), the Covenant God.

II. 42–72. Psalms of 'the sons of Korah,' 42–47, of 'David,' 51–65, 68–70. Probably a compilation for the Tabernacle and Temple services. Here the name Elohim (God) predominates, in one Psalm (53) being altered from Jehovah (14).

III. 73–89. Psalms of 'Asaph,' 73–83, and 'Korah,' 84–89, mostly supplemental to II. The names of Deity are here equally employed. Only one Psalm in this book (86) is attributed to David.

IV. 90–106. The first attributed to Moses, two to David (101, 103), the rest anonymous. Here Jehovah is the prevailing Divine name.

[a] In references to the Psalms, it will be convenient to students to remember that in the *Hebrew*, the title often counts as a distinct verse; the following verse-numbers being therefore one in advance of our ordinary text; also that in the *Septuagint*, Psalms 9 and 10 are combined, so that the following Psalm-numbers are one short of those in our Psalters, as far as Ps 114, which is joined to 115, the two in the LXX being 113. Ps. 116 is divided, and reckoned in the LXX as 114–115. The order, as we have it, is restored at 147, which is also divided (LXX 146, 147).

[b] But 10 and 33 were each regarded as continuations of the preceding, which are Davidic.

V. 107–150. Liturgic, including the Hallelujah Psalms and the Songs of Degrees ; perhaps collected for the service of the second Temple. Here again, Jehovah is the predominant name.

384. Authorship.—Among the authors mentioned in the titles, David 'the sweet Psalmist of Israel' was, according to uniform Jewish tradition [a], the chief ; although not all (73) to which his name is prefixed in the Hebrew, nor the additional ones in the LXX (12) [b], were written by him.

The name of Asaph, David's chief musician, or of his descendants, is connected with twelve, 50, 73–83. To the *Sons of Korah*, another family of choristers, eleven more are attributed or inscribed : to this family, Heman, the Ezrahite, and grandson of Samuel, belonged (Ps 88 : compare 1 Sa 8^2, 1 Ch 6^{33}) : and Ethan is named as the author of 89, though erroneously, if he were a contemporary of David : see verses 38–44. *Solomon's* name is connected with 72 and 127 ; but probably he is rather the subject than the author of the former. Moses is reputed to be the author of Ps 90, and the following ten are ascribed to him by Jewish critics, but without good ground : see 97^8 and 99^6. The anonymous Psalms have been ascribed to various authors. The LXX mentions Jeremiah as the author of Ps 137, and Haggai and Zechariah as the authors of 146, 147.

[a] See 2 Mac 2^{13}, which passage preserves the Jewish tradition (although not of inspired authority) : 'He (Nehemiah), founding a library, gathered together the books about the kings and prophets, and the books of David, and letters of kings about sacred gifts.'

[b] Psalms 33, 42, 67, 71, 91, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 104, 137. To the title of this last, the name of Jeremiah is added ; the meaning probably being (as we might express it) 'a Davidic Psalm by Jeremiah.' To the title of 71, after 'David,' the LXX has the inexplicable addition 'of the sons of Jonadab, and of those first carried captive.' In the best MSS. of the Septuagint David's name is omitted from the headings of 122, 124, and 131.

385. Value of the Book.—The peculiar value of the Psalms is twofold.

1. They are models of acceptable devotion. Other parts of revelation represent God as speaking to man. Here, man is represented as speaking to God. By this book, therefore, we test the utterances and feelings of our hearts. Here we have a rule by which we may know whether they are healthy and true, whether the fire that rises from within is of God's kindling or of our own.

2. They contain wonderful foreshadowings of our Lord's history, His sufferings and glory: for His sufferings see Ps 22; for His glory, Ps 2, 45, 72, 110. Ps 132^{11} foretells His connexion with David; Ps 118^{22} His rejection by the Jews, Ps 68^{18} His ascension and the gift of the Spirit; and Ps 117 the call of the Gentiles: see Ro 15^{11}.

Nor is the Messianic character of this book restricted to such directly prophetical Psalms. Throughout the Psalter we find portrayed a personal *ideal*, righteous yet suffering, and through sorrow and trial attaining to universal dominion. Of this ideal, Jesus Christ in His person and work is the only complete realization. Thus in Psalm 8 the honour conferred by God upon humanity is described, 'Thou hast put all things under his feet'; but the apostolic comment is, 'We see not yet all things put under him; but we see Jesus,' &c. (Heb $2^{8,9}$). David again (Ps 16) triumphs in assured hope, 'Thou wilt not leave my soul in Hades, neither wilt Thou suffer Thine holy One to see corruption.' '*Being a prophet*,' is the comment of the Apostle Peter, 'he spake of the resurrection of the Christ' (Ac $2^{30,31}$). Once more, Psalm 40 gives a beautiful picture of perfect consecration, fulfilled only and completely in Him, as shown in Heb 10^{5-10}.

The Christian Church, therefore, takes the Psalms as her own language, or as the language of her Lord. When the writer speaks of his enemies, we understand him as speaking of the enemies of Christ and His Church[a]. Generally, however, the feelings of the writer are identical with the ordinary feelings of Christians, as when he describes the confidence and love which have been common to true believers in all ages.

[a] 'If we believe that the imprecatory passages are Divine, that they belong to Him in Whose hands are life and death, the load is lifted off and laid upon One Who is strong enough to bear the burden of their reproach. According to Scripture, evil, in the long course of its development and reproduction, concentrates itself in successive principles, persons, systems, nations; in Judas Iscariot, who betrayed his Lord; in the Jews, who rejected the flower and crown of all their history; in that ordered system of error and persecutions, be it what it may, which is called Babylon.'—Archbishop Alexander, *Bampton Lectures*, 1876, 'The Witness of the Psalms to Christ and Christianity,' Lect. ii.

The Psalms as National Songs.—In a purely literary point of view, the Psalms have been called, not inaptly, the national ballads of the Hebrew race. The contrast which, so regarded, they present to other 'national ballads' is sufficiently striking.

All classes of writers have delighted to praise these compositions. Athanasius, and after him Luther, called them an epitome of the Bible; Basil, and after him Bishop Hall, 'a compend of theology.' 'Not in their Divine arguments alone,' says Milton, 'but in the very critical art of composition, they may be easily made to appear over all the kinds of lyric poesy incomparable.' 'In lyric flow and fire,' says a more modern authority, 'in crushing force and majesty, ... the poetry of the ancient Scriptures is the most superb that ever burnt within the breast of man' (Sir D. K. Sandford). To the Christian, however, their highest praise is that they embody the holiest feelings, have supplied utterances to the emotions of the best men of all ages, and were sung by Him Who, though 'He spake as never man spake,' chose to breathe out His soul, both in praise and in His last agony, in words from the Psalms.

386. Titles of the Psalms.—All the Psalms excepting thirty-four have titles prefixed: by whom, or at what date, is unknown. Probably when the five books were successively compiled, the editor of each recorded the traditional view. These prefixes are, however, not authoritative, although they may often be helpful. They occur either singly, or two or more combined in one title. The prefixes are of different kinds.

Prefixes of Authorship.—These have already been noted; see § 384. One source of ambiguity is that the same preposition as used in these titles may signify *of*, *to*, and *for*. Thus '*Of* David,' '*To* the Chief Musician,' and '*For* the Sons of Korah,' are all similarly expressed. The connexion may show which sense is intended, but this again is sometimes doubtful. Thus we cannot be certain whether to read 'Of Solomon' or 'For Solomon' in the headings to Psalms 72, 127; or whether Asaph (50, 73–83) was poet or musician, or both (see 1 Ch 6^{31-43} $16^{4,5}$ 2 Ch 29^{30}).

A modern theory [a] that David was not the writer of any of the Psalms attributed to him, and that in fact the whole Psalter was post-exilic, 'the Hymn-book of the second Temple,' need not here be more than mentioned. It has not commended itself to scholars generally [b]. The hypotheses on which it chiefly rests are unsupported, as (1) that the early Hebrews were not sufficiently advanced in spiritual culture to be capable of such expression, and (2) in particular that the character of David was entirely out of harmony with such exalted flights of devotion.

With regard to the former point it has been well said: 'It is now the fashion to speak of the Psalter as the Psalm-book of the second Temple in the sense, not that it is a collection of older religious compositions brought together by the piety of a later generation, but that they were composed purposely for use in public worship. Thus, by one stroke, the tongue of ancient Israel is struck dumb, as the pen is dashed from its hands; these artless lyrics are deprived of their spontaneousness, and a great gulf is fixed between the few which a niggardly criticism admits to be of early date, and the full volume of devotional song which in many tones was called forth by the shifting situations of olden times. Of course the hypothesis of a low religious stage in pre-exilic times demands this, but it is an additional difficulty which the theory raises in the way of its own acceptance; for even if the Psalms are late, the influence that started and produced them must lie deeper than in legal ordinances and formal ceremonies.'—Dr. J. Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, p. 474. See the whole paragraph for a masterly criticism of the view which assigns the Psalter, with few exceptions [c], to the post-exilic period.

With regard to the second point it must suffice to remark that the criticism betrays great want of insight into the many-sided nature of that most wonderful man [d], as well as a virtual denial of his inspiration. Very probably, no doubt, some of the Psalms attributed to him were compositions in his style and spirit, *Davidic*, though not by David himself (122, 139, &c.); but there is nothing to deprive him of the character ascribed to him by the sacred historian, 'the sweet Psalmist of Israel,' 2 Sa 23[1].

[a] Professor Cheyne, *Bampton Lectures*, 'Contents of the Psalter.'

[b] See Dr. Sanday, *Oracles of God*, Appendix I; and Professor A. F. Kirkpatrick, *The Divine Library of the Old Testament*, Note B, 'The Date of the Psalter.'

[c] The *only* exception, according to Professor Cheyne, is Ps 18.

[d] See for a more philosophical, as well as sympathetic, estimate of David's character, the lines of J. H. Newman, *Lyra Apostolica*. Also *The Life of David as reflected in his Psalms*, by Dr. A. Maclaren.

387. Historical Circumstances.—The headings of the Psalms often afford an interesting clue to the time and occasion of their composition. They are of value for the criticism of the Psalter. For the very difficulty of bringing many of these titles into agreement with the extant history shows that they were not invented to correspond with the record.

Thus, facts and personages are mentioned in these titles as well known (e. g. Psalms 7, 60), plainly from some other source than the Biblical narrative; thus incidentally but convincingly showing their independence and antiquity. Their irregularity also is an indication that they were earlier than the editorial collection of the Psalms into books. If the editors had placed the titles they would, it is reasonable to suppose, have followed some uniform plan [a]. Another noteworthy fact is, that when the Septuagint version was made, probably in the third century B.C., the meaning of these titles had already become, in many cases, hopelessly obscure. The Greek translators, by the renderings they give, often clearly confess their ignorance, while sometimes they deviate into obviously impossible explanations. All this proves that the superscriptions were, even in their time, the embodiment of a remote tradition. They are, in fact, the earliest testimony that we possess to the current Hebrew belief as to the origin and purport of the Psalms to which they are prefixed. Nor are there any Hebrew copies in which as a class they are omitted. The fair inference seems to be that the title of any given Psalm, unless clearly irreconcilable with its contents, may be accepted as presumptive evidence [b].

388. Character and Contents.—See § 382. Besides the headings there noticed, are those to 45, 'a Song of

[a] See an article in the *Church Quarterly Review*, January, 1879, 'The Titles of the Psalms.' Comparison is often made between these superscriptions and the obviously incorrect subscriptions to several of the Pauline Epistles. The comparison, however, fails in one essential point. The latter are absent from the most ancient MSS. of the New Testament; the former are found in every recension of the Hebrew Scriptures.

[b] A notable instance is the rendering of the prefix, 'To the Chief Musician' or 'the Precentor,' by the phrase εἰς τὸ τέλος, 'To the end.' The Alexandrian translators had lost the clue to the Hebrew *lamĕnatsṣach* (לַמְנַצֵּחַ).

Loves'; 37 and 70, 'to bring to remembrance'; to 60, 'for teaching'; and to 100, 'for thanksgiving.' The following words and phrases are more special, but not always easy to understand.

Degrees ('Ascents'), Songs of (120-134). Some refer this phrase to the structure of the Psalm *ascending* from clause to clause (Ps 121, De Wette, Gesenius, Delitzsch); but hardly applicable to others. Or it is supposed to indicate the singing of these Psalms on the fifteen *steps* to the inner court of the Temple (Jewish critics generally). But the most probable explanation is that they were Psalms for those *going up* to Jerusalem, especially on the return from captivity (Lowth, Hengstenberg, Ewald, Perowne, Kirkpatrick, &c.). 'Pilgrim songs,' a little Hymn-book within a Hymn-book, peculiarly sweet and sacred.

Higgaion, 'Meditation,' Ps 9^{16}. [The word is also found in Ps 19^{14} 92^{3}.] It calls the reader to solemn reflection.

Maschil, in the heading of thirteen Psalms, 'didactic' (Hengstenberg, Tholuck), or 'skilful' (Gesenius, De Wette, Ewald). [See Ps 47^{7}, where the word occurs and is rendered 'with understanding.']

Michtam, Ps 16 and 56-60, a word of uncertain meaning. It may be 'golden' (as A. V. margin) = a Psalm of unusual excellence, or 'a mystery' (Hengstenberg), or more probably for *Michtabh*, 'a written poem' or 'inscription' (Gesenius, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Delitzsch, &c.).

The general heading *lamĕnatsēach*, 'to or for the Precentor,' occurs fifty-five times in the headings, and inscribes the Psalm to the leader of the Temple choir.

Musical Directions.—There are also specified, in many cases, the *tune*, the *instrument*, or *an indication of the choir* intended.

The following is an alphabetical list of such notes.

1. *Aijeleth hash-shachar*, Ps 22, 'the hind of the morning,' an Eastern expression for the dawn. There was probably a song beginning with these words, to the tune of which the Psalm was set. [So in English, a hymn might conceivably be written to the air of 'Home, sweet home'; these words being prefixed to the hymn—totally, of course, unconnected with its *meaning*.] But some (as Luther, Hengstenberg, Tholuck) regard this prefix as a title of David or of the Messiah.

2. *Alamoth*, Ps 46, 'maidens,' so 'for treble voices.'

3. *Al-tashcheth*, Ps 57–59, 75. 'Destroy not,' the first word of a song to the air of which these Psalms were adapted. [Possibly a vintage-song so beginning, Is 65^8.]

4. *Gittith*, Ps 8, 81, 84, from the name of Gath ('wine-press'), the city so named. Hence either a Gath instrument or tune, or a vintage melody.

5. *Jonath-elem-rechokim*, Ps 56, 'the mute dove among strangers,' either the tune of a song so beginning, or with a reference to David's position for the time at Gath (see further in the title).

6. *Leannoth*, Ps 88, 'for singing' (R. V.).

7. *Mahalath*, Ps 53, 88, a tune so called, or a lute.

8. *Muth-labben*, Ps 9, 'Death of the son'; probably set to the tune of a song beginning with the words, or (with a slight variation in the words) 'with a maiden's voice for a son' (boy), i. e. male trebles. [עַל־מוּת, 'Upon the death of,' might be written as one word with change of vowels, עַלְמוֹת.] Some Jewish authorities again understand 'the son' as Goliath, others as Absalom! So uncertain is the meaning. But see note [a] below, and Mr. J. W. Thirtle's essay, where the title is rendered 'Death of the Champion.'

9. *Neginoth*, Ps 4, 6, 54, 56, 60, 61, 76, 'stringed instruments.'

10. *Nehiloth*, Ps 5, 'wind instruments.'

11. *Selah*, seventy-one times in Psalms, three times in Habakkuk, a 'pause' in the music, perhaps a rest in the vocal part during an instrumental interlude; or (less likely) 'elevation' = *forte*, or else 'Exalt Jehovah' (Ewald, De Wette).

12. *Sheminith*, Ps 6, 12, 'the eighth'; i. e. octave = bass, or to be sung in parts: or perhaps an eight-stringed instrument.

13. *Shiggaion*, Ps 7, 'wandering,' or excited song; dithyrambic or an elegy (Gesenius, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Tholuck). Cf. Hab 3^1, the word in plural form.

[a] A modern theory (see Essay on *The Titles of the Psalms*, by J. W. Thirtle, 1904) is that these musical directions, as in the Psalm of Habakkuk, 3^{19}, are properly to be placed at the *end* of the Psalm, and that editors unacquainted with this law have wrongly attached them to the *beginning of the next*. Thus, the present heading of Ps 88 down to 'Mahalath Leannoth' is really a postscript to 87; 'Alamoth,' the female choir, was intended for Ps 45, rather than 46; 'Gittith,' 'vintage melody,' should similarly be placed at the end of 7, 80 (where see verse 8 seq.), and 83. The heading, again, of 56, 'the mute dove among strangers,' rightly belongs, as a postscript, to 55 (see verses 6, 8). Similarly the heading, 'For the Chief Musician,' should everywhere be transferred to the preceding Psalm. The theory at least deserves consideration.

14. *Shushan*, plur. *Shoshannim*, Ps 45, 69, 'Lily,' 'lilies,' a lovely song, or a lily-shaped instrument. With *Eduth*, Ps 60, 80, 'lily or lilies,' a 'testimony,' perhaps the name of a tune, or signifying a beautiful subject of well-attested excellence (Hengstenberg).

389. The later Psalms.—Several of the Psalms (see § 391) are post-exilic, and belong to the Persian period of Jewish history. That some are later still, dating from the times of Grecian rule, and even from the Maccabæan era, has been maintained by modern critics. The question is one of special interest in its bearing on the date of the completion of the canon. It is held that certain Psalms describing national disaster, and especially the persecution of the faithful, depict a state of things to which there is no answering reality in any epoch of the history earlier than the great oppression under Antiochus Epiphanes. This was B.C. 170, or about 280 years after Malachi.

The criticism rests on internal evidence only, and is applied especially to Ps 44 (Calvin), 74, 77, 79, 83. Other Psalms claimed for the Maccabæan period may at present be disregarded; on these five the theory really rests[a]. And, apart from any detailed examination of the several Psalms, it may be remarked :—

1. The descriptions of persecution, ruin, and distress may be

[a] The Maccabæan Psalms, according to Reuss, are 44, 54–56, 59, 60, 62, 64, 71, 74, 75–77, 79, 83, 86, 88–90, 94, 96–102, 115, 116, 118, 132, 138, 140, 142–144, 148, 149. According to Grätz they are 30, 44, 74, 83, 115–118, 144, 148–150. Professor Cheyne regards the following as Maccabæan: 20, 21, 33, 44, 60, 61, 63, 74, 79, 83, 101, 108, 115–118, 135–138, 145–147 (?), 148–150. The divergences in these lists, especially with regard to the earlier part of the Psalter, are very instructive to all who would rightly estimate the methods of criticism which yield such results. See Cheyne's *Origin of the Psalter*, pp. 455, 456. Bishop Westcott forcibly remarks that these Psalms 'do not contain the slightest trace of those internal divisions of the people which were the most marked features of the Maccabæan struggle. The dangers then were as much from within as from without, and party jealousies brought the Divine cause to the greater peril. It is incredible that a series of Maccabæan Psalms should contain no allusion to a system of enforced idolatry, or to a temporizing priest-

referred to earlier periods of the history, as to the incursions of the heathen nations surrounding Palestine (44, 83), and especially to the Egyptian and Chaldæan invasions (74, 79). A Psalm written in the time of an earlier trouble might be applied with new meaning to subsequent trials; and sufferers under Antiochus would solace themselves with words uttered by their fathers when menaced by the power of Sennacherib or groaning under the yoke of Shishak or Nebuchadnezzar.

2. There is no independent evidence that the spirit of poetry or prophecy was possessed by the Church in the Maccabæan period. All the testimony that we have tends to show that long before that time the canon was closed. Especially were the earlier books of the Psalter completed; and the place of a Maccabæan Psalm (as the 44th) in the second Book would be inexplicable. The so-called 'Psalms of Solomon,' written within the century after the Syrian oppression, instructively show the immeasurable difference between the inspired Psalter and the later productions of Jewish genius.

3. The fact already noticed, that the superscriptions of the Psalms had in many cases become unintelligible when the Septuagint version was made[a], forbids the supposition that the Psalms in question were composed at the same or a later period. They were by that time already ancient.

4. It may be added that the Prayer and Doxology at the end of the fourth Book of the Psalter (Ps $106^{47.48}$) appear to be transcribed in the First Book of Chronicles ($16^{35.36}$), indicating that when this Book was written the Psalter was thus far complete.

5. The evident quotations made from the Psalter in the Book of Jonah (2) lead to the inference that certain Psalms already existed in his time (3, 31, 42, 69, 142, &c.).

These considerations as a whole appear conclusive against the Maccabæan theory; and the Psalms as well as the Prophets may be regarded as having assumed their final form soon after the days of Malachi.

390. The Psalms classified.—Various classifications of the Psalms have been proposed. Tholuck divides them, according to their matter, into songs of praise, of thanksgiving, of complaint, and of instruction. Others arrange them under hymns in honour of God; hymns of Zion,

hood, or to a faithless multitude.' See also Professor Margoliouth's *Lines of Defence of the Biblical Revelation*, pp. 188–210.

[a] See § 387.

and the Temple; hymns of the Messiah or King; plaintive and supplicatory hymns, and religious odes, as Ps 23, 91, 119. No very accurate classification can be made, for the contents are often very various. The following arrangement is by the Rev. E. Bickersteth:—

1. *Didactic Psalms*: on the character of good and bad men, their happiness and misery, 1, 5, 7, 9-12, 14, 15, 17, 24, 25, 32, 34, 36, 37, 50, 52, 53, 58, 73, 75, 84, 91, 92, 94, 112, 119, 121, 125, 127, 128, 133; on the excellency of the Divine Law, 19, 119; on the vanity of human life, 39, 49, 90; on the duty of rulers, 82, 101; on humility, 131.

2. *Psalms of Praise and Adoration*: acknowledgements of God's goodness and mercy, and particularly of His care of good men, 23, 34, 36, 91, 100, 103, 107, 117, 121, 145, 146; acknowledgements of His power, glory, and attributes generally, 8, 19, 24, 29, 33, 47, 50, 65, 66, 76, 77, 93, 95-97, 99, 104, 111, 113-115, 134, 139, 147, 148, 150.

3. *Psalms of Thanksgiving*: for mercies to individuals, 9, 18, 22, 30, 34, 40, 75, 103, 108, 116, 118, 138, 144; for mercies to the Israelites generally, 46, 48, 65, 66, 68, 76, 81, 85, 98, 105, 124, 126, 129, 135, 136, 149.

4. *Devotional Psalms*: expressive of penitence, called, emphatically, the *Seven Penitential Psalms*, 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143; expressive of trust under afflictions, 3, 16, 27, 31, 54, 56, 57, 61, 62, 71, 86; expressive of extreme dejection, though not without hope, 13, 22, 69, 77, 88, 143. Prayers in time of severe distress, 4, 5, 11, 28, 41, 55, 59, 64, 70, 109, 120, 140, 141, 143. Prayers when deprived of public worship, 42, 43, 63, 84. Prayers asking help in consideration of the uprightness of his cause, 7, 17, 26, 35. Prayers in time of affliction and persecution, 44, 60, 74, 79, 80, 83, 89, 94, 102, 129, 137. Prayers of intercession, 20, 67, 122, 132, 144.

5. *Psalms eminently prophetical*, 2, 16, 22, 40, 45, 68, 69, 72, 97, 110, 118, mostly Messianic.

6. *Historical Psalms*, 78, 105, 106.

391. Approximate Chronological Arrangements.—The endeavour has been frequently made to arrange the Psalms chronologically, but as many of them have no internal indications of their age and occasions the work has been largely one of dubious conjecture. Dr. Townsend in his *Arrangement* assigns a date to every Psalm, and connects it with a passage in the Old Testament History; but a closer

analysis has made his list to a large extent obsolete[a]. *The Psalms Chronologically Arranged, by Four Friends*, 1867, is a more interesting attempt in a similar direction, but too largely adopts the doubtful conclusions of Ewald. On the whole it would appear that no certainty in the matter is attainable; while yet in many cases there is a high degree of probability. The Psalms which belong to David's lifetime have been indicated in the note on the Books of Samuel, § 281. Of the later Psalms, those which bear the name of Solomon, with a few that seem to refer to the Assyrian and the Chaldæan invasions, are noted under § 299.

The following additional enumeration, although in many cases confessedly uncertain, may be helpful to the student :—

Chaldæan Invasion and the Captivity, 74, 79, 80, 137, 102, 120, 121.

The Joyful Restoration, 85, 107, 123, 126, and perhaps 87, 92.

Troubles after the Return, 124, 125, 129.

Building of the Second Temple (Hallelujah), 111–118 (113–118, the 'Hallel[b]').

The Temple Service Restored, 134–136 (136, the 'Great Hallel').

Temple-songs (Hallelujah), 146–150 (used in the daily Morning Service of the Synagogue).

Psalms of Editorship. 1. Preface to Book i. 119. Praises of the Divine Word (*attributed to Ezra*).

There is one Psalm in particular (45) which evidently has an historical reference, but all attempts have failed to assign with any certainty the royal marriage which it celebrates. This impossibility serves to accentuate its Messianic application.

New Testament references to the Psalms.

392. 1. The New Testament writers show their familiarity with the Book of Psalms not only by direct citation, but by their **frequent employment of its phraseology** in scattered sentences and phrases. The following are instances :—

[a] This arrangement, modified, was given in the former edition of this *Handbook*. *The Book of Psalms with Notes*, R. T. S., contains in its Introduction another proposed chronological classification.

[b] Probably the Hymn which Jesus and the Disciples sang before going out to the Mount of Olives, Mt 26^{30}.

Eph 4^{26} 'Be ye angry and sin not' is from Ps 4^{4} (LXX), where the Hebrew reads 'Stand in awe and sin not.' In Ps 34^{8} the phrase 'taste and see' is echoed in 1 Pet 2^{3}. So 39^{1} 'a bridle upon the mouth,' reproduced in Jas 1^{26}. The 'horn of salvation,' 18^{2} 132^{17}, is a figure found in the song of Zacharias, Lu 1^{69}. The thought of 46^{4}, 'the city of God' reappears in many well-known New Testament passages. So 69^{28} 'the book of the living'; 78^{60} 'the tabernacle of God with men'; the phrase 'cast thy burden upon the Lord,' 55^{22}, is found in 1 Pet 5^{7}. The phrase 107^{9} 'the hungry soul filled with good' is reproduced in Lu 1^{53}. 'Every man a liar,' 116^{11}, suggested the Apostle's phrase in Ro 3^{4}. So 118^{18} 'chastened, not killed' (cp. 2 Cor 6^{9}); 119^{32} 'the heart enlarged' (see 2 Cor 6^{11}); 'Peace upon Israel,' 125^{5} Gal 6^{16}. The appeal 'Have mercy' (ἐλέησον), as 123^{3}, recurs in many New Testament passages: and the 'new song' in 144^{9} appears again in Rev 5^{9}. Some of these parallels might be mere coincidence, but the number of them seems to show how the Psalter was the constant familiar companion of inspired men.

2. There are also **many avowed quotations,** often with the formula 'it is written.' Thus, the collection of passages, Ro 3^{10-18}, setting forth the wickedness of mankind is mostly taken from the Psalms (as 14^{1-3}, &c.). 'Their line is gone out through all the earth,' 19^{4}, is cited Ro 10^{18} ('sound' for 'line') in reference to the diffusion of the Gospel. Other instances are as follows:—

Ps 8^{2} 'babes and sucklings,' Mt 21^{16} ('perfected' for 'ordained').
24^{1} The earth and its fullness, 1 Cor $10^{26\,28}$.
$32^{1,2}$ Transgression covered, Ro 4^{6-8}.
34^{12-16} Conditions of a prosperous life, 1 Pet 3^{10-12}.
37^{11} 'The meek shall inherit the earth,' Mt 5^{5}.
44^{22} 'Killed all the day long,' Ro 8^{36}.
51^{4-6} God 'justified' before men, Ro 3^{4}.
78^{2} 'I will open my mouth in a parable,' Mt 13^{35}.
82^{6} 'I said, Ye are gods,' Jn 10^{34}.
$86^{9,10}$ The worshipping nations, Rev 15^{4}.
89^{20} 'I have found David,' &c. Ac 13^{22}.
90^{4} A thousand years as yesterday, 2 Pet 3^{8}.
$91^{11,12}$ Guardianship of angels, Mt 4^{6} (misapplied by Satan).
94^{11} 'The Lord knoweth the thoughts of men,' 1 Cor 3^{20}.
95^{7} 'To-day if ye will hear His voice,' Heb 3^{7} 4^{7}.
$102^{26,27}$ Maker of the earth and heavens, Heb 1^{10-12}.
104^{4} God's angels and ministers, Heb 1^{7}.
109^{8} 'His bishopric (office) let another take,' Ac 1^{20}.
112^{9} Liberal gifts described, 2 Cor 9^{9}.
116^{10} 'I believed, therefore have I spoken,' 2 Cor 4^{13}.
117^{1} Praise from all nations (Gentiles), Ro 15^{11}.

118^{6} 'The Lord is my helper,' Heb 13^{6}.

$118^{25.26}$ 'Hosanna,' Mt $21^{9.15}$.

143^{2} 'Men not justified before God,' Ro 3^{20} Gal 2^{16}.

3. Several passages from the Psalms are **specifically referred to Christ,** to His Person, sufferings, and kingdom. Such passages are of two classes. Some Psalms containing these are distinctly Messianic —prophetical in the highest sense; others refer to personages and events of the time when they were uttered, which variously prefigured Christ and His redemption, even when the inspired writers themselves were unconscious of their deeper meaning. See 1 Pet $1^{11.12}$.

Ps 2 *Messianic Psalm*: predicting the conquests and sovereignty of the Divine Son, repeatedly quoted in the New Testament, Ac 4^{25} 13^{53} Heb 1^{5} 5^{5} Rev $2^{26.27}$ 12^{5}, in the first of these passages attributed by the Apostles to David. Ps 16, the Resurrection of the Holy One, Ac 2^{27} (Peter) 13^{35} (Paul).

$8^{5.7}$ Man the lord of creation, an ideal realized only in Christ, Heb 2^{5-9}.

$22^{7.8.18}$ An innocent Sufferer, Mt $27^{35.39-48}$.

22^{22} Testimony of the Saviour to His own work, Heb $2^{11.12}$.

31^{5} Jesus commends His departing spirit to God, Lu 23^{46}.

35^{19} Hated without a cause, Jn 15^{25}.

40^{6} Incarnation, obedience, and sacrifice, Heb 10^{5-10}.

41^{9} The Traitor amid professed friends, Jn 13^{18}.

45^{6} *Messianic Psalm*: The Son's eternal Throne, Heb $1^{8.9}$.

68^{18} His Descent and Ascension, Eph 4^{8}.

69^{9} Zeal for His Father's House, Jn 2^{17}.

69^{21-25} Christ and His enemies, Mt $27^{14.48}$ Ro $11^{9.10}$ (Mt $23^{37.38}$).

110 *Messianic Psalm*: attributed by Christ Himself to David, Christ the Conqueror, and Priestly King, Mt 22^{43}, &c., Ac 2^{34} 1 Cor 15^{25} Heb 1^{13} 5^{6} 7^{17}.

$118^{22.23}$ The Stone which the builders rejected, Mt 21^{42}, &c., Eph 2^{20}.

132^{11} The Inheritor of David's throne, Ac 2^{30}.

THE WISDOM-LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

393. The 'Chokhmah.'—A section of the *Hagiographa* has in modern times been designated by the specific term Chokhmah (חָכְמָה), and is for the most part composed in verse. To this part of the Old Testament the Books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes[a] severally belong. In many important points they are distinguished from the prophetic literature of Israel. They express the philosophy of reflective minds rather than the express messages of Jehovah. There is no 'Thus saith the Lord' in their dealing with human experience and the problems of existence. The religion of the 'Wise Men' is of a different character from the intense high-wrought devotion of the prophets : it is more practical —an ethical philosophy rather than an irresistible enthusiasm. The Divine Spirit that prompted them made their own thoughts subservient to the highest purposes. These teachers of Israel often uttered, like the prophets, truths deeper than they knew, and words which awaited the interpretation of time. They are cosmopolitan, universal. It has been noted that in the whole Book of Proverbs the word *Israel* does not once appear, and the name of JEHOVAH is entirely absent from Ecclesiastes.

394. Solomon and his followers.—What is known, or reasonably conjectured, as to the writers will appear in the *Introductions* to the several books. The name of Solomon is pre-eminent among the Wise, probably because he founded a school or became its chief representative. In later times, and perhaps very gradually, they became a recognized class. Uninspired books, as the *Wisdom* of the Apocrypha and *Ecclesiasticus*, were framed upon the models of the earlier *Chokhmah*-literature. The wise man went about among the people, held

[a] Some would class with these the Book of Job. But the Book of Job is really *unique*.

classes for instruction, delighted in colloquies and discussions; in fact, the words spoken of Wisdom in the abstract had probably a literal fulfilment in the habits and methods of its professors:—

> In the top of high places by the way,
> Where the paths meet, she standeth;
> Beside the gates, at the entry of the city,
> At the coming in at the doors, she crieth aloud:
> 'Unto you, O men, I call;
> And my voice is to the sons of men.'
>
> Pr 8^{2-4} R. V.

The Book of Proverbs

395. Contents of the Book.—The Book of the *Proverbs of Solomon* contains more than the title indicates. A proverb is a short sentence, conveying some moral truth or practical lesson in a concise, pointed form; and sometimes the name is applied to enigmatical propositions of similar moral or practical tendency. The Hebrew word מָשָׁל *mashal* means not only such terse aphoristic sentences, but similitude, parable (Eze 17^{2} 21^{5} 24^{3}), or even prophetic strain (Num 23^{7} 24^{3-23}). In this book we have, in addition to such sayings, many exhortations to prudence and virtue, with eulogies on true wisdom. These latter form the subject of the first nine chapters. The book takes its name from its principal author: other 'wise men,' however, contributed to it, and it is not always easy to distinguish the several writers. The sections that are Solomon's are part, probably, of the 3,000 proverbs he is recorded to have spoken, 1 Ki 4^{32}, from which they are an inspired selection. He sought wisdom rather than any other gift, and God honoured his request by granting him a larger measure of it than was enjoyed by any of his contemporaries. To communicate a portion of what he had received for the lasting benefit of others was his aim. The proverbs from the 25th to the 29th chapters inclusive were collected by the 'men of Hezekiah,' among whom were probably Isaiah and Micah. See also 2 Ch 31^{13}.

Proverbial instruction is common in the early history of most nations, and especially in the East. This style of communication excites attention, exercises ingenuity, is favourable to habits of reflection, and fastens truth upon the memory in a form at once agreeable and impressive. The elegance and force of the proverbs of Solomon are increased by the poetic parallelisms in which they are written. Nearly every sentence is antithetical or explanatory, and attention to corresponding clauses will often fix the reading and determine the sense.

The leading aim of the writer is, as stated at the outset, to 'give a young man knowledge and discretion.' This book is, for practical ethics, what the Book of Psalms is for devotion. It has lessons for every age and condition. All may draw from it the most excellent counsels; and the man who, possessed of the sound principles of piety, shall form his life by the rules of this volume, cannot fail to attain honour and happiness. The wisest authors have done little more than dilate on the precepts and comment on the wisdom of Solomon.

Religious basis of the whole.—Though most of his rules are based chiefly on considerations of prudence, strictly religious motives are either presupposed or expressly enjoined. 'The fear of the Lord is,' with him, 'the beginning of wisdom,' 1^{7} 9^{10}. His morality is based on religion. Vice, moreover, is condemned, and virtue enforced, by appeals to the holiest motives; as the authority of God, 16^{6}; His exact knowledge of men's hearts and ways, 5^{21} 15^{11}; the rewards of righteousness, and the punishment of wickedness, by His just appointment, 19^{29} 23^{17-19} 26^{10}. *Practical wisdom*, therefore, *resting upon and rising out of religious character*, is the aim of this portion of the inspired volume.

396. Outline.—The book may be divided into five parts:—

i. A connected discourse on the value and attainment of true wisdom, 1–9.

ii. Proverbs, strictly so called, expressed in couplet form, with much force and simplicity, 10-22[16]. Headed, 'The Proverbs of Solomon.'

iii. Renewed admonitions on the study of wisdom, as in part i, 22[17]–24. Headed (22[17]), 'The Words of the Wise.'

iv. Proverbs of Solomon, selected by 'the men of Hezekiah,' 25–29.

v. The wise instructions of Agur, the son of Jakeh, to his pupils Ithiel and Ucal, and lessons taught to King Lemuel by his mother, 30, 31. Who these persons were is not known. The proverbs of ch. 30 are chiefly enigmatical, and ch. 31, verses 10–31, an alphabetical acrostic, gives a picture of female excellence adapted to that age and country.

The descriptions of Wisdom in 1[20–33] 8 and 9[1–6] apply emphatically to the wisdom of God, revealed and embodied in His Son, and to the Son Himself, as the eternal Word. Compare ch. 8 with Jn 1[1] 14[10]. Pre-intimations of immortality are also given in 4[18] 12[28] 14[32] 15[24].

The nature and consequences of sin are implied in the very terms which describe holiness, 1[20]: see also 1[24] 16[5] 21[4] 24[9]; and that holiness is a Divine gift is plainly implied in 1[23].

397. Rules for applying the Proverbs.—In expounding and applying the maxims of this book there are two golden rules.

1. Like other general laws, some of them have occasional exceptions. Not all are unlimited or universal. For example, 10[27], 'The fear of the Lord prolongeth days, but the years of the wicked shall be shortened.' Such is often the rule: but Abel was murdered and the life of Cain prolonged. Jonathan and Saul—the one a very brother of David, the other an apostate—perish in the same battle: 'the corn cut down with the weeds, though to better purpose.' Men are less likely to harm us if we be followers of that which is good, and yet persecution, because of our goodness, is supposed, 1 Pet 3[13]. In truth, God has to teach us a double lesson—that He *certainly* will punish, and that He will punish *hereafter*. The shortening of the years of the

wicked—present punishment—teaches the first: the lengthening of their years—the postponement of punishment—the second. Hence both the exception and the rule. 16^{7}, 'When a man's ways please the Lord, He maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him.' So it was with Abraham and the Israelites, with Solomon and Jehoshaphat; so it was not with David, nor with Paul.

2. The force and significancy of these maxims will be most clearly seen and felt if they be studied in the light of Scripture examples. They are comprehensive laws, understood best when examined in particular cases.

Historical Illustrations.—The following instances from Nicholls' *Help to the Reading of the Bible* are instructive:—

1^{7} 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge: but the foolish despise wisdom and instruction.' (Rehoboam, 1 Ki 12^{13}; Eli's sons, 1 Sa 2^{25}; Athenian philosophers, Ac 17^{18}.)

1^{10} 'My son, if sinners entice thee, consent thou not.' (Adam, Gen 3^{6}; Balaam, Num 22; Jehoshaphat, 1 Ki 22^{4}; prophet of Judah, 1 Ki $13^{15-19.24}$; Micaiah's firmness, 1 Ki $22^{13.14}$.)

1^{32} 'The prosperity of fools shall destroy them.' (The Israelites, Dt 32^{15-25} Hos 13^{6}; Tyre, Sodom, Eze 16^{49}; Eze $28^{2.16.17}$.)

$3^{5.6}$ 'Trust in the Lord with all thine heart, and lean not upon thine own understanding: in all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He shall direct thy paths.' (Asa, 2 Ch 14^{9-15}; Hezekiah, 2 Ki 19^{14}, &c.; Abraham's servant, Gen 24^{12-27} Ne 2^{4} Ezr 8^{21-23}; David, 1 Sa 30^{6-8}.)

4^{14} 'Enter not into the path of the wicked.' (Lot, Gen 13^{10-13}; David, 1 Sa 27^{1}.)

$4^{18.19}$ 'The path of the righteous is as the shining light.' (Nathanael, Jn 1^{46-51}; Cornelius, Ac 10; Paul, 2 Cor 3^{18}.) 'The way of the wicked is as darkness: they know not at what they stumble.' (Ahab, 1 Ki 18^{17}; the Jews, Eze 18^{29} Jer $5^{19.25}$.)

5^{22} 'His own iniquities shall take the wicked.' (Agag, 1 Sa 15^{33}; Adoni-bezek, Judg 1^{7}; Haman, Est 7^{10}; Judas, Mt 27^{3-5}.)

9^{8} 'Reprove a wise man, and he will love thee.' (David loved Nathan, 1 Ki 1^{32-34}; Peter loved our Lord, Jn 21^{17}; the two disciples constrained their reprover to abide with them, Lu $24^{25.29}$.)

10^{2} 'Treasures of wickedness profit nothing.' (Tyre, Eze 26^{15} 27 28; the rich man, Lu 16^{23}.) 'But righteousness delivereth from death.' (Noah, Gen 7^{1} with Heb 11^{7} Dan 5^{6}, Belshazzar contrasted with Daniel.)

10^{7} 'The memory of the just is blessed.' (Elisha, 2 Ki 13^{21}; Jehoiada, 2 Ch 24^{15}, &c.; Dorcas, Ac 9^{36}, &c.; Mary, Mk 14^{9}.) 'But the name of the wicked shall rot.' (Absalom, 2 Sa 18^{17}; Jehoiakim, Jer $22^{18.19}$; Jezebel, 2 Ki 9^{37}; Jeroboam, son of Nebat, 2 Ki $13^{14.15}$.)

10[8] 'The wise in heart will receive commandments.' (David, 2 Sa 7; the nobleman, Jn 4[50].) 'But a prating fool shall fall.' (Amaziah, 2 Ki 14[8–11].)

10[24] 'The fear of the wicked, it shall come upon him.' (The Canaanites, Jos 5; Belshazzar, Dn 5; Ahab, 1 Ki 22; Haman, Est 7[7–10].) 'But the desire of the righteous shall be granted.' (Hannah, 1 Sa 1 Est 4[16] 8[15–17]; Simeon, Lu 2[29.30]: see also Ps 37[4] Jo 16[23.24].)

10[25] 'When the whirlwind passeth, the wicked is no more.' (Elah, 1 Ki 16[9]; Zimri, 1 Ki 16[18.19].) 'But the righteous is an everlasting foundation.' (Abraham, Gen 17[1–8]; David, 2 Sa 7[16]: see also Mt 7[24.25].)

11[2] 'When pride cometh, then cometh shame.' (Miriam, Num 12[10]; Uzziah, 2 Ch 26[16–21]; Nebuchadnezzar, Dn 4[30], &c.) 'But with the lowly is wisdom.' (Daniel, Dn 2[30]; Joseph, Gen 41[16].)

11[5.6] 'The righteousness of the perfect shall direct his way: but the wicked shall fall by his own wickedness. The righteousness of the upright shall deliver them: but they that deal treacherously shall be taken in their own mischief.' (Haman, Est 7[10] 8[7]; Daniel's accusers, Dn 6[24], &c.; Ahithophel's death, 2 Sa 17[23], contrasted with David's restoration to his throne.)

11[10] 'When it goeth well with the righteous, the city rejoiceth.' (Mordecai, Est 8[16].) 'When the wicked perish, there is shouting.' (Athaliah, 2 Ki 11[13.20]: see Rev 19[1–3].)

11[25] 'The liberal soul shall be made fat: and he that watereth shall be watered also himself.' (Abraham, Gen 13[9.14]; widow of Zarephath, 1 Ki 17[10], &c.; the Shunammite, 2 Ki 4.)

12[5] 'The counsels of the wicked are deceit.' (Geshem, Ne 6[2]; Ishmael, Jer 41[1.7]; Daniel's accusers to Darius, Dn 6[8]; Herod's to the wise men, Mt 2; the Pharisees respecting the tribute money, Mt 22[15]; the Jews laying wait for Paul, Ac 23[15].)

12[19] 'The lip of truth shall be established for ever.' (Caleb and Joshua, Num 13[14]; Nathan to David, 2 Sa 7[12–17], with Lu 1[32].) 'But a lying tongue is but for a moment.' (Gehazi, 2 Ki 5; Ananias, Ac 5.)

12[25] 'Heaviness in the heart of man maketh it stoop; but a good word maketh it glad.' (Nehemiah, Ne 2[1.2]; the woman that was a sinner, Lu 7[38.50]; Mary Magdalene, Jn 20[11–18]: see also Lu 24[17–32].)

13[7] 'There is that maketh himself rich, yet hath nothing.' (Haman, Est 5[13]; church of Laodicea contrasted with the church of Smyrna, Rev 3[17] 2[9]; Ahab, 1 Ki 21[4.16.22].) 'There is that maketh himself poor, yet hath great wealth.' (Matthew, Lu 5[27.28]; Paul, 2 Cor 6[10] Phil 3[8].)

13[24] 'He that spareth his rod hateth his son: but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes.' (Eli, 1 Sa 3[13]; David, 1 Ki 1[5.6].)

14[6] 'A scorner seeketh wisdom, and findeth it not.' (Athenian

philosophers, Ac 17^{18}; Herod, Lu 23^{8}; the Jews looking for the Messiah, and yet rejecting Christ, Ac 13^{41} Jn 9^{29}.) 'But knowledge is easy unto him that hath understanding.' (See Ps $119^{18,98-100}$ Jas 1^{5} Mt 11^{25}.)

14^{8} 'The wisdom of the prudent is to understand his way.' (Job 28^{28} Dt 4^{6} Eccl 12^{13}.) 'But the folly of fools is deceit.' (Gehazi, 2 Ki $5^{20.27}$; Daniel's accusers, Dn 6^{24}; Ananias and Sapphira, Ac 5^{1-11}.)

14^{32} 'The wicked is thrust down in his evil-doing.' (Hophni and Phinehas, 1 Sa 4^{11}.) 'But the righteous hath hope in his death.' (Jacob, Gen 49^{18}; Stephen, Ac 7^{55-60}; Paul, 2 Tim 4^{6-8}; Peter, 2 Pet $1^{14.16}$ 3^{13}.)

15^{1} 'A soft answer turneth away wrath.' (The Reubenites, Jos $22^{15.21-30}$; Gideon, Judg 8^{1-3}; Abigail, 1 Sa 25^{23}.) 'But a grievous word stirreth up anger.' (Rehoboam, 2 Ch 10^{13}, &c.; Paul and Barnabas, Ac 15^{39}; Saul and Jonathan, 1 Sa 20^{30-34}.)

The Book of Ecclesiastes

398. Title and Authorship.—The English name of this book, which is taken from the Greek version, signifies one who convenes or addresses an assembly, and is expressed by the term 'the Preacher.' Probably this represents the sense of the Hebrew title, *Qoheleth*, a feminine derivative from a word meaning 'assembly'; or it may be rendered 'She who is an assembly' (Tyler); represented as speaking through the voice of one person. The person is identified as Solomon, but ideally, as though his spirit spoke: 'I *was* king.' The belief has been very general that he was the actual author, and that the book contains the penitent reminiscences and wise conclusions of his old age. The book would thus be an interesting addition to the history which nowhere speaks of Solomon as repentant. According to this view, that illustrious prince, though so richly endowed with wisdom, turned away from God, and sought happiness in earthly and idolatrous practices, 1 Ki 11^{1-13}; but in his latter years, being made sensible of his folly, he here records his experience; the truths here given having been 'proclaimed' by him

in public to those who crowded from all parts to his court to be instructed by his wisdom.

Modern criticism, however, places the composition of the book at a much later period. The evidence of language alone seems decisive. 'We could as easily believe,' writes Dr. Ginsburg, 'that Chaucer is the author of *Rasselas* as that Solomon wrote Qoheleth.' 'If the Book of Ecclesiastes,' writes Delitzsch, 'was written in the age of Solomon, there is no history of the Hebrew language.' The indications of date and authorship drawn from the contents, in the opinion of many expositors, confirm the same conclusion, and point rather to the Persian age. But this point is open to discussion; the main teaching and great moral of the book remain unaffected by the question of authorship.

399. Design of the Book.—Its intention is evidently to show the utter insufficiency of all earthly pursuits and objects, as the chief end of life, to confer solid happiness; and to draw men off from *apparent* good to the only real and permanent good—the fear of God and communion with Him. 'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity' is its first lesson. 'Fear God, and keep His commandments' is its last. In accomplishing this design Solomon is represented as giving a dramatic biography of his own life, not only recording, but re-enacting the successive scenes of his own search for happiness; reciting past experience, and in his fervour reproducing the various phases of his former self. He shows incidentally how men ought to demean themselves amidst the various disappointments with which they will have to contend. Hence the warnings and counsels with which the descriptions of vanity and exhortations to make the fear of God and the performance of moral and religious duties the chief good abound.

Both the vividness and the difficulty of the narrative are increased by the form in which it is written. The author appears to be for the

moment what he himself describes. He seems to have (what our older writers call) 'fyttes' of study (1^{12-18}), of luxury (2^{1-11}), of grossness and refinement, of conviviality and misanthropy; fyttes of building, and of book-making, all ending in collapses of bitterest disappointment. We have in succession the man of science and the man of pleasure becoming fatalist, materialist, epicurean, stoic; speaking in each character much truth, and interposing some earnest enlightened interludes, the fruits of his maturer wisdom; and at last we have the noblest style of man—the humble and penitent believer.

If this fact be kept in view the meaning of several passages will be plain. Many conclusions indicated are the expressions of strong shrewd sense; others of them contain glimpses of deep spiritual truth (5^{1-3} 7^{29} 11^{5} $12^{1,7}$); others, again, are but partially true, and some are absolutely false (2^{16} 3^{19} 9^{2}). A strain of pessimism pervades the whole. Many efforts have been made, in vain, to harmonize this with other parts of Scripture. It is not thus that the melancholy sayings of *Qoheleth* are to be explained. Each picture is the likeness of a sagacious disappointed worldling, with added lights thrown in from a Divine source. The book is a narrative of fantastic hopes and blank failures, with descriptions even stronger than truth. The conclusion of the whole matter is, that we are to fear God and keep His commandments. That conclusion is true, as are many of the incidental warnings and appeals; but much of the argument is not. A comparison may illustrate both the argument and the end. As the forty-fifth Psalm is a lesser Canticles, so we have a lesser Ecclesiastes in the seventy-third.

While all agree that the main design of the book is to exalt religion as man's 'chief end,' different views have been taken of the illustrations and arguments. Some have held that the grand lesson is the vanity of everything earthly apart from godliness, and with such every illustration and every part is true. Luther, on the other hand, thought the lesson of the book to be—be godly, and concerning everything else, be tranquil; for life is not worth your care. Within certain limits both views are just. Apart from religion all things are vain, though not equally vain; and with religion nothing can harm us, though even then wisdom and folly are not indifferent; nor does one thing happen alike to all. Some have discovered two

speakers in the different parts of the book. Compare Tennyson's *Two Voices*.

The canonicity of Ecclesiastes is recognized by the early Christian writers, and though the book is not formally quoted by our Lord or His Apostles, there are several references to it in the New Testament.

By the Jews it was not reckoned one of the poetical books, and indeed the whole, except 3^{28} 7^{1-14} 11^{17} 12^{7}, is written in prose.

The Song of Songs

400. Authorship and canonicity.—The universal voice of antiquity ascribes this poem to Solomon. His songs, we are told, were a thousand and five, 1 Ki 4^{32}; and this is called, in Hebrew idiom, the song of songs, the best, that is, of them all.

Many modern critics have questioned the tradition of Solomonic authorship, chiefly on two grounds (1) the later words and idioms which occur in the Song, and (2) some expressions which have seemed incongruous as uttered by the king (see 3^{6-11} $8^{11.12}$). The unusual words in question, however, are regarded by some Hebraists as northern provincialisms: and, at any rate, whether Solomon were the actual writer or not, the weight of criticism, based upon internal evidence, assigns the work to his period (Ewald). Dean Farrar well enumerates points on which every reader can judge, such as the marked resemblance in thought and diction to passages in the Book of Proverbs[a], the acquaintance with articles of foreign commerce, the allusion to Pharaoh's chariots as in Palestine (1^{9}), the mention of the Tower of David as still hung with a thousand shields (4^{4}), the reference to Heshbon (7^{4}), which in Is 15^{4} belongs not to Israel but to Moab; the

[a] *Solomon* ('Men of the Bible' series), p. 172.

allusion to Tirzah (6^4) as a lovely abode, like Jerusalem, whereas Tirzah ceased to be the northern capital after the reign of Omri [a]. The cumulative force of these passages, with others only less significant, is decisive against the theory of a late origin advanced by some modern critics. The expressions supposed to be inconsistent with Solomon's authorship may be explained by the dramatic character of the composition.

This book has always been ranked among the canonical writings of the Old Testament. It is not quoted, indeed, in the New, but it formed part of the Jewish Scriptures, is cited in the Talmud as canonical, was translated by the authors of the LXX, is included in all ancient catalogues, and is attested expressly by Melito (second century), Origen (d. 253), Jerome (fifth century), the Jewish Talmud, and Theodoret of Cyprus (450 A. D.). In the Hebrew canon it ranks with the Hagiographa, and is one of the five *Megilloth*. It is read annually at the Feast of the Passover.

Occasion of the poem.—On what occasion it was written is not certain. The imagery seems derived from the marriage of Solomon, either with Pharaoh's daughter (1 Ki 3^1 7^8 9^{24}, compared with Song 1^9 6^{12}), or with some native of Northern Palestine, espoused some years later (2^1), of noble birth (7^1), though inferior to her husband (1^6).

401. Personages of the poem.—Whatever the occasion of the poem, we find in reading it two characters who speak and act throughout; the one Solomon (Shelomoh, the peaceful), and the other Shûlammîth (the Shulammite); possibly, as many interpreters have thought, a feminine form of the king's name. It is now, however, generally held to be equivalent to Shunammite, a damsel of Shunem, like Abishag, 1 Ki 1^3. It is even a modern conjecture

[a] Compare 2^6 with Pr 4^8; 4^5 and 7^3 with Pr 5^{19}; 4^{11} with Pr 5^3 and 24^{13}; 5^1 with Pr 9^5; 5^6 with Pr 1^{28}; 7^9 with Pr 23^{31} (R.V. marg.); 8^{12} with Pr 27^{18}.

that Solomon married Abishag, as Adonijah vainly and fatally aspired to do (1 Ki 2^{20-25}). The scenery of the whole poem is that of the Northern Kingdom. Shunem was on the south-western slope of Little Hermon. There is also a chorus of virgins, daughters of Jerusalem, 2^{7} 3^{5} $5^{8.9}$. Towards the close two brothers of Shulammith appear, $8^{8.9}$, see 1^{6}. As in ancient poems generally, there are no breaks to indicate change of scene or of speakers. In detecting these changes we are guided partly by the sense, but chiefly by the use in the original of feminine and masculine pronouns, of the second or third person. A neglect of this distinction has much obscured the English version. In some editions, however, as in the *Annotated Paragraph Bible*, the different scenes and characters are indicated. The following scheme may serve as at least a help to the understanding of the drama :—

Scenes and dialogue.—Scene I. *In Solomon's Gardens.* The damsels of Jerusalem, as chorus, celebrate the praise of the royal bridegroom, 1^{2-4}. The Shulammite excuses her rusticity, and asks where she may find the bridegroom : the damsels reply, 1^{5-8}. Solomon enters, and an affectionate dialogue ensues (*Solomon*, 1^{9-11} ; *Bride*, 1^{12-14} ; *S.* 1^{15} ; *B.* 1^{16}–2^{1} ; *S.* 2^{2} ; *B.* 2^{3-7}).

II. *The Shulammite, alone.* She describes first a happy visit from her beloved ; and then a dream, in which he appears as lost and found, 2^{8}–3^{5}.

III. *The Royal Espousals.* Inhabitants of Jerusalem describe the approach of the King and Bride, 3^{6-11}. A scene of mutual endearment follows (*S.* 4^{1-5} ; *B.* 4^{6} ; *S.* 4^{7-16a} ; *B.* 4^{16b} ; *S.* 5^{1}).

IV. *The Palace.* The Shulammite narrates a dream to the damsel chorus, 5^{2-8}. They reply, 5^{9}. She responds, extolling her beloved, 5^{10-16}. The chorus responds, 6^{1}. The Bride replies, 6^{2-3}. Solomon enters, and descants upon her charms, 6^{4-9}.

V. *The Palace*, continued. Dialogue between the damsel chorus and the Bride (*Chorus*, 6^{10}; *B.* $6^{11.12}$; *C.* and *B.* alternately, 6^{13}). Damsels continue, 7^{1-5}. Solomon enters and again expresses his delight, 7^{6-9a}. The Bride invites her beloved to visit her childhood's rural home, 7^{9b}–8^{4}.

VI. *The Shulammite's Home.* Inhabitants of the country, 8^{5a}; Solomon, 8^{5b}; the Bride, $8^{6.7}$; her Brothers, $8^{8.9}$; the Bride, 8^{10-12}; Solomon, 8^{13}; the Bride, 8^{14}.

The above arrangement presupposes what has been generally held, that the Shulammite is represented as *Solomon's Bride*.

402. Other interpretations: the Shepherd-lover.—A modern interpretation, however, which has found much favour, gives an entirely different turn to the drama. According to this view, the heroine of the poem is represented as betrothed to a shepherd youth in Northern Palestine, where she is seen and wooed by Solomon, who takes her in his train to Jerusalem; but she proves inaccessible to his advances, remaining faithful to her rustic lover, to whom in the end she is happily united, with the sanction of the king. The poem thus depicts the beauty of true and steadfast love. The arrangement would vary from that given above chiefly in transferring the language of the Shulammite in scenes i–v to her absent shepherd-lover, whose memory so fills her heart that there is no room for the king.

Wedding-songs.—It should be added that some expositors have regarded the book not as a continued dramatic idyll, but as a succession of lyrics, composed to be sung at a marriage feast. Hence the name *Canticles*. Undoubtedly this interpretation gets rid of some difficulties; but upon the whole it seems preferable to regard the poem as a connected whole.

403. Allegorical use of the poem.—Literally, the

whole is a description of wedded love, one of the noblest of human affections. In this aspect the book gives a beautiful representation of the sentiments and manners which prevailed among the Israelites on conjugal and domestic life. But the poem had, no doubt, a higher aim. And so, from the earliest times, Jews and Christians have applied the whole to the history of the chosen people of God, and their relation to Him. In view of such allegorical interpretation its place in the canon became unquestioned. These views are in accord with the fact that throughout the Bible the union of Christ and His Church, or of God and His ancient people, is represented under the same endearing relation as that which the book discloses; see especially Ps 45 Is $54^{5,6}$ 62^{5} Jer 2^{2} 3^{1} Eze $16^{10,13}$ Ho 2^{14-23} Mt 9^{15} 22^{2} 25^{1-11} Jn 3^{29} 2 Cor 11^{2} Eph 5^{23-27} Rev 19^{7-9} 21^{2-9} 22^{17}.

Much of the language of this poem has been misunderstood by early expositors. Some have erred by adopting a fanciful method of explanation, and attempting to give a mystical meaning to every minute circumstance of the allegory. In all figurative representations there is always much that is mere costume; it is the general truth only that is to be examined and explained. The headings prefixed in the Authorized Version to the several chapters indicate the views of early evangelical expositors, and are so far interesting. For a sober and beautiful allegorical application the *Speaker's Commentary* may be consulted.

CHAPTER XVII

HISTORY FROM MALACHI TO JOHN THE BAPTIST

Civil History

404. The Successive Periods.—The history of the Jews between the close of the Old Testament annals and the Advent may be arranged in five periods. 1. The PERSIAN supremacy, as continued after the days of Nehemiah to the subjugation of the empire by Alexander the Great, B. C. 330. 2. The GRÆCO-MACEDONIAN rule, 330–167. This period may again be divided into two parts, the *Egyptian* and the *Syrian* supremacy, divided by years of conflict between the two powers for the mastery of Palestine. 3. The great struggle under the MACCABEES for national independence, 167–141. 4. The rule of the HASMONÆAN PRIESTS, eventually Priest-Kings, up to the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey, 141–63. 5. Final subjection to the ROMANS, B.C. 63–B.C. 4 (Herod the Great, tributary king of Judæa, from B.C. 37 to B.C. 4).

The Persian Supremacy.

405. Duration and character of the Persian Rule.—For nearly a century after Nehemiah's time Judæa continued subject to the kings of Persia[a]. The Persian kings appear to have treated the Jews with contemptuous tolera-

[a] *Persian Kings after Artaxerxes Longimanus.*

(Xerxes II and Sogdianus) B.C. 425.
Darius II (Nothus), B.C. 424.
Artaxerxes II (Mnemon), B.C. 405.
Artaxerxes Ochus, B.C. 350.
(Revolt under Arses), B.C. 338.
Darius III (Codomannus), B.C. 336.
(Battle of Arbela, B.C. 331.)

tion; permitting them to exercise their worship without hindrance, and to observe their ceremonial law.

The union of the civil government and the pontificate soon made the office one of high ambition to the different members of the family of Aaron, and gave occasion to many violent and disgraceful contests.

One of these contests, narrated by Josephus, is almost the only distinct incident recorded during the whole century. The high-priest Jochanan, son of Joiada (Ne 12^{22}), in a fit of jealous passion assassinated his brother Joshua in the very Temple. The Syrian governor, Bagoses, hastening to the scene, was about to enter the sacred building, but was repelled, as for an act of sacrilege, when he indignantly replied, 'Surely, as a living man, I am purer than that corpse!' As a penalty for the crime Bagoses imposed a tax of 50 drachmas for every lamb offered in the Temple for seven years.

406. Rise of Samaritan worship.—Jochanan was succeeded in the high-priesthood by his son Jaddua, whose brother Manasseh, according to Josephus, married the daughter of Sanballat, governor of Samaria, and was induced by him to establish a sanctuary on Mount Gerizim in rivalry to the Temple of Jerusalem. See further, p. 626.

This Sanballat, if the account be accepted, cannot have been the Horonite mentioned by Nehemiah; but it is probable that there is some confusion in the account of Josephus. What is certain is, that the rival worship was now established at Samaria, and attracted a great number of priests and other Jews from the distracted capital of Judæa.

407. Persia and Egypt.—The period was also one of constant struggle of the Persian with Egyptian powers. Judæa, lying 'between the anvil and the hammer,' suffered much. As subjects of Persia many Jews were, from time to time, impressed into its army, a serious grievance to the worshippers of the One God. In the days of Artaxerxes III (Ochus) many thousands of Jews, having been implicated in a Phœnician revolt, were deported to Babylonia and the shores of the Caspian. Others were carried into Egypt,

which kingdom finally submitted to Ochus in 346, and became a satrapy of the Persian empire, Nectanebo II, of the Thirtieth dynasty, being 'the last of the Pharaohs.'

Græco-Macedonian Supremacy

408. Alexander and his successors.—Upon the overthrow of the Persian army by Alexander the Great (B.C. 333) Syria fell under his power; and Tyre was taken after an obstinate resistance. Alexander then marched into Judæa to punish the Jews, who, out of respect for their oath to the King of Persia, had granted the Tyrians supplies of provisions and refused them to him. But (it is related) as he approached Jerusalem, and saw a solemn procession of the people coming to meet him, headed by the high-priest Jaddua and all the priests, in their robes of office, God turned his heart to spare and favour them. In its picturesque particulars, as described by Josephus, the incident is doubtful: what is certain is that, for some reason or other, Alexander treated the Jews with extraordinary favour. He continued to them the free enjoyment of their laws and religion; granted them exemption from tribute during their sabbatical years; and when he built the city of Alexandria (B.C. 331) placed a great number of Jews there and gave them the same privileges as his Greek subjects.

409. Egyptian Rule[a].—On the division of Alexander's

[a] *Table of the Græco-Egyptian Kings*: 'Kings of the South,' Dn. 11.

Ptolemy I, surnamed *Soter*, 'Deliverer,' B.C. 323.
Ptolemy II (*Philadelphus*), Septuagint begun, B.C. 285.
Ptolemy III (*Euergetes*, 'Benefactor'), B.C. 247.
Ptolemy IV (*Philopator*) attacks the Temple, B.C. 222.
Ptolemy V (*Epiphanes*, 'Illustrious'), B.C. 205.
Ptolemy VI (*Eupator*), B.C. 182.
Ptolemy VII (*Philometor*), B.C. 181.
Ptolemy VIII (*Philopator II*), B.C. 146.
Ptolemy IX (*Physcon, Euergetes II*), B.C. 145.
Ptolemy X (*Lathyrus*), B.C. 117.
Ptolemy XI and XII, rivals, B.C. 81.
Ptolemy XIII (*Auletes*), B.C. 80.
Cleopatra, B.C. 51.
Egypt made a Roman Province, B.C. 30.

empire after his death, B. C. 323, Judæa was at first subject to the kingdom of Syria under Antigonus, but it ultimately fell under the power of Ptolemy I, son of Lagus, surnamed 'Soter' or 'Deliverer,' who seized Jerusalem B. C. 320, without a blow, on a sabbath day when the Jews were unarmed and resting. From that time Judæa formed, with a brief twelve years' interval (B. C. 314–302) a part of the monarchy of Egypt up to the time of the Syrian Antiochus the Great (see § 410). Ptolemy removed many of the people to Alexandria, confirmed their privileges, and even advanced some of them to offices of authority and trust. By successive deportations and voluntary removals Egypt became, and long continued, an important seat of the Jewish population. The moral influence of this change will be noticed in a succeeding section. The part which Ptolemy II (Philadelphus) took in originating the Septuagint, or Greek translation of the Old Testament, is especially noticeable. See Part I, § 29. Ptolemy IV (Philopator) in one part of his reign appeared as a persecutor of the Jews in Alexandria; having been offended, during a visit to Jerusalem, by his exclusion from the Temple. But his designs were providentially frustrated. Having shut up a large number of Jews in the hippodrome, and turned wild elephants upon them, the beasts in a panic broke away from their destined victims, and rushed among the spectators, inflicting many injuries.

During the time of Ptolemy I the prosperity of the Jews was much promoted by the internal administration of an excellent high-priest, Simon the Just, whose character and administration are brilliantly recorded by the Son of Sirach (Ecclus 50^{1-21}). He was high-priest for about twenty years (B. C. *cir.* 310–290). He repaired and fortified Jerusalem and the Temple with strong and lofty walls, and made a spacious reservoir of water, 'in compass as a sea.' He is said to have completed the canon of the Old Testa-

ment by the addition of the Books of Ezra, Haggai, Zechariah, Nehemiah, Esther, and Malachi. The Jews also affirm that Simon was 'the *last* of the great synagogue,' which is described as having consisted of 120 individuals, among whom were Ezra, Haggai, Zechariah, Nehemiah, and Malachi. But see § 24, p. 23. Simon died in the year B. C. 291.

410. Syrian Rule[a].—After the Jewish nation had been tributary to the kings of Egypt for about a hundred years (during the last sixty of which it enjoyed almost uninterrupted tranquillity under the shadow of their power), it became subject, in the reign of Antiochus III (the Great), to the kings of Syria (B. C. 198), whose seat of government was at Antioch. They divided the land into five provinces; three of which were on the west side of Jordan, namely, Galilee, Samaria, and Judæa (though the whole country was frequently called *Judæa* after this time); and two on the eastern side, namely, Trachonitis and Peræa: but the Jews were still allowed to be governed by their own laws, under the high-priest and council of the nation.

At first the Syrian kings were well disposed to the Jews. Seleucus Philopator, son and successor of Antiochus the Great, even maintained the cost of the Temple sacrifices out of his own revenues. His mind,

[a] *Table of the Græco-Syrian Kings*:
Seleucus I (*Nicator*), B. C. 312.
Antiochus I (*Soter*, 'Deliverer'), B. C. 280.
Antiochus II (*Theos*, 'God'), B. C. 260.
Seleucus II (*Callinicus*, 'victorious'), B. C. 246.
Seleucus III (*Ceraunus*, 'thunderbolt'), B. C. 225.
Antiochus III, 'the Great,' B. C. 223.
Seleucus IV (*Philopator*), B. C. 187.
Antiochus IV (*Epiphanes*, 'Illustrious'), *Great Persecution*, B. C. 175.
Antiochus V (*Eupator*), B. C. 164.
Demetrius I (*Soter*), B. C. 162.
Demetrius II (*Nicator*), B. C. 146.
Antiochus VI (*Trypho*), a child.
Antiochus VII (*Sidetes*), B. C. 137.
Demetrius II restored, B. C. 129.
Antiochus VIII (*Grypus*), B. C. 125.
Seleucus V (*Epiphanes*), *civil contests*, B. C. 96.
Tigranes, the Armenian, B. C. 83.
Syria a Roman Province, B. C. 66.
'Kings of the North,' Dn 11.

however, became poisoned by Simon, a Benjamite, 'governor of the Temple,' at whose instigation an attempt was made to seize upon the accumulated treasures of the sanctuary[a]. The royal commissioner, Heliodorus, was struck down in the endeavour to execute his sacrilegious task—it was said, by an angelic apparition, but probably by a more earthly defender of the sacred shrine—and for a time the work of plunder was frustrated. Onias III, the high-priest, as a rigorous and devout upholder of the Law, was an object of animosity to the now growing Hellenistic party in Judæa, and the strife was accentuated by the watchful jealousy of the two kingdoms. The strife had seemed allayed when Antiochus made over the revenues of Cœle-Syria and Palestine to Ptolemy, the young King of Egypt, on his marriage with the Syrian princess Cleopatra. But she died early (B.C. 171), and Antiochus IV, who had succeeded his brother Seleucus upon the throne, reclaimed his sister's dowry, defeating Egypt near Pelusium, and became undisputed master of Palestine. 'Epiphanes,' *illustrious*, was his surname; but the Jews of after days changed it to 'Epimanes,' *madman*, as a memorial of his justly-detested name.

Antiochus Epiphanes.—The determination of Antiochus from the first was to 'Hellenize' every part of his dominions. Incensed by the resolute opposition which his plans encountered from the Jews he proceeded to depose the high-priest Onias III, appointing the priest's younger brother, Joshua (under the Græcized name of Jason), to the office. The new high-priest's first step was to procure the enrollment of the inhabitants of Jerusalem as citizens of Antioch, followed by a superfluous act of apostasy in the form of a contribution towards the worship of the Tyrian Hercules! But Jason overshot his mark, and was dispossessed in less than two years by one Menahem (in Greek form, Menelaus), who, to make his position secure, procured the assassination of Onias. The partisans of Jason rallied to the strife, and Antiochus interfered between the rival claimants. Marching to Jerusalem he plundered the city and Temple with every circumstance of cruelty and profanation, and slew or enslaved great numbers of the inhabitants (B. C. 170). For three years and a half they were

[a] See 2 Mac 3 for the whole story, embellished by marvellous accompaniments.

altogether deprived of their civil and religious liberties. The daily sacrifice was prohibited, and upon the great altar of burnt-offering a small altar to Jupiter Capitolinus was erected. On the 25th of Chisleu (December), 168, the desecration was consummated in the offering of a sow upon the great altar, and in the sprinkling of the liquor in which a portion of it had been boiled over the copies of the Law and every available part of the Temple. Such was the 'Abomination of Desolation,' which became proverbial; Dn 9^{27} 12^{11} Mt 24^{15} Mk 13^{14}. The observance of the law of God was forbidden under the severest penalties; every copy of the sacred writings which could be seized was burned; and the people were required, under pain of death, to join in heathen worship and to eat swine's flesh. Never before had the Jews been exposed to so furious a persecution. Numerous as were the apostates, a remnant continued faithful: and these events were doubtless made instrumental in calling the attention of the heathen around to those great principles for which many of the Jews at that time were willing to lay down their lives.

411. The Maccabæan uprising.—At length God raised up a deliverer for His people in the family of the Hasmonæans[a]. **Mattathias,** a priest at Modin, a small town about fifteen miles west of Jerusalem, a man eminent for piety and resolution, and the father of five sons, encouraged the people by his example and exhortations 'to stand up for the Law.' With his own hands he struck down an apostate Jew at the idol altar, as well as the Syrian officer who presided at the ceremonial. Mattathias then fled to the mountains and rallied around him a devoted band of men pledged to free the nation from the oppression and persecution of the Syrians, and to restore the worship of Jehovah. Being very old when engaged in this arduous

[a] So called from Chasmon, an ancestor; priest of the order of Joiarib. See 1 Ch 24^{7} Ne 12^{19}.

work, he did not live to see its completion; and the address of the dying hero to his sons, in which he committed to them the cause of their country and their God (1 Mac 2^{49-68}), is a noble utterance of patriotism and piety.

On his death his third and most distinguished son, **Judas,** succeeded to the command of the army (B. C. 163), in which he was assisted by his four brothers, especially by Simon, the eldest of them, a man of remarkable prudence.

The name by which Judas became known in history is that of Maccabæus, the meaning of which is obscure. The conjecture that its consonants are the initial letters of the Hebrew words *Mi Khamo-Kha Baʾlim Iahveh*, a sentence from Ex 15^{11}, 'Who is like unto Thee among the gods, O Jehovah?' and that these letters were inscribed on his standard, is now set aside for a more probable derivation from *makkābāh*, 'hammer,' in the sense that Edward I was known as *Scotorum Malleus*, and Thomas Cromwell as the *Malleus Monachorum*.

412. Reconsecration of the Temple (B. C. 164).—After several victories over the troops of Antiochus, Judas gained possession of Jerusalem and the Temple. His first care was to purify both from all traces of idolatry. The Temple was consecrated anew to the service of God, and the daily sacrifices were resumed. This reconsecration of the Temple and revival of worship (B. C. 165) was ever afterwards celebrated by an annual feast for eight days, beginning the 25th of Chisleu, the anniversary of the day on which, three years before, the altar had been polluted, and was called the Feast of the Dedication, Jn 10^{22}.

413. The Jews in Egypt.—Whilst the Maccabæan princes were thus contending in Judæa for faith and freedom, their brethren who had from time to time settled in Egypt enjoyed for the most part the protection and favour of the Ptolemies. The son of the high-priest, Onias, having escaped from the persecution to which his father had fallen a victim, found a home in Alexandria; and, perhaps despairing of Jerusalem in those days of tyranny and slaughter, sought to establish a new centre

of worship in the land which had nurtured Moses and Aaron. The reigning Ptolemy (Philometor) gave his willing consent; a disused heathen temple furnished an appropriate site, and the new temple of Jehovah, modelled, on a smaller scale, after the Temple in Jerusalem, was consecrated at Leontopolis in the Egyptian Delta. Inspired prophecy was quoted to justify this new enterprise. The 'City of Destruction,' Is 19^{18} (A. V.), according to another reading (R. V. marg.), is the 'City of the Sun,' in Greek, Heliopolis, the ancient On (see Gen $41^{4.5}$), and thus, it was urged, the prophet's prediction was fulfilled. This temple and its services remained as a welcome refuge and sanctuary for the Jewish people from their oppressors in Palestine; and it was not closed until about 220 years afterwards, in the days of Vespasian [a].

Palestine under Maccabæan Rule.

414. The Maccabæan Brothers.—Antiochus died soon afterwards in Persia, whither he had undertaken an expedition. It is affirmed by the author of 1 Maccabees that he died of grief, on hearing of the successes of the Jews ($6^{41.42}$); and in 2 Maccabees there is an embellished narrative, not only of the great persecutor's dreadful end, but of his late repentance (9^{5-28}). Such accounts are, however, to be taken with caution. Antiochus was succeeded by his son Antiochus Eupator; and the struggle with the Maccabæans was carried on under different kings, with varying success, for more than twenty years. In the course of these struggles the sons of Mattathias successively passed away. Judas was slain in battle (April, B.C. 161), his brother Jonathan succeeded to the command and was eventually **ordained to the priesthood,** which had been held, up to 159, by Alcimus (Eliakim), a Levite of Hellenistic tendencies. The dignities of ruler and priest were thus united in Jonathan's

[a] Josephus, *Wars*, vii. 10 § 3.

person, although it was not until nearly fifty years later that the royal title was formally assumed. Jonathan was treacherously murdered in 142, and was succeeded by his brother Simon, who finally threw off the yoke of Syria, and maintained his peaceful sway until 135, when he too was assassinated, one Ptolemy, his own son-in-law, committing this crime of double baseness. The two elder sons of Simon being slain with him, the third, John Hyrcanus, succeeded and maintained his twofold character—secular and sacred—with much resolution and success.

415. Hyrcanus I and his Successors.—Under Simon and Hyrcanus I, Judæa became a free state, supported by regular troops, strong garrisons, and alliances with other powers, including even Rome, with which Judas himself had opened negotiations, little dreaming of the issue. The country began to enjoy its former prosperity and peacefulness; and the boundaries of the state were extended in the direction of Syria, Phœnicia, Arabia, and Idumæa. Hyrcanus, among other exploits, made himself master of Samaria, and utterly destroyed the temple on Mount Gerizim, where the successors of the schismatical priest Manasseh had officiated for more than 300 years.

Line of priest-kings.—The son of Hyrcanus, Aristobulus I, first expressly assumed the title 'King of the Jews'; but he did not long enjoy the dignity. He was succeeded by his young brother, Alexander Jannæus, the tyranny and cruelty of whose rule disgraced the Hasmonæan name, and left results which subsequent years of delusive prosperity could never efface. Dying at the age of forty-nine, he bequeathed the kingdom to his widow Alexandra, by whom the priesthood was devolved upon their elder son Hyrcanus II. After her death, however, the younger son, Aristobulus, a strong and ambitious man, dispossessed his brother, who at first peacefully retired. But Antipater, governor of Idumæa, who now appeared upon the scene

with notable results, espoused the cause of Hyrcanus; and the case was at length referred to the Roman general Pompey. He pronounced in favour of the elder brother: Aristobulus fell back upon Jerusalem, which he vainly strove to defend against the Roman legions. Pompey, it is said, gained a great advantage by preparing his munitions and engines of war beneath the very walls on the Sabbath, when the inhabitants were precluded by their religious scruples from attacking him. Be this as it may, the Roman general took the city with great slaughter, entered the Temple and penetrated to the very Holy of Holies, amazed to find there no visible representation of Deity. Whether impressed by this fact, or from any other cause, he left the Temple treasures untouched[a], and retired, having reinstated Hyrcanus in a nominal sovereignty. Aristobulus and his son Alexander, offering fresh resistance, were taken and slain.

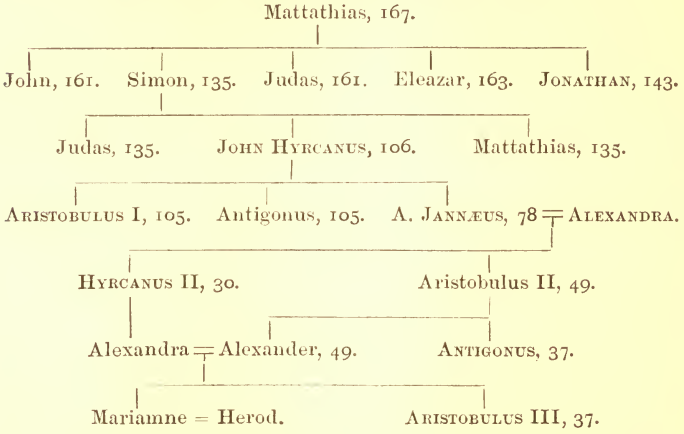
416. Intervention of Rome.—In this stage of the conflict the celebrated Mark Antony appears, as a supporter of the cause of Hyrcanus. Later on Julius Cæsar took part in the strife, resisting the claims of Antigonus, second son of Aristobulus. But the murder of Cæsar, followed by that of Antipater (father of Herod), who for twenty years had been the real ruler of the country, inspired the adherents of Antigonus with a transient hope. He was even placed upon the throne of the priest-kings, Hyrcanus being foully dispossessed. Herod fled to Rome, but soon returned and conciliated the people by his marriage with Mariamne, the beautiful grand-daughter of Hyrcanus. Antigonus was taken, and executed like a common malefactor. An obscure Babylonian priest, one Ananel, was nominated by Herod in his stead, but Herod was compelled by popular feeling to restore the Maccabæan line by

[a] Josephus, *Wars*, i. 7 § 6.

appointing Aristobulus III, the brother of his queen Mariamne. In the midst of the rejoicing of the Jews at this apparent restoration of the royal priesthood Aristobulus was drowned in bathing near Jericho—it was more than suspected, at Herod's instigation. So passed away the once famous Hasmonæan race.

417. A brief **Genealogical Table** will here assist the reader. The names of the priest-kings are printed in small capital letters, and the dates given are those of death.

The Hasmonæan family of Priestly Rulers.



List of High-Priests under Syro-Egyptian rule.

Jaddua (in the time of Alexander the Great), B.C. *c.* 335.
Onias I (son of Jaddua), 330.
Simon, 'the Just' (son of Onias I), 310.
Eleazar (brother of Simon), 290.
Manasseh (brother of Simon), 276.
Onias II (son of Simon), 250.
Simon II (son of Onias II), 219.
Onias III (son of Simon II), 198.
Joshua (Greek name Jason, bought the office), 175.
Onias IV, 'Menelaus' (outbid Jason), 172.
Jacimus or Alcimus (appointed by Antiochus V), 163.

Interruption till 153.

Jonathan (first priest of the Maccabæan line : as in the above table).

V. *Supremacy of Rome.*

418. Herod 'the Great.'—The record of Roman ascendancy in Judæa up to the time of the Advent is the history of Herod's rule. When Mark Antony was overthrown by Augustus at the battle of Actium, B.C. 31, Herod lost no time in seeking the conqueror, who confirmed him in the possession of the whole Maccabæan kingdom, in five districts: Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee, west of the Jordan; Peræa and Idumæa on the east. His reign was marked by strange contrasts. On the one hand he sought to propitiate the Jews by the enlargement, fortification, and adornment of their city. On the other, he manifested a desire to 'Romanize,' as Antiochus IV long before had sought to 'Hellenize' the people. He erected an amphitheatre in Jerusalem, instituted public games, and even gladiatorial contests, rebuilt Samaria, calling it *Sebaste* (Augusta), erecting sumptuous temples, both there and at Cæsarea Philippi (*Panias*), in honour of the emperor. He also rebuilt Stratonice on the western coast, and gave it the now well-known name of Cæsarea. When a famine broke out in Judæa and Samaria (B.C. 25) Herod spared no cost for the alleviation of its horrors, contributing the gold and silver ornaments of his palaces to equip corn-laden vessels from Egypt. At length, to crown his exertions on behalf of the people, he began in the eighteenth year of his reign (B.C. 20) the reconstruction of the Temple on a most magnificent scale. 'Forty and six years,' it was said long after his death, 'was this temple in building[a],' nor was it even then complete in all its details[b].

With all this, the relentless ambition and jealous cruelty of the king have given him a place among the worst tyrants of all time. To clear an undisputed way to the

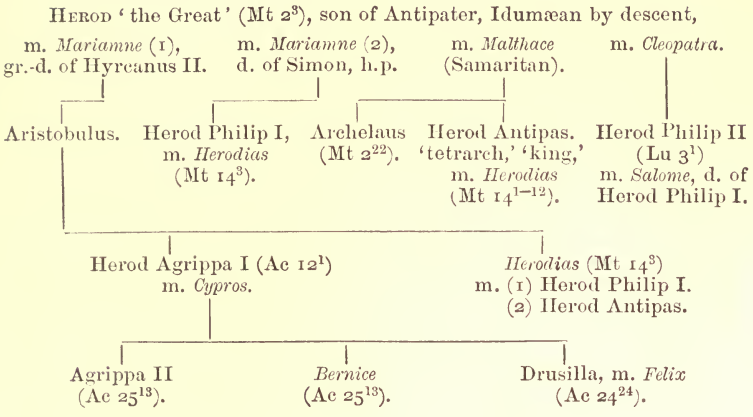
[a] Jn 2^{20}.

[b] See the description in Josephus, *Ant.* xv. § 11.

throne he put to death the venerable Hyrcanus (B.C. 31). Mariamne and her two sons afterwards fell victims to his insensate jealousy. The execution of Antipater, his son by another wife, he ordered from his death-bed. And when the end was near he directed that the elders of the chief Jewish cities should be shut up in the amphitheatre and slain as soon as the breath was out of his body, 'that there might at least be some tears at his funeral!' This order was wisely and happily disobeyed. It was a short time before his death that JESUS CHRIST was born at Bethlehem, and the massacre of 'the Innocents' was but of a piece with the character of the jealous and passionate king.

419. Governors of Judæa.—Herod was succeeded, as tributary to Rome, in the government of Judæa, with Samaria and Idumæa, by his son Archelaus, who acted with great cruelty, and in the tenth year of his reign, upon a complaint being made against him by the Jews, was banished by Augustus to Vienne, in Gaul, where he died. Publius Sulpitius Quirinius (who, according to the Greek way of writing the name, is by Luke called Cyrenius), the President of Syria, was then sent to reduce to a Roman province the countries over which Archelaus had reigned; and a governor of Judæa was appointed under the title of 'procurator,' subordinate to the President of Syria. During our Saviour's ministry Judæa and Samaria were governed by this Roman procurator, who had the power of life and death; while Galilee was governed, under the authority of the Romans, by Herod Antipas, a son of Herod the Great, with the title of 'tetrarch.' Antipas brought ruin upon himself through his unhallowed alliance with Herodias, whom he married in the lifetime of her husband, Herod Philip I. At her instance he sought from Rome the formal title of 'king,' but was deposed and died in exile (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 7, § 2).

The Herodian family as mentioned in the New Testament.



Moral and Religious History

420. Adherence to Mosaism.—During this whole period the Jews appear in a somewhat new light. Their intercourse with Gentiles in Babylon and elsewhere, and the severe chastisements they had undergone, checked their tendency to idolatry, and confirmed them in their own faith, as has been already shown. The voice of prophecy indeed was silent, but the Scriptures were systematically read in the synagogues, which were established in most of the cities of Palestine. These places of assembly and worship (where no sacrifices, of course, were offered) seem gradually to have superseded the worship in the Temple.

The intercourse of the Jews with other nations had become during the same period more general. As early as the time of the Captivity a colony was formed in Egypt; thus violating the Law (Dt 12), and weakening the ties which bound them to the holy city. Their earlier connexion with Egypt had been a scourge, and now it became a snare. From choice or necessity settlers established them-

selves in Asia Minor, in Greece, in Africa, and in Italy, so that when our Lord appeared there was scarcely a country in the whole Roman empire in which a Jewish colony might not be found. It was well-nigh literally true that Moses had in *every* city those that preached him (Ac 15^{21}).

As a consequence of this intercourse the original language of Palestine, which had been subject, as we have seen, to various influences, was forgotten by many of the Jews, and Greek became as familiar in the towns of Judæa as Aramaic. Hence, not only the translation of the Old Testament into Greek, but the admission by the Jews into their purer faith of some of the absurdities of heathen philosophy. Hence, also, an extensive acquaintance among the Gentiles with the Jewish Scriptures, and a general expectation throughout all the East of the coming of the Messiah.

421. The Septuagint.—By far the most important result of this colonization was the translation of the Old Testament Scriptures into Greek. An account of the Septuagint has been given in the former part of this work (§ 29), and it need only be added here that the translation was *gradually* made, from the accession of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by whom it was originated about B.C. 285 (a century and a half after Malachi). The names of the translators, the order of their work, and the time of its completion, are entirely unknown. What is certain is, that it came into general use among the Greek-speaking Jews, that it was introduced into Palestine, and that, by the time of our Lord and His Apostles, it was the Bible of the educated Jewish community. It was adopted by Philo and Josephus, and, as we have seen, was continually quoted by the New Testament writers.

422. The Apocrypha.—It was in Alexandria, also, that the books termed Apocryphal were for the most part written.

It may be convenient here to enumerate these books, in their usual order. See Part I, § 10, also the Sixth Article of the Church of England.

I (or II) Esdras (Greek form for *Ezra*). Incidents from the Bible history (Josiah to Ezra), related with some deviations. A debate on

'What is greatest?'; the court of Darius Hystaspis is introduced ($3-4^{41}$); and the commission of Zerubbabel is made the reward of his ability in the discussion.

II (or IV) Esdras, chiefly a series of apocalyptic visions, assigned by many critics to the time of Domitian (A. D. 81–96), and partly of Jewish, partly of Christian origin: found only in a Latin version.

Tobit: a fictitious narrative intended to show how a pious Jew living in Gentile Nineveh might yet be true to his faith, and obtain the privilege of angelic companionship. It was probably written in Hebrew, though the original is lost. An Aramaic version has been discovered.

Judith, a story of the days of Nebuchadnezzar, showing how its heroine, like another Jael, slew her country's foe, the Chaldæan general, Holofernes. It was probably written in the Maccabæan period.

The rest of Esther, a kind of appendix to the canonical book, with additional details and professedly original documents. A note in the LXX ascribes its authorship to one Lysimachus, 'in the reign of Ptolemy and his wife Cleopatra.' But this is indefinite, as four of the Ptolemies had wives of that name. The book is supposed to have been written in the second century B.C.

The Wisdom of Solomon. A Greek imitation of the earlier part of *Proverbs*. It contains some fine passages, as 3^{1-9} 4^{9-11}, the immortal life of the godly, and 7, 8, the praises of wisdom. The book is evidently Alexandrian, and is thought to belong to the Christian era.

The Wisdom of Jesus, son of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus, written originally in Hebrew[a], and translated into Greek, as appears by the Preface, in the thirty-eighth year of King Euergetes. There were two kings of this name, but as the first reigned only for twenty-five years the second must be meant, Physcon, brother of Ptolemy VII, with whom he exercised joint power from B.C. 170, which would make the date of the translation B.C. 132, the original being perhaps, say, fifty years earlier, or about B.C. 180. The book is the choicest monument we have of uncanonical Jewish literature. Some parts of it are nobly written, as the Praise of Creation, 42^{15} 43^{33}, and the Eulogy of Famous Men, $44-50^{21}$. The book was first termed 'Ecclesiasticus' by Cyprian, in the third century A.D.

Baruch and the **Epistle of Jeremiah:** a feeble imitation of Old Testament literature and of the great prophet's language. It purports to have been written from Babylon, in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem. Its date is, however, quite unknown.

[a] A portion of the original was discovered in 1896, and was printed at the Oxford University Press, under the editorship of A. E. Cowley and A. Neubauer, 1897.

The Song of the Three Holy Children, placed in the LXX after Dan 3^{23}. This Psalm, purporting to have been uttered in the furnace by Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, is familiar, from the use of the greater part of it (verses 28-68) as the *Benedicite.*

The History of Susanna.

Bel and the Dragon.

These two narratives are likewise supplementary to the Book of Daniel. The engrafting of such legends on this book suggests that it had long been known and recognized as canonical in the Jewish church.

The Prayer of Manasseh, King of Judah, a compilation, of unknown date, from penitential passages of Scripture. See 2 Ch $33^{12,13}$. It is not in the LXX.

I Maccabees. An accurate and valuable history of Jewish affairs from the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes, B.C. 175, to the death of Simon the Maccabee (135). It was written in Hebrew or Aramaic: but the original is lost. It is useful as giving the dates of the Seleucid era, from B.C. 312. See Part I, § 201. The author is unknown, but as he mentions the achievements of John (Hyrcanus), $16^{23,24}$, it was probably written about the time of that ruler's death (105).

II Maccabees. The abridgement, in part, of a longer History, written by one Jason of Cyrene in five books (2^{23}). The book covers fifteen years of the period chronicled in the First Book (B.C. 175-160). The two histories are, however, quite independent. There is in this book a long discursive Preface (1, 2), which contains some strange legends, notably that of the concealment of the ark in a cavern until the time of the Return, 2^{1-8}. The history itself is rhetorical and diffuse, but may be usefully compared, in places, with the First Book.

It should be added that for the adequate study of the English 'Apocrypha' the use of the Revised Version is essential. Commentaries on these books are not numerous, but that in the *Speaker's Commentary,* 2 vols., is copious and useful.

The eighteen so-called *Psalms of Solomon,* not included in the 'Apocrypha,' are Palestinian, and refer to some period of national disaster; either to the aggressions of Antiochus Epiphanes, as formerly supposed, or, more probably, to the invasion of Pompey, about B.C. 63. The difference in tone and style between these and the inspired Psalms of the Old Testament is very marked; and for this reason among others the 'Psalms of Solomon' are deserving of careful study [a].

[a] See the edition by Ryle and James, Cambridge, 1891.

423. Jewish Sects.—Towards the close of this period there arose a variety of Sects, of which the principal were the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes: the last, although not mentioned by name in the New Testament, had a recognized power in the religious life of the times.

The Pharisees were the spiritual successors of the Hasidæans, or Chasidim, 'mighty men of Israel, every one that offered himself willingly for the Law.' 1 Mac 2^{42} R.V. They were most anxious to keep the nation true to its traditions of the past. But when Jonathan, the son of Mattathias, began to carry on the struggle no longer for the cause of God but for his own interest, and Simon was chosen by the people high-priest, the Scribes and the Hasidæans withdrew themselves from the party of the Maccabees. 'There can be no doubt,' says Wellhausen, 'that from the legal point they were perfectly right in contenting themselves as they did with the attainment of religious liberty. The Hasmonæans had no hereditary right to the high-priesthood, and their politics, which aimed at the establishment of a national monarchy, were contrary to the whole spirit and essence of the second theocracy.' It was deep attachment to the ancient Mosaic constitution that led to the open rupture between John Hyrcanus, grandson of Mattathias, and the Pharisees. At a state banquet one of their number told Hyrcanus that he ought to resign the high-priesthood and confine himself to the civil government of the people.

Meaning of the Name.—The name Pharisees, or 'Separatists,' was given to them, probably by their enemies, to mark the exclusiveness of their attitude towards the common people, the 'people of the land.' Separateness was in truth essential to the Pharisaic ideal of the religious life. The Law as expounded by the Scribes was so elaborate, that to keep it perfectly was beyond the power of the average Jew. The Pharisees were the men who

gathered round the Scribes, accepted their teaching, and made it the chief business of their lives to reduce it to practice. 'It was,' says Dean Stanley, 'a matter both of principle and policy to multiply the external signs by which they were distinguished from the Gentile world or from those of their own countrymen who approached towards it. Tassels on their dress; scrolls and small leather boxes fastened on forehead, head, and neck, inscribed with texts of the Law; long prayers offered as they stood in public places; rigorous abstinence; constant immersions—these were the sacramental badges by which they hedged themselves round.' Yet it must not be supposed that the thoughts and lives of the Pharisees were wholly devoted to external ordinances. It is important to remember that they did much to keep alive the expectation of the approaching coming of the Messiah; that they emphasized, if they often distorted the truth, that God would reward obedience to the Law, and comforted those who suffered in its vindication with the assurance of the recompense of the life eternal, while they warned the wicked of an eternity of retribution in the life to come. Of all the Jewish sects, the Pharisees, though not the most numerous, were the most prominent, the most popular, and the most truly national in spirit. Patriotism was the point from which they started; the restoration of the Divine rule was their object, but since Pharisaism did not measure men by the heart, but only by external performance, it was sternly denounced by our Lord, and amongst its exponents were his bitterest enemies.

424. The Sadducees, the great rival party of the Pharisees, took their name either from Zadok, the high-priest set up by Solomon, 1 Ki 2^{35}, or 'because they laid claim, in opposition to the mere zealots of Separatism, to be the true Tsaddikim, or righteous ones, who laid more stress

on the moral than the ceremonial Law.' They denied the authority of tradition, and regarded with suspicion all revelations made later than Moses. They objected to all development of Divine truth, even of such truth as was plainly implied in the Pentateuch, so that they often misunderstood the very books they professed to receive. On this ground they denied the doctrines of the resurrection and the immortality of the soul. Their denial of the existence of angels and spirits (Ac 23^{8}) is hardly explicable on any principle, except that when once men have become sceptical their unbelief is closely allied to credulity. The precepts of the Law were the only parts they regarded as clear, all else they thought uncertain. To the Messianic hope they were profoundly indifferent. The Sadducees were mostly persons of high position and wealth. From the time of John Hyrcanus, we find that they often held the office of high-priest. Annas and his son-in-law, Caiaphas, who took the leading part in the trial of Jesus, were Sadducees; and it is illustrative of the tenets of this sect that they were more prominent than the Pharisees in the subsequent persecution of the Apostles, who 'taught the people and preached through Jesus the resurrection from the dead.'

425. The Essenes.—The reserve of the New Testament writers concerning the third of the great Jewish sects of this period is remarkable, as some of their characteristics are closely allied to those of the teaching of John the Baptist and even of Christ Himself. Essenism was a reaction from the mechanical forms into which Pharisaism was stiffening. Its followers took no part in public affairs, and passed their lives in retired and lonely places, where, in the pursuits of agriculture, by ascetic habits, by celibacy, ablution, and prayers, they sought to realize their ideal of Levitical purity. Excepting a solemn oath of initiation into their order

the Essenes abstained from oaths, disdained riches, and manifested the greatest abhorrence of war and slavery. Yet while jealous for the Law, they were likewise its transgressors in the rejection of animal sacrifices and in their adoration of the sun. In matters of belief they held the Scriptures in the highest reverence, interpreting them, however, by an allegorical system of their own; they believed also in the immortality of the soul, but did not hold the doctrine of the resurrection of the body [a].

Later than the time of our Lord these sects were known by different names. The Pharisees were called successively Rabbinists (disciples, that is, of the rabbis, or great teachers), Cabalists (i.e. traditionists), and Talmudists. Those who held the doctrine of the Sadducees on the supremacy of the literal text of the Pentateuch, though not holding their other errors, were called Karaites, or Scripturists. The Essenes also are known in history as Therapeutæ (i. e. soul-physicians), though some think that this name was given to a distinct but similar sect. For fuller information on the subject of this section, see the chapters on Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes in Schürer's *Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, Part II, vol. ii; and that on the Religious Communities in the Holy Land in Keim's *Jesu von Nazara*, vol. i. On the Essenes especially, see Bishop Lightfoot's dissertation in his *Commentary on Colossians*, and the Lectures of Dr. H. R. Reynolds on *John the Baptist*.

It is instructive to observe that while the Pharisees used tradition for the discovery of truth the Sadducees used rationalistic logic for the same purpose, as did the schoolmen in later times; and that these sects owed their origin to the tendencies of human nature and the decay of spiritual religion. The great question between them, moreover, was on the extent and authority of tradition. The Sadducee, though willing to compare it with so much of Scripture as he believed, denied its authority. The Pharisee received it as Divine.

[a] An Essay by De Quincey, in which that brilliant writer argues that 'the Essenes' were really the *early Christians*, misunderstood by the narrators of the period, has failed to command general assent.

426. Tradition: the Talmud.—The body of tradition referred to in these disputes was collected in the second century A. D., or later, by Jewish doctors, and especially by R. Judah the Holy, a descendant of Gamaliel (J. Lightfoot), and a favourite of one of the Antonines.

The collection is called **Mishna**, or the repetition[a]. Later doctors added to its various comments under the name of **Gemara** (the completion), and the two works—Mishna and Gemara—are together called the TALMUD, from a Hebrew word signifying to teach. The Mishna, with the comments collected by Palestinian rabbis, living chiefly in Galilee, from the end of the second till about the middle of the fifth century A. D., has the name of the *Jerusalem* Talmud. The comments of the *Babylonian* Talmud embody the discussions of hundreds of doctors living in various places in Babylonia from about 190 to nearly the end of the sixth century. The Mishna, or text, is the same in each. Of the comparative value and characteristics of the two Talmuds, Dr. Schiller-Szinessy observes that whilst the discussions in the Palestinian or Jerusalem Talmud are simple, brief, and to the point, those in the Babylonian Talmud are subtle, long-winded, and, though always logical, are sometimes far-fetched. The Palestinian Talmud, besides containing legal and religious discussions, is a storehouse of history, geography, and archæology, whilst the Babylonian Talmud, taking into consideration that it is treble the size of its fellow Talmud, contains less of these. On the other hand it bestows more care upon the legal and religious points, and being the later is more studied, and is also more trustworthy. To the orthodox Jew the Talmud is law, philosophy, literature, and doctrine. To the student of Hebrew literature it is at once an inspiration and a despair.

427. The Massora.—In the Talmud are found many *critical and grammatical* comments on the text of Scripture. These comments, with others which tradition had handed down, were brought together into one book under the title of Massora (or *tradition*). When these Massoretic comments originated is not known.

The great Rabbinical scholar, David Kimchi of Narbonne (*c.* 1200), whose writings were the chief fountain of knowledge for the Christian Hebraists of the sixteenth century, and whose influence may be

[a] δευτέρωσις.

traced on every page of our English Bible, thinks that they commenced with the revision of MSS. of Scripture effected by Ezra; others, among them the celebrated Ibn Ezra of Toledo (1092–1167), the *Rabbi Ben Ezra* of Browning's great poem, a man of great originality and freedom of view, think that they had their origin in the great seat of Jewish learning at Tiberias, between the third and sixth centuries after Christ. Other scholars think it demonstrable that they are not the production of any one age, but were written at long intervals, and some of them in comparatively modern times. The first printed edition of the Massoretic text was published in the Great Rabbinical Bible, edited and issued by Bomberg at Venice (1518–36). The notes are printed by the side of the text and at the end of each book. Extracts from them are found in nearly all editions of the Hebrew Scriptures. Dr. Ginsburg's folio work, *The Massorah, compiled from MSS. Alphabetically and Lexically Arranged*, is the great modern authority on the subject.

To the Massorites we owe the points, accents, and most of the corrections of the printed text, together with a large mass of curious, though unimportant information, on the words and letters of Scripture. Some of their corrections are *critical*: they suggest the right division of words, Ps 55^{16} 123^{4}; the transposition, alteration, and omission of consonants. 1 Ki 7^{45} Eze 25^{7} Am 8^{8}; *grammatical or orthographical*, as in various passages of the Pentateuch and Ez 27^{5}; and *euphemistic or explanatory*, 1 Sa 5^{6} 6^{4} Dt 28^{27} 2 Ki 18^{27} Is 36^{12}. These corrections are made chiefly in the margin [a].

The Massorites notice *seven* passages in which words are read (*qĕri*) in the Hebrew which are not written (*kethibh*), 2 Sa 8^{3} 16^{23}; *five* where words are written but not read, 2 Ki 5^{18}, &c.

They made it their business also to count the words and letters of each book, as well as unusual constructions and forms, and to mark many facts of no importance, except that the care thus exercised in accumulating them tended to guard the purity of the sacred text. They note, for example, that the middle *letter* of the Law is in Lev 11^{42}; the middle *words* in Lev 10^{13}; the middle *verse*, Lev 13^{13}. Of the

[a] An example may be given from the Book of Ruth, where at the close we read, 'The number of verses in the Book of Ruth is eighty and five; and its symbol is פה (in 4^{1}: פ = 80, ה = 5); and its middle is (two words quoted from 2^{21}).'

Psalms, the middle letter is in 80^{14}, and the middle verse, 78^{36}. They also state how often each letter occurs in each book and in all the Bible.

428. The term **Kabbalah** primarily denotes *reception*, and those doctrines *received by tradition*. In the older Jewish literature the name is applied to all the traditions which the Jews profess to have received from their fathers, with the exception of the Pentateuch, thus including the Prophets and Hagiographa, as well as the oral tradition. Ultimately, in a more restricted sense, it is applied to a species of theosophy, made up of mystical interpretations and metaphysical speculations concerning the Deity, the Divine emanations or Sephiroth, the cosmogony, the creation of angels and man, their destiny, and the import of the revealed Law said to have been handed down by a secret tradition from the earliest age.

Books of Reference.—Emanuel Deutsch's famous, brilliant, but one-sided article, *What is the Talmud?* first contributed to the *Quarterly Review*, and republished in his *Literary Remains*, should be read. Professor W. H. Bennett, in his *Mishna as Illustrating the Gospels*, takes up special subjects, e.g. the Pharisees, the Sabbath, the status of women, &c., and exhibits the Gospel and the Mishnaic treatment of each topic. A number of illustrative extracts that give some idea of the nature and scope of the Talmud, translated by H. Polano, are in a volume of the *Chandos Classics* series.

429. The Scribes.—These constituted a learned profession and not a religious sect. As an organized body, known as the *Sopherim*, whose duty it was to copy and explain the Law, they had their origin in the time of Ezra. 'The one aim,' says Professor Plumptre, 'of those early Scribes was to promote reverence for the Law, to make it the groundwork of the people's life. They would write nothing of their own, lest less worthy words should be raised to a level with those of the oracles of God.' Their successors in our Lord's time were usually called

Tanaim, that is 'lawyers' and 'teachers of the law[a]'; they were addressed, according to rank, by the titles *Rab*, *Rabbi*, *Rabban*, the last being the highest. Slavish dependence on precedent and authority was the characteristic of their teaching; hence the marked contrast between their teaching and that of our Lord. While they repeated the traditions of the elders, 'He spake as one having authority,' and with the constantly recurring, 'I say unto you.' As religionists they generally favoured the Pharisees, and are therefore often mentioned with them (Mt 23), though all sects had their friends in the profession.

430. Synagogues.—Intimately associated with the Scribes, as an institution for the instruction of the people in the Law and its application to daily life, was the Synagogue. Local 'assemblies' for instruction in the Law and worship existed from early times, e. g. 'the schools of the prophets' (1 Sa 10^{11} 19^{20-24} 2 Ki 4^{3}), and during the Captivity meetings of the elders of Israel were not infrequent (Cf. Eze 8^{1} and parallel passages). After the Exile, probably from the time of Ezra, the systematic organization of these assemblies rapidly developed, and buildings set apart for religious services multiplied. In the synagogues the costly scrolls of the Scriptures written by the Scribes were carefully preserved in a chest or ark conspicuously facing the seats of the people. Stated services were held every Sabbath, also on the second and fifth days of the week. Special prominence was given in these services to the reading of the Law and the Prophets; prayers, exhortations, exposition and almsgiving were also observed. As the knowledge of ancient Hebrew gradually died out, the reading of the appointed portions of Scripture had to be accompanied by translation into the vernacular Aramaic

[a] The three N.T. terms, γραμματεύς, *scribe*, νομικός, *lawyer*, and νομοδιδάσκαλος, *teacher of the Law*, denote three functions of one and the same class.

or into Greek, which seems in the time of our Lord to have been generally understood and spoken. Not only were the synagogues places of worship, they were also schools for teaching children to read, and likewise minor courts of justice in which the sentence was not only pronounced but executed (Mt 10^{17}). The general management of the synagogue was under the direction of 'elders' (Lu 7^{3}), the chief members of which were 'rulers' (Lu 13^{14} Ac 13^{15}). The seats of the elders and rulers were in front of the ark and facing the congregation. The disciplinary powers of excommunicating and of scourging were in the hands of the elders, and it was they or the rulers who in the service called on fit persons to read, pray, and preach. Alms were collected by two or more 'collectors,' and a 'minister' (attendant, R.V.), Lu 4^{20}, had charge of the sacred books, and fulfilled the general duties of verger or caretaker. The order of service in a synagogue much resembles that described in Ne 8^{1-8}, with which compare Lu 4^{16-20}.

431. The Sanhedrin.—It is hardly possible to overestimate the predominant influence of the Scribes upon the religious life of the people in connexion with the synagogue worship, and to this must be added their connexion, as the trained doctors of the Law, with the great court of justice, legislative and administrative, the SANHEDRIN[a]. The origin of this council may be traced to the time of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch 19^{8}), some say to the seventy elders whom Moses was directed to associate with him in the government of the Israelites (Num $11^{16.17}$). The members were seventy or seventy-two in number, and consisted (1) of the chief priests or heads of the twenty-four priestly courses, (2) the scribes or lawyers, (3) the elders, i. e.

[a] The word is really Greek, *συνέδριον*, 'assembly,' put into an Aramaic shape. It is sometimes written, less correctly, *Sanhedrim*.

princes of tribes and heads of families, who were the representatives of the laity. The high-priest generally filled the office of president, besides whom there was a vice-president who sat on his right hand, and according to some, a second vice-president, who sat on his left hand. The other members were seated in such a way as to form a semi-circle. According to the Talmudists their council-chamber was within the precincts of the Temple, but according to Dr. Ginsburg their usual place of assembly was on the east side of Mount Zion, not far from the Temple. At the trial of Christ the council met in the palace of the high-priest, an act altogether exceptional and illegal. The authority of the council from time to time varied much ; at first according to the measure of self-government left the nation by its foreign lords, and afterwards according to the more or less aristocratic power claimed by the native sovereign. In the time of Christ its powers had been much limited by the interference of the Romans. It still retained the right of passing sentence of death, but the power of executing it rested with the Roman procurator (Jn 18^{31}).

432. Other Distinctions.—Closely akin to the Pharisees in their religious views were the **Galilæans,** though differing in their political tenets. They sprang from Judas of Galilee (Gamala), who, in 'the days of the taxing,' taught that all foreign domination was unscriptural, and that God was the only King of the Jews. Deeming it unlawful to pray for foreign princes, they performed their sacrifices apart. As our Lord and His disciples were from Galilee, the Pharisees attempted to identify Him with this sect.

Of this party, the most violent were called **Zealots.** Simon the Canaanite (R.V. Cananæan, Mt 10^{4}) is really Simon the Zealot (see 6^{15}), the surname being from the Hebrew *qānā'*, to glow, be zealous, and not to be misunderstood as 'man of Canaan' or 'of Cana.'

The Herodians were rather a political than a religious sect. They took their name and their views from the family of Herod, who derived their authority from the Roman government. It was their principle to promote intimacy with Rome by flattery and unlimited submission, but especially by introducing into Judæa the usages of the conquerors. This surrender of principle to worldly policy was the leaven against which our Lord cautioned His disciples.

The Proselytes were, in the time of our Lord, a very numerous body, although the word itself occurs only four times in the New Testament, Mt 23^{15} Ac 2^{10} 6^{5} 13^{43}. The name was given to those Gentiles who took upon themselves the obligations of the Mosaic Law. They joined in offering sacrifices to the God of Israel in the outer court of the Temple. The Pharisees took great pains to make proselytes, and were aided in their efforts by the fading authority of the old religions, and the reverence in which the God of the Jews was held by the heathen. Too often, however, these teachers had no true idea of their religion; their converts, therefore, only changed their superstition, hushed the accusations of conscience, and became twofold more than before 'the children of hell' (gehenna). These converts were called by the Jews *Proselytes of Righteousness*, and were often among the bitterest enemies of the Christian faith.

There was also a large body of Gentiles called (in later times) *Proselytes of the Gate*, who simply pledged themselves to renounce idolatry, to worship the true God, and to abstain from all heathenish practices. They had generally heard of the coming of the Messiah, and were free from most of the prejudices of the Jews. Hence the new religion made great progress among them. In the New Testament these are known as 'they that fear God' or 'worshippers,' 'devout.' So Cornelius. Ac 10^{2}, Lydia, 16^{14}, &c.

433. The Samaritans claimed an interest in the Mosaic covenant; but our Lord distinguishes them from the lost sheep of the house of Israel and from the Gentiles (Mt $10^{5,6}$). Those of the time of our Lord sprang from the colonists with whom the King of Assyria peopled Samaria after the Ten Tribes were carried away (2 Ki 17). An account of their origin has already been given, § 295.

After the restoration from Babylon, the Samaritans requested to be permitted to assist in rebuilding the Temple at Jerusalem, but Zerubbabel and his fellow leaders rejected the offer because of the mixed character of the faith and nationality of the Samaritans, Ezr 4^{1-3}. The racial and religious difference was further intensified by the action of Nehemiah. In contending against the evils of foreign marriage alliances, he was brought into conflict with the high priest Eliashib, whose grandson had married the daughter of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria, Ne 13^{28}. The offender, Manasseh, as we learn from Josephus, after being banished from Jerusalem settled with a numerous train of followers in Samaria. They erected on Mount Gerizim an independent temple, which remained till the days of John Hyrcanus, B.C. 109, and established what they deemed a more orderly observance of the Mosaic Law. Their faith and practice they founded on the Pentateuch alone, and rejected the whole of the other books of the Jewish Canon.

For an account of the Samaritan Pentateuch see Part I, § 28.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE GOSPELS

434. Meaning of the title.—Our word Gospel is the Anglo-Saxon equivalent of the Greek εὐαγγέλιον, *good tidings*. If compounded of *good* and *spell* (*story*), it exactly represents the original: if, however (as Dr. Skeat thinks), it means *God's spell*, the word embodies the fuller New Testament phrases 'the gospel of God,' 'of Christ' (τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ Χριστοῦ), the *source* and the *substance* of the good tidings. In the Gospels the word εὐαγγέλιον occurs only in Matthew (4^{23} 9^{35} 24^{14} 26^{13}) and Mark ($1^{1.14.15}$ 8^{35} 10^{29} 13^{10} 14^{9} 16^{15}): the corresponding verb εὐαγγελίζομαι, *to preach good tidings*, once in Matthew (11^{5}), ten times in Luke. But throughout the New Testament its use is uniform. Whether simply or with such additions as—the gospel of God, of Christ, of the kingdom, of the grace of God, of His Son, of the glory of Christ, of our salvation, of peace, of the glory of the blessed God—it is the good tidings of which God is the Author, which Christ came to preach and of which He, in His life and death and resurrection, is the contents, and which means for men salvation and peace.

There can, therefore, strictly speaking, be but **one gospel**; and in proportion as the relation of Jesus Christ to God's message to the world was more clearly discerned, this gospel would tend to become identified with the story of what He was and taught and did and suffered. This is perhaps the significance of the word in Mk 1^{1} 'the beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ': it is certainly its meaning in the titles which were subsequently given to the fourfold version

of the 'great biography.' 'The Gospel according to (*κατά*) Matthew' means the gospel, i.e. the story of Jesus Christ, as told by Matthew. Four books each record one and the same gospel. But it was an easy step to the final stage in the application of the word, by which the books themselves were called 'Gospels,' a use which first appears in Justin Martyr (*c.* A.D. 140), who speaks of 'the memoirs (*ἀπομνημονεύματα*) of the Apostles which are called gospels.' Hence we can distinguish three stages in the usage of the term *εὐαγγέλιον*—(1) God's message to the world, announced by and centring in Jesus Christ, (2) the narrative of the facts concerning Jesus Christ, (3) a written record of these facts.

435. The Four Gospels.—Since the close of the second century, when Irenæus argued for the necessity of four Gospels from the four zones of the earth and the four winds of heaven, the differing aspects of these pictures of our Lord and their unity amid diversity have been often and variously traced. The leading characteristics of each will be pointed out later. But it is obvious that at the first glance the four separate into *three* and *one*. The fourth Gospel stands alone. Its opening is not narrative, but profoundest theology. The writer's purpose is not to tell the story of the earthly life of Jesus; it is to interpret Him as 'the Christ, the Son of God' (20^{31}). The discourses expound His relation to the Father and His mission to mankind. In place of teaching by parable and crisp, direct sayings, which all could understand, we find long discourses, mystical in character, and expounding the abstract ideas of life, light, witness, truth, and glory. Familiarity with the facts and persons of the first three Gospels is constantly assumed, and here and there the narratives coincide; but for the most part the incidents are new, selected for the writer's didactic purpose. Thus 'a threefold contrast meets us—theological interpretation, not bare narrative; typical scenes, chosen for their spiritual

significance, not a complete and self-contained historical record; full discourses on transcendent themes, not groups of pregnant sayings, maxims, paradoxes[a].'

436. The Synoptic Problem.—This difference has in modern times been marked by the term Synoptic applied to the first three Gospels in contradistinction from the fourth. Though they give but fragmentary records of the life they narrate, they show remarkable agreement in the incidents and sayings selected and in the general order in which these are presented. Set side by side they yield a synopsis (*σύνοψις*) or conspectus, i. e. the same general view or outline. A *harmony* can be constructed in parallel columns, in which the triple and dual agreements are far more numerous than the isolated matter. The following table displays the facts. Let the substance of the Synoptics be divided into 89 sections: of these there are

Common to all three	42
,, ,, Matthew and Mark	12
,, ,, Mark and Luke	5
,, ,, Matthew and Luke	14
Peculiar to Matthew	5
,, ,, Mark	2
,, ,, Luke	9
	89

To this fact of general agreement both in *matter* and in *order*, combined with minor differences in both, is to be added the no less significant one of *verbal* agreement and difference in recording the same incident or discourse. Almost any section that may be selected will show at once the independence of three separate narrators, together with verbal coincidences which compel us to infer that the three are using some common source. Details cannot here be given, and a single illustration must suffice.

[a] Dean J. Armitage Robinson, *The Study of the Gospels*, p. 126.

Mt 9$^{2-8}$ (R.V.).

2 And behold, they brought to him a man sick of the palsy, lying on a bed: and Jesus seeing their faith said unto the sick of the palsy, Son, be of good cheer; thy sins are forgiven. 3 And behold, certain of the scribes said within themselves, This man blasphemeth. 4 And Jesus knowing their thoughts said, Wherefore think ye evil in your hearts? 5 For whether is easier, to say, Thy sins are forgiven; or to say, Arise, and walk? 6 But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins (then saith he to the sick of the palsy), Arise, and take up thy bed, and go unto thy house. 7 And he arose, and departed to his house. 8 But when the multitudes saw it, they were afraid, and glorified God, which had given such power unto men.

Mk 2$^{3-12}$ (R.V.).

3 And they come, bringing unto him a man sick of the palsy, borne of four. 4 And when they could not bring him unto him for the crowd, they uncovered the roof where he was: and when they had broken it up, they let down the bed whereon the sick of the palsy lay. 5 And Jesus seeing their faith saith unto the sick of the palsy, Son, thy sins are forgiven. 6 But there were certain of the scribes sitting there, and reasoning in their hearts, 7 Why doth this man thus speak? he blasphemeth: who can forgive sins but one, *even* God? 8 And straightway Jesus, perceiving in his spirit that they so reasoned within themselves, saith unto them, Why reason ye these things in your hearts? 9 Whether is easier, to say to the sick of the palsy, Thy sins are forgiven; or to say, Arise, and take up thy bed, and walk?

Lu 5$^{18-26}$ (R.V.).

18 And behold, men bring on a bed a man that was palsied: and they sought to bring him in, and to lay him before him. 19 And not finding by what *way* they might bring him in because of the multitude, they went up to the house-top, and let him down through the tiles with his couch into the midst before Jesus. 20 And seeing their faith, he said, Man, thy sins are forgiven thee. 21 And the scribes and the Pharisees began to reason, saying, Who is this that speaketh blasphemies? Who can forgive sins, but God alone? 22 But Jesus perceiving their reasonings, answered and said unto them, What reason ye in your hearts? 23 Whether is easier, to say, Thy sins are forgiven thee; or to say, Arise and walk? 24 But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins (he said unto

Mt	*Mk*	*Lu*
	[10] But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins (he saith to the sick of the palsy), [11] I say unto thee, Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thy house. [12] And he arose, and straightway took up the bed, and went forth before them all; insomuch that they were all amazed, and glorified God, saying, We never saw it on this fashion.	him that was palsied), I say unto thee, Arise, and take up thy couch, and go unto thy house. [25] And immediately he rose up before them, and took up that whereon he lay, and departed to his house, glorifying God. [26] And amazement took hold on all, and they glorified God; and they were filled with fear, saying, We have seen strange things to-day.

No distinction is here made between verbal coincidences of two and of three. An examination of this or any page of Rushbrooke's *Synopticon* will afford convincing evidence of the facts. The thick type shows the verbal identities of the Greek text. Especially noteworthy is the parenthesis 'He saith to the sick of the palsy,' with which may be compared 'For they were fishers' (Mt 4^{18} = Mk 1^{16}) and 'One of the twelve' (Mt 26^{47} = Mk 14^{43} = Lk 22^{47}).

It is this double fact of agreement and difference that constitutes the Synoptic Problem. How is it to be accounted for? Agreement alone might point to a common inspiration: difference alone would assure us of the independence of the narratives: the two together constitute a problem which, after a century of critical investigation, still awaits a confident solution.

437. Sources of the Synoptic Gospels.—If the common elements forbid the supposition that the work of the three Evangelists has no connexion save in its common theme, we are led to inquire whether it is possible to trace the measure

and the manner of their interdependence. Three alternatives present themselves:

1. The use by one Evangelist of the work of one or both of the others, the theory of *mutual dependence.*

2. The common use of one or more cycles of fixed oral tradition, the theory of an *oral gospel.*

3. The common use of a document or documents, the *documentary* theory.

It is evident that these three alternatives are not mutually exclusive. An advocate of the third may posit the Gospel of Mark as one of the documents used by Matthew and Luke: and, especially, all are agreed that our Synoptics rest *ultimately* on oral tradition. Probably the gospel—i. e. the facts about Jesus Christ—was preached by the Apostles and their converts for twenty or thirty years before the need of committing it to writing was felt. The living voice was yet in the Church, the Spirit mighty in His operation; the written Word marks a time when the first generation of Christians was passing away and the Lord still delayed His coming. When the need arose material was ready, in groups of narrative and discourse received from the Apostles, and, Eastern fashion, stereotyped by constant repetition by 'evangelists' and catechists. So far all are agreed: the divergence comes when it is maintained that this fixed oral tradition suffices to account for the common element in the Gospels—in matter, order, and language—without the intervention of written documents.

The history of these theories and the many forms they have assumed has a copious literature of its own. Here are given only a few broad conclusions which, with some notable exceptions, are gaining wide assent from critics of all schools.

438. Use of 'Mark' and of the 'Logia' by Matthew and Luke.—The first outstanding fact in a comparison of the Synoptic Gospels is that almost the whole of Mark is found also in Matthew or in Luke or in both. Dr. Swete writes[a], 'Out of the 106 sections of the genuine St. Mark [omitting 16^{9-20}] there are but four (excluding the headline) which are wholly absent from both St. Matthew and St. Luke.' Further, in spite of differences in order of

[a] *St. Mark*, p. lxiii.

narrative, the order of Mark is generally confirmed by one or both of the other Synoptics: it is known even where departed from. These facts naturally point to the *priority of Mark*: the counter supposition that his work is a compilation from Matthew and Luke is excluded by (1) his inexplicable omissions, (2) the ruggedness, vividness, and fullness of his version of narrative and sayings common to him and one or both of the others, (3) the phenomena of verbal agreements [a].

Matthew and Luke, then, may be held to have used a document practically identical with our second Gospel. There are some facts which suggest that Mark also is a *revision* of this earlier document, reproducing it more nearly and without use of the additional sources traceable in the first and third Gospels. This is the 'Ur-Marcus' or 'primitive-Mark' hypothesis of H. J. Holtzmann, widely adopted. Others, again, think that the verbal differences of the Synoptics are best explained by the supposition that this primitive document was in Aramaic (Resch, Prof. J. T. Marshall). But there is perhaps a growing opinion that these further hypotheses are unnecessary, and that we need not look beyond our Gospel of Mark for the original of that main outline of the life of Christ which is presented also by Matthew and Luke. It will appear later that there is good reason for identifying the substance of this triple tradition with the 'memoirs' of the Apostle Peter.

But there is a second outstanding fact to be considered, in the large amount of material common to Matthew and Luke, but absent from Mark. In the first Gospel chs. 1, 2 are from some special source: from ch. 26 to the end there is evident use of Mark. Now, if from chs. 3–25 we subtract the sections which appear in Mark, we have left a remarkable collection of discourses and parables, with their historical settings. A very considerable amount of this new matter appears also in Luke; often differently distributed, but with identities in substance and in language which point to a source used by the two Evangelists in

[a] See Abbott, *The Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels*, pp. vi, vii.

common. This source—the second of the 'two-document theory,' which seems just now in the ascendant—is commonly spoken of as the Logia.

The discussion of this title belongs to the Introduction to Matthew. But it may here be noted that it is derived from the testimony of Papias (early second century) that Matthew composed the 'Logia' in the Hebrew tongue. The term 'logia,' *oracles*, better fits a collection of discourses with their settings than a complete and connected biography : and as there are insuperable objections to regarding our first Gospel as it stands as a translation of an Aramaic original, the hypothesis is tempting which identifies this 'Logia' (in a Greek translation) as the second main source of the Synoptic Gospels. Whether Mark knew of this is still an open question.

439. Other Sources. Prologue of Luke (1^{1-4}). —Whence the first and third Evangelists derived the matter peculiar to their Gospels we cannot say. Their narratives of the Infancy and of the Resurrection are not taken from Mark, who does not record them : the differences are too great to allow a common dependence on the 'Logia.' Here each has information of his own, either written or oral. In the great central section of his Gospel (9^{51}–19^{28}) Luke has incidents and, especially, parables which may well have been taken from some earlier collection of the deeds and sayings of the Lord : possibly the sections 7^{36-50} 23^{39-43} 24^{13-53} are from the same source. But the only certain information we possess is that afforded by Luke himself in the Prologue to his Gospel. In dedicating his work to Theophilus, he writes : 'Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus; that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed.'

The words form a unique glimpse into the motives and sources of one, at least, of our Gospels. Luke disclaims any first-hand knowledge of the facts he chronicles, but with painstaking accuracy he has gathered and sifted his authorities. No doubt among these was the oral testimony of some who had been 'eyewitnesses and ministers of the word,' reaching him both at first- and second-hand. In addition, there were already 'many' written narratives, probably for the most part fragments of evangelic tradition (else he could hardly have needed to supplement them), though among them it is likely that 'Mark' and the 'Logia' had chief place. Out of these, with that 'historic sense' so manifest in his later work, the Acts of the Apostles, and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, he produced for the instruction of an unknown Gentile convert what has been styled without extravagance 'the most beautiful book in the world[a].'

440. For a general discussion of the evidence of the early date and genuineness of the Gospels the reader may be conveniently referred to *The Early Witness to the Four Gospels* (R. T. S. Present Day Tracts).

The **following table** presents at a glance the available witnesses to the four Gospels till the time of Origen.

The table is based mainly upon Bishop Westcott's Synopsis of Historical Evidences in *Canon of the New Testament*, pp. 589-90, and upon his and Prof. H. E. Ryle's Articles on Canon of Scripture in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (new edition), and the work of Prof. A. H. Charteris, D.D., entitled *Canonicity*. Testimonies of less and greater probability are distinguished by the signs † and *, most of the latter amounting to certainty.

[a] 'C'est le plus beau livre qu'il y ait.' Renan, *Les Évangiles*, p. 283.

Mt	Mk	Lu	Jn		
+	+	+	+	Clement of Rome	c. 93–97
	+	+	+	Polycarp	d. 167
+	+		+	Didaché, or *Teaching of the Twelve*	c. 100
+			+	Ignatius, Bp. of Antioch	d. 115
+		*	*	Papias, Bp. of Hierapolis in Phrygia	d. 163
*	*		*	Basilides, celebrated Gnostic	fl. 117–138
*	*		*	'Barnabas,' Epistle of	100–125
*	+		+	Hermas, *The Shepherd* (an allegory)	c. 142
*	*	*	*	Justin Martyr	d. 167
*	*	*	*	Tatian of Assyria	c. 170
*	*		*	Hegesippus, sometime of Rome	c. 175
*	+		*	Athenagoras of Athens	c. 176
*	*	*	*	Irenæus, Bp. of Lyons	d. 202
*	*		*	Theophilus, Bp. of Antioch	c. 180
*	*	*	*	The Syriac (Peshitta) Version	second century
*	*	*	*	The Old Latin Version	second century
*	*	*	*	Celsus	c. 178
*	*	*	*	Clement of Alexandria	d. 217
*	*		*	Julius Africanus of Emmaus	c. 220
*	*	*	*	Tertullian of Carthage	d. 220
*	*		*	Origen of Alexandria and Cæsarea	d. 253

The Gospel according to Mark

(KATA MAPKON)

441. Its Author.—The book is anonymous, for, by common consent, the titles of the New Testament writings are to be regarded as later additions, and the author no-

where obtrudes his personality. But a continuous tradition (1) ascribes to Mark a written record of 'the sayings and deeds of Christ,' (2) identifies this work with our second Gospel and its author with the John Mark of the Acts and Epistles.

The earliest direct testimony to authorship is that of PAPIAS, Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia (*c.* A. D. 120), fragments of whose lost work, *An Exposition of Oracles of the Lord*, are preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 40). Papias made it his business to inquire of 'the elders,' men of the primitive Church and contemporaries of the Apostles, as well as from 'those who had been followers of the elders.' This brings him very near to the apostolic age, and makes his testimony as to writings by 'Mark' (and by 'Matthew') of quite singular value. These are his words: 'The elder said this also. Mark having become the interpreter of Peter wrote down accurately all that he remembered —not, however, in order—the words and deeds of Christ. For neither did he hear the Lord nor was he a follower of His, but later on, as I said, he attached himself to Peter, who would adapt his instructions to the needs of the occasion, but not teach as though he were composing a connected account of the Lord's "Oracles[a]"; so that Mark made no mistake in thus writing down some things as he remembered them. For one object was in his thoughts—to omit nothing that he had heard, and to make no false statements.'

This connexion of Mark with Peter is affirmed also by Irenæus and by Clement of Alexandria: it is 'one of the oldest and most trustworthy of Christian traditions[b].'

By 'interpreter' (ἑρμηνευτής, *interpres*) is probably meant 'translator,' i. e. of Peter's Aramaic into Greek. The basis of the second Gospel thus appears as sections of the evangelic narrative used by Peter in his public teaching, faithfully remembered and translated by Mark. Justin Martyr, indeed, appears to refer to Mk 3^{17} as from the 'Memoirs of Peter.' If difficulty is felt as to whether Papias' suggestion of incompleteness and lack of chronological order fits such a work as our Gospel of Mark, it must be borne in mind, not only that all the Gospels are 'memorabilia' rather than full biographies, but, in particular, that any 'harmony' will show the incompleteness of Mark as compared with the other Synoptics: while the criticism 'not in

[a] Or 'words': the reading is uncertain, λογίων or λόγων.

[b] Dr. Swete, *St. Mark*, p. xviii.

order' (*οὐ τάξει*) would be accounted for if in the missing context Papias is comparing Mark's order with some other—perhaps that of Luke (Dr. Salmon) or of John (Bishop Lightfoot)—which he knows and approves.

442. Personality of the Writer.—Mark appears in the Acts as a Jew of Jerusalem named John, who had adopted as a secondary name the Roman *prænomen* of Marcus. The first mention of him connects his name with Peter, for it was to 'the house of Mary the mother of John whose surname was Mark' that the Apostle betook himself on his deliverance from prison, Ac 12^{12}. The narrative suggests a house of considerable size.

It is an interesting conjecture that this may have been the house where (in the lifetime of Mark's father) the Last Supper was eaten, Mk 14^{14}; that the Garden of Gethsemane was the property of its owner; and that Mark himself was the 'young man' of the incident, related only in his Gospel, of Mk $14^{51.52}$.

Mark, Barnabas, and Paul.—When Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem to Antioch, after their mission of famine-relief, they took Mark with them (Ac 12^{25}), and afterwards as their 'attendant' (*ὑπηρέτης*) on their first missionary journey (13^{5}). At Perga he left them (13^{13}) and returned to Jerusalem. It is at least possible that he had home claims which deterred him from an unforeseen extension of travel[a], and at a later period Barnabas was quite ready to take him with them again. Paul, however, resented his conduct as desertion: there was 'sharp contention,' and the friends parted, Paul taking Silas, while Barnabas with Mark sailed for his home in Cyprus (15^{36-40}, cf. 4^{36}). Neither name occurs again in the Acts, but persistent tradition assigns to Mark a ministry in Egypt and the founding of the church in Alexandria. This would help to account for the long interval before references in the Epistles enable us again to pick up the threads of his story.

[a] See Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 90.

When from his prison in Rome Paul dispatched the companion epistles to Colossae and to Philemon, Mark is once more with him; for there can be no question as to the identity of Mark 'the cousin of Barnabas,' concerning whom Paul had thought needful to give the Colossian church the kindly warning: 'if he come unto you, receive him,' Col 4^{10}. The reconciliation is complete. Only three Jewish Christians in Rome are loyal to Paul, and Mark is one of them, no longer an 'attendant,' but a 'fellow-worker' (συνεργός) and a 'comfort' to the Apostle whom he had once so bitterly disappointed, Col $4^{10.11}$ Philem ^{24}. A still later notice of association with Paul is the direction to Timothy, 'Take Mark, and bring him with thee: for he is useful to me for ministering,' 2 Tim 4^{11}. And, finally, when Peter writes his first epistle, probably from Rome and very possibly after Paul's death, he sends greeting from 'Mark my son' (ὁ υἱός μου, 1 Pet 5^{13}), the affectionate designation of a former pupil, who as a young disciple must often have sat at his feet to be catechized and taught the way of the Lord, and who had come to look upon his mother's old friend and teacher as a second father, and to render to him the offices of filial piety [a].'

443. Genuineness.—The impression of truth derived from the freshness and vividness with which the story is told is amply confirmed by the reception of this Gospel in the early Church. The testimony of Papias has already been given. The coincidences with the evangelic narrative to be traced in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers cannot perhaps be certainly referred to one written Gospel rather than another. But in the middle of the second century we find Justin Martyr [b] citing the 'Memoirs of Peter' for the title 'Boanerges' given to the sons of Zebedee, a fact recorded

[a] Swete, *St. Mark*, p. xvi.

[b] *Dialogue with Trypho*, xvi.

only in Mk 3^{17}. Irenæus repeatedly quotes the Gospel, explicitly attributing it to 'Mark the interpreter and follower of Peter,' and from that time onward the evidence of its universal recognition is unbroken.

444. Date.—An early and trustworthy tradition affirms that the Gospel was written in Rome and for Roman Christians, and Irenæus asserts what Papias seems to imply, that Mark wrote after the 'departure' (ἔξοδος) of Peter and Paul.

This statement is more probable than that of Clement of Alexandria, that Peter knew of Mark's work and neither hindered nor furthered it. At the time of the writing of Colossians, Mark was with Paul (4^{10}), and the Epistle has no trace of the presence of Peter in Rome. One *terminus a quo* is thus given (c. A.D. 62). The date of Peter's death is uncertain, but there seems no sufficient reason for doubting that he suffered martyrdom in the Neronian persecution, soon after the fire at Rome in July, 64. We may assign Mark's Gospel, therefore, approximately to 65 or 66, and this receives confirmation from the simplicity of its teaching, from the absence of any indication that Jerusalem had fallen (A. D. 70), and especially from the vagueness of 13^{14} (R.V.) compared with Mt 24^{15} and Lu 21^{20}.

445. Integrity: the last twelve verses.—It is perhaps impossible to read the last chapter of Mark's Gospel without feeling that at verse 9 'something has happened.' Up to this point we have continuous and vivid narrative: now it suddenly breaks off, returns upon itself (to verse 1), becomes condensed and fragmentary. Of course, apart from other evidence, this change of manner might be attributed to the Evangelist himself; but evidence is forthcoming, both external and internal, which leads to the widely-accepted conclusion that verses 9–20 are no part of the original Gospel.

The R.V. margin notes that some authorities have a different ending: this may here be conveniently quoted: with no claim to acceptance either on intrinsic or extrinsic grounds, its existence yet points to a gap which its author tried to fill. There are some differences in the authorities containing it; the citation is from Codex Regius (L) at Paris: 'And they reported briefly to Peter and his company all that had been commanded. And after these things Jesus Himself sent

forth through them, from the east even unto the west, the holy and incorruptible proclamation of eternal salvation.'

External evidence.—It is admitted that the overwhelming mass of witnesses—MSS., versions, and Fathers—are in favour of the verses, and that by the middle of the second century the Gospel ended as it does now. But in matters of textual criticism witnesses cannot be counted (see § 61): here, each branch of the evidence shows notable exceptions.

1. *MSS.* In the two oldest Uncials, the Vatican (B) and Sinaitic (א), the Gospel ends at verse 8 'For they were afraid' (ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ). It is, however, significant that in the former of these MSS. a *blank space* is left after the words, indicating that the chapter is incomplete. Codex Regius (L, eighth century) and three later Uncials (ד^{12}, ק, Ψ) give alternative and shorter endings: so does one cursive (274), while another (22) notes that some copies end at verse 8.

2. *Versions.* The old Syriac MS. of the Gospels discovered by Mrs. Lewis on Mount Sinai in 1892 (Syr^{sin}) ends at verse 8, the Gospel of Luke immediately following. One MS. of the Old Latin (k) has the shorter ending only. Some copies of other versions (Harcleian Syriac, Memphitic, Armenian, Ethiopic) either end at verse 8 or give the alternative endings.

3. *Fathers.* We do not encounter doubt till the fourth century, when Eusebius introduces an apologist as seeking refuge from a difficulty by doubting the authenticity of these verses, which are wanting in 'the accurate copies,' and, again, 'in nearly all the copies[a].' The testimony does not perhaps gain much from its reproduction by Jerome, with whom it becomes a definite statement that 'almost all Greek copies are wanting in this section[b],' a fact which in no wise affects its inclusion in Jerome's own version; but if, as Dean Burgon suspects, Eusebius is repeating the suggestion of an older writer, 'probably Origen,' we have patristic evidence adverse to these verses of much earlier date and higher authority.

Internal evidence.—The argument from the non-Marcan elements in the style and vocabulary of these verses requires a study of the Greek text (e.g. 'On the first day of the week,' verse 9, and also verse 2): but in verse 2 Mark writes τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, whereas in verse 9 the expression is πρώτῃ σαββάτου. For a list of instances and a discussion of the whole case favourable to Mark's authorship the student may be

[a] Eusebius, in his Book of *Questinos and Solutions concerning the Passion and Resurrection of the Saviour*, addressed to Marinus.

[b] Jerome, *Letter to Hedibia*, a lady in Gaul.

referred to Dean Burgon, *On the last Twelve Verses of St. Mark*. The argument from *style* is notoriously uncertain : yet it must not be forgotten that it is *cumulative*, and that it gains greatly in force if associated with any external evidence. Other unexpected features, in addition to those mentioned at the outset of this discussion, lie on the surface to the observant English reader : the description of Mary Magdalene, as if now for the first time she appeared in the story (16^9, cf. 15^{47} 16^1) ; the bald paragraphs summarizing accounts found in the other Gospels ; the unique character of verses 16-18.

The net result would seem to be that at least serious doubt must attach to these twelve verses. It is inconceivable that Mark deliberately ended with the words 'for they were afraid' ; an anti-climax indeed, and worse in the Greek, where the final word would be the particle γάρ. We may, perhaps, conjecture that in some way Mark's autograph lost its last leaf before copies were made, and that separate attempts were made to supply the missing close, of which our present ending is immeasurably superior, both from intrinsic merit and from weight of attestation. See the Excursus by Dr. Swete on 'The alternative endings of this Gospel' in his *St. Mark*, Introd. xi.

446. Contents and Characteristics.—The two main themes of the Gospel are the ministry in Galilee and the last week in Jerusalem : these are preceded by introductory matter, and are separated by a brief summary of intervening events. Thus :—

1^{1-13} Introduction : John the Baptist : the Baptism and Temptation.
1^{14}-9^{50} Ministry in Galilee.
10^{1-52} Events in Peræa and Journey to Jerusalem.
11^1-16^8 The Last Week : Trial, Crucifixion, and Resurrection.

Mark's Gospel is 'a swift narrative of Divine doing.' He omits the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's Prayer, all the parables except four, and all the longer discourses except that on the Second Advent. Yet in vividness, fullness, and picturesque detail he often surpasses the other Synoptists.

Details peculiar to this Gospel.—1. Some few *incidents* are mentioned by Mark only : as the alarm of the relatives of Jesus at what seemed to them His mental aberration (3^{21}), and the incident of the young man in the linen robe, who narrowly escaped arrest on the night of the Betrayal ($14^{51.52}$), conjectured by some expositors to have been Mark himself.

2. *Parables*[a]. Mark relates but four, one of which, the Seed growing secretly (4^{26-29}), is peculiar to this Gospel, as is also the parabolic passage 13^{33-37}.

3. *Miracles*[a]. Eighteen in all are recorded by Mark, but there are only two exclusively his, the healing of the deaf and dumb, accompanied by the sigh and upturned look of the all-gracious Healer (7^{31-37}), and that of the progressive healing of a blind man at Bethsaida (8^{22-26})—the only miracle of its kind recorded.

4. Writing especially for Gentile readers, Mark gives explanations which to Jews would have been quite superfluous, e. g. the 'river' Jordan, 1^{5}; the Mount of Olives 'over against the Temple,' 13^{3}; also in reference to Jewish ceremonial customs, 7^{3} 14^{12} 15^{42}.

5. The additions in minute particulars and graphic touches which strikingly characterize this Gospel are far too numerous to be given in full, but the following may be noted as indications of an independent writer, and of one whose descriptions are often based upon those of an eyewitness: (i) *Names*: that Simon Jesus surnamed Peter (3^{16}); James and John, Boanerges (3^{17}); that Bartimæus was the name of the blind beggar at Jericho (10^{46}); that Simon of Cyrene was the father of Alexander and Rufus. (ii) *Number*: that the herd of swine numbered 'about two thousand' (5^{13}); that the twelve Apostles were sent forth, 'two by two' (6^{7}, but cf. Lu 10^{1}); that before the cock crew twice Peter would thrice deny his Lord (14^{30}). (iii) *Time*: 'in the morning . . . a great while before day' (1^{35}); 'the same day, when the evening was come' (4^{35}); 'whenever even was come, He went out of the city' (11^{19}); the hour of the Crucifixion, 'the third hour' (15^{25}). (iv) *Place*: 'by the sea side' (2^{13}); 'a place where two ways met' (11^{4}); 'over against the treasury' (12^{41}); 'over against Him' (15^{39}); 'on the right side' (16^{5}). (v) Many minute traits and touches in reference to (*a*) *Colour*, 6^{39} (*πρασιαί*, 'garden plots') 9^{3} 16^{5}; (*b*) *Look, feeling*, or *gesture*, $1^{41.43}$ 3^{5} $7^{33.34}$ $8^{12.23}$ $9^{27.36}$ $10^{16.21}$.

Key-words.—Among characteristic expressions occurring in the Gospel, observe (1) the frequency of the word *straightway* (*εὐθύς*), *immediately*. (2) Emphasis by repetition, e. g. 'he . . . began *to publish it much*, and *to blaze abroad* the matter' (1^{45}); 'that sprang up and *increased and brought forth*' (4^{8}); 'and with *many such parables spake He unto them*' ($4^{33.34}$); '*I know not, neither understand I*' (14^{68}). (3) Introduction of Aramaic words, as probably heard from the lips of Christ. (4) Also of Latin words and phrases. See the enumeration, § 40, p. 44.

[a] See Tables, pp. 664, 665.

The Gospel according to Matthew

(KATA MATΘAION)

447. Its Author.—The first Gospel, like the second, is anonymous, but by uniform tradition is ascribed to the Apostle Matthew. The one incident related of him is his call and instant obedience. He was a 'publican' (τελώνης), collector of customs at the important commercial centre of Capernaum. At Mk 2^{14} Lu 5^{27} he is called Levi, probably with greater accuracy, if, as is probable, he assumed the name of Matthew (Ματθαῖος or Μαθθαῖος = Theodore, *gift of God*) on becoming a disciple.

It is characteristic that Matthew himself uses only the later name (Mt 9^{9}), and adds to his own name in the list of the Apostles the designation 'the publican' (10^{3}). The identity of Levi and Matthew is put beyond doubt by a comparison of the narrative at Mt 9^{9} with Mk 2^{14} Lu 5^{27}; and by the fact that there is no *Levi* in the four lists of the Apostles (Mt 10 Mk 3 Lk 6 Ac 1), while Matthew has place in them all. Mark adds (2^{14}) that he was the son of Alphæus (not the father of James, for the lists forbid such a connexion); and from Luke we learn that the 'eating with publicans and sinners' which followed the call of Levi was at a 'great feast' (δοχή, *reception*) given by the new disciple in honour of Jesus.

This Gospel, though evidently freely used by Justin Martyr, is first cited as Matthew's by Irenæus, and thenceforward has its undoubted place in the 'fourfold Gospel' (τετράμορφον εὐαγγέλιον)[a]. But there is an earlier testimony of Papias preserved by Eusebius[b] which ascribes to Matthew an Aramaic work: 'So then Matthew composed "the Oracles" (τὰ λόγια) in the Hebrew language, and each one translated them as he was able.' Similar statements are made by Irenæus, Origen (who expressly identifies the Hebrew work of Matthew with our first Gospel), Eusebius, and other patristic writers. None of these claim to have seen the Hebrew Gospel; but Jerome affirms that he had seen and transcribed the copy in the Library of Pamphilus

[a] Iren. *Contr. Hær.* iii. 11. 8.
[b] Eus. *H. E.* iii. 40.

at Cæsarea. It is, however, generally agreed that he is confusing the apocryphal 'Gospel according to the Hebrews' with the Aramaic original of Matthew. The fragments of the apocryphal Gospel which survive show a wide divergence. Moreover, Jerome was of course acquainted with the Greek Matthew, yet tells us that he translated the 'Gospel according to the Hebrews' into both Greek and Latin, a superfluous task, if this were the original form of the first Gospel.

It would seem that there were in fact three writings, not kept distinct in the tradition : (1) the Aramaic Gospel according to the Hebrews, (2) Matthew's Aramaic 'Logia,' (3) the Greek 'Gospel according to Matthew.' The main problem is as to the relation of (2) and (3). It would be an easy solution if we could with confidence attribute both to Matthew. Possibly the use of the past tense, '*interpreted* as he could,' implies that, when Papias wrote, the need for haphazard translations had been done away by the issue of an authorized Greek version of Matthew's work, for which the Apostle himself may have been responsible. And since at a later date we find a Greek Gospel of Matthew in possession of the field, the presumption is that it is of this that Papias is tracing the origin.

No great difficulty need be found in the application of the term 'Logia' to the first Gospel as a whole. Patristic usage shows that the word may cover facts and incidents, as well as sayings; it is even specially appropriate to the work of which the most characteristic feature is its full record of the *discourses* of our Lord. But it is practically certain that our first Gospel is an original Greek work, and not a translation. The style forbids, and the bulk of the citations from the O. T. (those common to Matthew with Mark or Luke or both) are from the LXX. Matthew may conceivably have written two independent works, one in Aramaic, a compilation of sayings of the Lord, and one in Greek, a complete Gospel, in which these were incorporated. But we have seen that in what the first Gospel shares with the second the priority of Mark is to be conceded; and it is not likely that an original Apostle and eyewitness would depend for his material on Mark. Nor in Matthew's version of the 'Petrine Memoirs' are the touches which suggest the eyewitness conspicuous. It seems safer, therefore, to rest in the assurance that what is most characteristic and precious[a] in Matthew's Gospel is derived from the 'Logia,' a collection of our Lord's sayings made by the Apostle himself, no doubt

[a] It is the discourses contained in this Gospel which lead even Renan to style it 'the most important book of Christendom, the most important book which has ever been written.' *Les Évangiles*, p. 212.

comprising historical matter also. With these is combined the substance of Mark's Gospel derived from Peter : yet the name of Matthew clings to the whole. So is tradition vindicated; and if in part Matthew's authorship becomes less direct, we find a dual apostolic origin of his Gospel in place of a single.

448. Its Genuineness, Integrity, and Date.—Nothing need be added to what is said above as to the early recognition of the Gospels, except that echoes of Matthew are clearer and more abundant in the sub-apostolic writings[a] than of Mark.

The **integrity of this Gospel** cannot be seriously questioned. Whatever difficulties may be found in the first two chapters as compared with the parallel narrative in Luke, the external testimony is unanimous in making them part of the original work. Indeed, the only considerable passage which is in doubt is the Doxology to the Lord's Prayer (6^{13}). Here the adverse evidence is so decisive that the words are dropped from the R.V. without even a marginal note. Probably they are an insertion due to the liturgical use of the prayer, and may ultimately rest upon 1 Ch 29^{11}.

Date of the Gospel.—While later than Mark, it may fairly be argued from Mt 24^{15} compared with Lu 21^{20} (note the vagueness and the solemn warning, 'Let him that readeth understand') that the crisis had not yet arrived. Moreover, such passages as Mt 4^5 5^{35} 22^7 23^{2-34} $24^{2,15}$ 27^{53}, with their allusions to the Holy City, Holy Place, City of the Great King, seem to imply that the Gospel was written some time before the tragic end of the war in A. D. 70. Matthew's Aramaic 'Logia' may probably be placed some five or ten years earlier.

449. Its Contents and Characteristics.—The greater part of the book deals with the ministry in Galilee, but

[a] Especially in Justin Martyr.

Mark's narrative is amplified, both here[a] and in the final scenes in Jerusalem[b], by the introduction of large bodies of connected teaching. This leads to some changes from Mark's order: probably also the compression in narrative as compared with Mark, continually observable, is to be traced to the same cause[c].

1^{1}–2^{23} Birth and infancy of Jesus.
3^{1}–4^{11} Preparation for the Ministry.
4^{12}–18^{35} Ministry in Galilee.
19^{1}–20^{34} Peræa, and journey to Jerusalem.
21^{1}–25^{46} Teaching in Jerusalem.
26^{1}–28^{20} The Passion and the Resurrection.

The Gospel is mainly addressed to Jews. The evident aim of the writer is in the first instance, by a simple record of what our Lord did and suffered, to redeem his Master's memory from reproach, to disarm the prejudices of his countrymen, and to set forth the true character of the Messiah. More generally, the book may be regarded as an exposition of the 'kingdom of heaven,' or more precisely, 'of the heavens,' a phrase occurring thirty-three times in this Gospel, and in no other. Hence also the spiritual interpretation of the Law in the Sermon on the Mount; with the frequent appeals to the Prophets (1^{23} $2^{6.15.18}$ 3^{3} 4^{15} 8^{17}, &c.), the citations, direct and indirect, amounting to about sixty-five, a far larger number than in any other Evangelist. These are, in the sections common to Matthew with Mark or Luke or both, mainly from the LXX; in those peculiar to Matthew, more nearly from the Hebrew. There should also be noticed Matthew's accounts of the refutation of the

[a] The *Sermon on the Mount*, chs. 5–7; *Instructions to the Twelve*, ch. 10; *Parables*, ch. 13.

[b] *Woes on the Pharisees*, ch. 23; *Parables*, ch. 25.

[c] There seem to have been recognized limits as to the size of ancient books. The three longest books of the N. T. (Matthew, Luke, and Acts) are almost exactly the same length. See J. Armitage Robinson, *The Study of the Gospels*, p. 45.

various Jewish sects, his care in narrating such parts of our Lord's discourses as were best suited to awaken his own nation to a sense of their sins, to correct their hopes of an earthly kingdom, and to prepare them for the admission of the Gentiles to the Church.

Details peculiar to this Gospel.—Some of these have special significance when viewed in connexion with the purpose of this Gospel as sketched in the foregoing paragraphs.

1. *General incidents.* The vision of Joseph (1^{20-24}), the visit of the Magi (2^{1-13}), the flight into Egypt (2^{13-15}), the massacre of the infants (2^{16}), Peter's confession of Christ in detail (16^{13-20}), the dream of Pilate's wife (27^{19}), the death of Judas (27^{3-10}), the resurrection of certain saints (27^{52}), the bribery of the Roman guard (28^{12-15}), and the baptismal commission in detail ($28^{19.20}$).

2. *Parables.* The Tares ($13^{24-30\ 36-43}$), the Hidden Treasure (13^{44}), the Pearl ($13^{45.46}$), the Drag-net (13^{47}), the Unmerciful Servant (18^{23-34}), the Labourers in the Vineyard (20^{1-16}), the Two Sons (21^{28-32}), the marriage of the King's Son (22^{1-13}), the Ten Virgins (25^{1-13}), the Talents (25^{14-30}).

3. *Miracles.* The cure of two blind men in a house at Capernaum (9^{27-31}), the healing of a dumb demoniac ($9^{32.33}$), the coin in the fish's mouth (17^{24-27}).

Key-words. — The following *characteristic phrases and expressions* strikingly illustrate the main design of the Gospel: '*That it might be fulfilled*' (ἵνα or ὅπως πληρωθῇ); '*the kingdom of the heavens*,' as above noted (ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν), thirty-three times; '*Our Heavenly Father*' or '*Father in heaven*'—literally 'in the heavens' (ὁ πατὴρ ὁ οὐράνιος, ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς), about twenty-two times; the reference to the Messiah under the name '*Son of David*' (eight times). Among other characteristic expressions note the frequent use, about sixty times, of '*Lo! behold*' (ἰδού) when introducing anything new; also the use of τότε, as the particle of transition, rare in the other Gospels, but occurring ninety times in this. These are only a few of the peculiarities of style and diction; for others see Archbishop Thomson's article on 'Gospel of Matthew' in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

The Gospel according to Luke

(KATA ΛΟΥΚΑΝ)

450. Its Author.—The opening words of the 'Acts of the Apostles,' addressed to one Theophilus, speak of a 'former treatise concerning all that Jesus began both to do and to teach': the dedication of the third Gospel to Theophilus makes it clear that this is the 'former treatise' referred to. The identical authorship of the two books is all but universally conceded, and, if only on grounds of language and style, is really beyond question. Now in three sections of the Acts the author appears as a companion of Paul. At Troas, Paul sees in vision a man of Macedonia, 'and straightway *we* sought to go forth into Macedonia,' 16^{10-18}. The author is with Paul in Philippi: then the narrative proceeds in the third person till Philippi is revisited, $20^{5.6}$. The *we* continues till Jerusalem is reached, $21^{17.18}$, and reappears for the voyage to Rome, 27^{1}–28^{16}. To whom, then, among Paul's companions are the Acts and third Gospel to be attributed? Tradition, from Irenæus onward, unhesitatingly says to Luke[a], with what warrant may better be discussed in the Introduction to the Acts.

The very obscurity of the name is in its favour. Apart from the anonymous indications of the Acts, Luke is only three times mentioned in the New Testament.

Col 4^{14} 'Luke, the beloved physician.'

Philem ^{24} 'Luke, my fellow worker.'

2 Tim 4^{11} 'Only Luke is with me.'

His presence in Rome during Paul's first imprisonment confirms the supposition that he is the author of the *we*-section, Ac 27^{1}–28^{16}: his sole adhesion to the Apostle in the second imprisonment explains Irenæus's description of him as 'inseparable from Paul.' He was a Gentile by birth, for in *Colossians* he (with Epaphras and Demas) is

[a] Iren. *Adv. Haer.* iii. 1, 14, 15.

distinguished from those 'who are of the circumcision' (4^{11}). Tradition makes him a proselyte and a native of Antioch, but both particulars are doubtful. The latter may be due to a confusion with the Lucius (Λούκιος) of Ac 13^{1}, but the names are distinct: Luke (Λουκᾶς) is a contraction of Lucanus, as Silas of Silvanus. A more probable suggestion connects him with Philippi[a].

451. Its Genuineness, Integrity, and Date.—Not only does this Gospel share in the abundant recognition given to the other Synoptics from the middle of the second century: it has a special and earlier attestation from Marcion of Pontus (*c.* A. D. 140). The New Testament of his own selection which he brought to Rome consisted of a *Gospel* and an *Apostolicon* (ten of Paul's Epistles). This Gospel can be in large part reconstructed from citations by his opponents Tertullian and Epiphanius, and proves to be a revised and mutilated version of Luke[b].

Integrity.—A passing reference must suffice to certain textual phenomena in the closing chapters which led W H to enclose some passages in double brackets, as of doubtful authenticity (especially $22^{19.20}$ $^{43.44}$ 23^{34} $24^{51.52}$). Their judgement in here following those Western authorities which in general they neglect, is open to serious doubt. Blass thinks that Luke himself issued two editions of his Gospel (and also of the Acts), one for readers in Palestine, one for those in Rome[c].

Date.—That Luke is the latest of the Synoptic Gospels is perhaps suggested by (1) the Prologue: 'many' of the second generation of Christians have already attempted a similar task; (2) the use of the two main sources of the first and second Gospels, together with additional materials;

[a] See Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 200–205.

[b] A discussion of Marcion's testimony will be found in *The Early Witness to the Four Gospels* (R. T. S.), pp. 36–46.

[c] See W H, *Notes on Select Readings*; also Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, chs. 7 and 9; and Salmon, *Some Thoughts on Textual Criticism*, ch. 4.

(3) many slight touches which seem to show 'development' in the treatment of the common tradition; (4) the modifications in the 'eschatological discourse' (ch. 21) with their clearer indications of the siege of Jerusalem (21^{20}).

These last may point to a date shortly *after* 70. Jülicher affirms that they prove it 'beyond question' (*Introduction to New Testament*, p. 336); Blass altogether disputes the inference (*Philology of the Gospels*, chs. 3 and 4) and argues that Luke probably wrote his Gospel during Paul's two years' imprisonment in Jerusalem and Cæsarea, i. e. before the close of A. D. 60. It was certainly written before Acts, and the narrative of that book closes in 62. This, however, gives no certain clue to the date of Acts. We can only say that the Gospel *may* have been written as early as Blass maintains, while there is no valid reason for placing it much after 70.

452. Contents and Characteristics.—This close association of the author with the Apostle Paul naturally accounts for signs of Pauline influence in the Gospel. A tradition was early current[a] that Luke's Gospel contained the substance of Paul's teaching, as that of Mark was supposed to contain that of Peter. While the suggestion may be unduly pressed, it is unmistakable that there is a striking correspondence between the general scope of the Gospel and the Pauline teaching of grace, forgiveness, and justification.

The universality of the Gospel is more marked in Luke than in Matthew or Mark; so also, especially in those parables and sayings peculiar to Luke, is the doctrine of man's free justification by grace through faith, e.g. 17^{10} 18^{14}. It is as if the writer had taken for his motto the phrase from the Apostle's benediction, 'the *grace* of the Lord Jesus Christ.' It is also noteworthy that the account of the Lord's Supper given by Lu $22^{19.20}$[b] is almost identical with that of Paul in 1 Cor 11^{23-25}. There are also points of resemblance in the accounts of the Resurrection of our Lord, Lu 24 and 1 Cor 15^{1-7}.

Luke's use of special sources appears in the first two chapters, but chiefly in the central section of his Gospel, 9^{51}–19^{28}. The other Evangelists have nothing corresponding to this record of a slow but

[a] Iren. *Adv. Hær.* iii. 1, &c.

[b] Apart, that is, from the question of *text*.

continuous progress to Jerusalem (see 9^{51} 13^{22} 17^{11} 18^{31} $19^{11.28}$). It has been variously called the 'Journal of Travel,' the 'Great Insertion,' or, more simply, the 'Peræan Section.' A good deal is found in it that is also, variously placed, in Matthew or Mark, but for the most part it is peculiar to Luke, especially in its parables.

Summary of the Gospel.

1^{1-4}	Preface.
$1^{5}-2^{52}$	The Annunciation, Nativity, and early history of John the Baptist and of Jesus Christ.
$3^{1}-4^{13}$	The preaching of the Baptist in the Wilderness, and the Baptism and Temptation of Christ.
$4^{14}-9^{50}$	Ministry of Christ in Galilee.
$9^{51}-19^{28}$	Christ's last journey to Jerusalem; the 'Peræan Section.'
$19^{29}-24^{53}$	The Last Week: Trial, Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension.

453. Details peculiar to this Gospel.—The features peculiar to Luke are numerous and striking. Among the principal are:—

1. *Events.* (i) The account of the parentage and birth of the Lord's forerunner, and of the birth of the Lord Himself; His circumcision, presentation in the Temple; His visit at twelve years of age to the Temple. (ii) Most of the incidents and sayings included in 9^{51}–19^{28}. (iii) Circumstances attending the trial and death of Christ; His look upon Peter; the trial before Herod Antipas; three of the 'Sayings' on the Cross; the prayer for the executioners; the promise to the penitent; and the commendation of His departing spirit. (iv) Circumstances attending the Resurrection; the appearance to Peter, to Cleopas and an unnamed disciple; the Ascension.

2. *Miracles.* Miraculous draught of fishes (5^{4-11}); raising the widow's son (7^{11-18}); and four miracles of *healing*:—of the deformed woman (13^{11-17}); the man with the dropsy (14^{1-6}); the ten lepers (17^{11-19}); and the wounded ear of Malchus ($22^{50.51}$).

3. *Parables.* Of these, three have reference to prayer, a prominent subject throughout the Gospel:—the Friend at Midnight (11^{5-8}); the Pleading Widow (18^{1-8}); the Pharisee and Publican (18^{10-14}). Illustrating the seeking love and free forgiveness of God are the twin parables of the Lost Coin and the Lost Son (15^{8-32}), prefaced by one found also in Matthew's Gospel. Pertaining also to the forgiving Love of God and Divine forbearance are the parables of the Two Debtors (7^{41-43}), the Barren Fig-tree (13^{6-9}), and the open invitation, the Great Supper (14^{12-24}). Man's relation to his fellow man is set forth in the parable of the Good Samaritan (10^{30-37}). Concerning the future life

and its relation to the present are the parables of the Rich Fool (12^{16-21}), the Dishonest Steward (16^{1-13}), the Rich Man and Lazarus (16^{19-31}); and of reward according to labour, that of the Pounds (19^{12-27}).

4. *Discourses.* At Nazareth (4^{16-20}); instructions to the Seventy (10^{1-16}), and other utterances recorded in 9^{51}–19^{28}; the conversation with two disciples going to Emmaus (24^{13-35}).

5. *Holy Songs.* The records of these comprise the *Magnificat*, or the Song of Mary (1^{46-55}); the *Benedictus*, or the Psalm of Zacharias (1^{68-79}); the *Gloria in Excelsis*, or the Song of the Angels (2^{14}); and the *Nunc Dimittis*, or the Death Song of Simeon (2^{29-32}).

6. *Angelic Appearances.* The Gospel begins with the appearance of an angel to Zacharias as he ministered in the Temple; then follows that of Gabriel to Mary of Nazareth; and of 'a multitude of the heavenly host' to the shepherds of Bethlehem. And as it begins, so the Gospel closes with the record of ministering angels: of one who in Gethsemane 'appeared unto Him, strengthening Him'; and of the two 'in shining garments,' who, on the morning of Resurrection triumph, inquired of the woman at the sepulchre, 'Why seek ye Him that liveth among the dead?'

Style and characteristic expressions.—All authorities testify to the grace of the style of Luke. The old tradition that he was a painter is true to the extent that he was an artist in words, preserving to us, in what Renan speaks of as 'the most beautiful book ever written,' a portraiture of Jesus that is suffused with artistic skill. As a man of letters, and skilled in composition, the use by Luke of more classical words for many that are used by the other Evangelists, his fondness for long compound words, and other distinguishing features of style are apparent to observant students of the Greek Testament, but cannot be represented in any version.

One **notable key-word of this Gospel,** in accordance with its evangelistic universalism, is the verb *to preach good tidings* (εὐαγγελίζομαι), 1^{19} 2^{10} 3^{18} $4^{18.43}$ 8^{1} 9^{6} 16^{16} 20^{1}. *Saviour, salvation,* are words used only by Luke amongst the Synoptists, $1^{47.69.71.77}$ $2^{11.30}$ 3^{6} 19^{9}, and each once only by John $4^{22.42}$. *To glorify,* in the sense of to ascribe glory, honour to God, is another characteristic expression, as seen in the passages 2^{20} 4^{15} $5^{25.26}$ 7^{16} 13^{13} 17^{15} 18^{43} 23^{47}. More than in any other Gospel is the dignity of womanhood recognized, as depicted not only in Luke's delineation of the mother of our Lord, but in the oft-recurring references to women, in Christ's relation to them, and theirs to Him. See 1, 2 *passim*, 7^{11-17} $8^{1-3.48}$ 10^{38-42} 13^{16} 23^{28}, &c.

The Gospel according to John

(KATA ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ)

454. Its Author.—The Synoptic Gospels are not only anonymous, they are impersonal. The Prologue to Luke, in which the author refers to, but does not name himself, is the one exception. It is otherwise with the fourth Gospel. Though still anonymous—neither John nor his brother James is named in the Gospel, the 'sons of Zebedee' only once (21^2)—it has three passages in which the author indirectly appears. With the first of these may be compared one from the Epistle which is admittedly from the same hand as the Gospel.

A. 1^{14}

And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld his glory, glory as of the only begotten from the Father), full of grace and truth.

1 Jn 1^{1-3}

That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes, that which we beheld, and our hands handled, concerning the Word of life (and the life was manifested, and we have seen, and bear witness, and declare unto you the life, the eternal *life*, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us); that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you also, that ye also may have fellowship with us.

B. 19^{35}

And he that hath seen hath borne witness, and his witness is true: and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye also may believe.

C. 21^{24}

This is the disciple which beareth witness of these things, and wrote these things: and we know that his witness is true.

The passages have been much discussed and are not free from difficulty. But there seems no sufficient reason to doubt that in each case the author is speaking of himself, claiming for his record the authority and veracity of an eyewitness. This would at once make him one of those 'which have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and went out among us, beginning from the baptism of John, unto the day that He was received up from us,' Ac 1^{21}.

But there is further guidance in the context of the last (*C*) of the three passages, '*This* is the disciple.' Which? 'The disciple whom Jesus loved, which also leaned on His breast at the supper' (21^{20}: cf. $13^{23.25}$ 19^{26} 20^{2} 21^{7}). Now there were present at the incidents of ch. 21, Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, the sons of Zebedee, and 'two other of His disciples' (verse 2). Among these it is natural to look for 'the beloved disciple' in that triad who appear in the Synoptics as admitted to closest intimacy with the Lord, Peter, James, and John. But Peter is excluded by the narrative itself, while James suffered martyrdom many years before this Gospel could have been written. There can hardly remain a doubt that it is the Apostle John who in the passages cited claims to be the author of the fourth Gospel [a].

455. John's relationship to Jesus.—The main facts recorded of John in the Synoptic Gospels are too familiar to need more than a passing reference. In the group of the three women at the cross it can hardly be doubted that 'the mother of the sons of Zebedee' (Mt 27^{56}) is identical with 'Salome' (Mk 15^{40}). The corresponding passage in John (19^{25}) is ambiguous as between three women and four; if three, the sister of Mary the mother of Jesus is also named Mary. All the probabilities are in favour of four and so of identifying 'His mother's sister' with Salome, the mother of the sons of Zebedee. Hence John was **cousin to Jesus,** and it was to the keeping of one who was kinsman as well as loved disciple that He committed His mother (19^{27}). Three incidents illustrate that side of the Apostle's character (due perhaps to his Galilean origin) which earned for him and his brother the title Boanerges (Mk 3^{17}). See Mt 20^{20-24}=Mk 10^{35-41} Mk 9^{38}=Lu 9^{49} Lu 9^{54}.

[a] How far the argument is affected if ch. 21 be regarded as an 'Appendix' to the original Gospel is considered below, § 460, 2.

456. John in the Apostolic History.—In Ac 3, 4, and 8 he appears as companion of Peter. If we assume his authorship of the Apocalypse, he there speaks of himself as 'in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus.' Many traditions connect his later life with **Ephesus**. 'Nothing is better attested in early Church history than the residence and work of St. John at Ephesus. But the dates of its commencement and of its close are alike unknown. It began after the final departure of St. Paul, and it lasted till about the close of the first century. This may be affirmed with confidence [a].'

457. Genuineness: External Testimony.—The earliest reference to the Gospel *by name* is found in Theophilus of Antioch (*c.* A.D. 180), who cites 1[1] with the preface 'John says.' Irenæus without hesitation attributes it to 'John the disciple of the Lord who also leaned upon His breast,' and affirms that he wrote in Ephesus, where he remained till the times of Trajan (A.D. 98–117) [b]. Similar testimony is given by Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and later writers. 'In the last quarter of the second century, and subsequently, if we except the shadowy Alogi [c], the Gospel was universally and without hesitation received as the work of the Apostle John, who composed it at Ephesus in his old age, after the publication of the other Gospels. This, then, is the view which, following a well-established rule in literary questions, we are to accept unless adequate reason can be shown for not doing so [d].'

Nor is earlier testimony lacking. Recent investigations

[a] Westcott, *St. John*, p. xxxiv.

[b] *Adv. Hær.* iii. 1. 1; 3. 4; ii. 22. 1. For the peculiar value of this testimony of Irenæus, who had known Polycarp, who had known John, see *The Early Witness to the Four Gospels*, p. 57.

[c] See below, § 459.

[d] Drummond, *The Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 79.

and discoveries prove the use of this Gospel by Tatian, make it all but certain that it was known to Justin Martyr, trace citations from it in Valentinus (*c.* 130) and in Basilides (*c.* 125) as quoted by Hippolytus, and, by vindicating the genuineness of the Ignatian Epistles and the Epistle of Polycarp, carry back at least a familiarity with Johannine ideas and phrases to the beginning of the second century[a].

458. Genuineness: Internal Evidence.—The Gospel contains numerous indications, often delicate and unobtrusive, of the nationality, date, and position of its author. The facts are for the most part incontrovertible: they yield an argument in 'narrowing circles,' a description of the writer growing in definiteness until it becomes difficult to doubt his identity with the Apostle John.

The Argument in Detail.—The argument has often been elaborated[b], and can here be given in briefest outline only: for details the reader is referred to the works named.

The author was—

1. *A Jew*: he is perfectly familiar with Jewish opinions (especially the Messianic expectation, ch. 1^{21} 4^{25} $6^{14.15}$ 7 $12^{13.34}$ $19^{15.21}$) and with Jewish usages and observances.

2. *Aramaic-speaking*: the style is Hebraistic, the Old Testament quotations show acquaintance with the Hebrew as well as with the LXX.

3. *Of Palestine*: he shows minute knowledge of the topography of Palestine and of Jerusalem (already in ruins when the Gospel was written).

[a] For recent (1903) discussions of the pre-Irenæan testimony favourable to the Johannine authorship, see Drummond, *op. cit.*, pp. 84–351; also Dr. V. H. Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, part i. An adverse conclusion is reached by the Abbé Loisy, *Le Quatrième Évangile.*

[b] Sanday, *The Fourth Gospel*, ch. xix; Westcott, *St. John* (Speaker's Commentary), pp. v–xxv; Drummond, *op. cit.*, pp. 352–85.

4. *An eyewitness*: time, persons, and places are constantly specified, while the graphic character of the narrative shows either 'the skill of a consummate artist or the recollection of an observer' (Westcott).

5. *An Apostle*: he is an eyewitness closely intimate with the thoughts and doings of the Apostles and of the Lord.

At this point the argument meets that from the direct evidence which the Gospel contains of its authorship (see above), and the conclusion is confirmed.

459. Objections and Difficulties considered.—There is no doubt that the positive argument just outlined has to contend against certain difficulties: but in estimating these, its combined strength of external testimony and internal evidence must not be forgotten. Again, a mere indication of some main difficulties and some suggestion towards removal must suffice.

1. The external testimony is unbroken save by 'a few insignificant objectors' (Drummond, p. 67). Certain obscure heretics referred to by Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* iii. 11) rejected the Gospel; these are generally identified by those later described by Epiphanius (*Hær.* li) as the 'Alogi' (ἄλογοι), apparently a punning nickname (the word means 'rejecting the Logos' and also 'void of reason'). Nor is greater weight to be attached to the non-recognition of the Gospel by Marcion. The argument that if Marcion had known John's Gospel he would have made it the basis of his system cannot be sustained. There is strong initial presumption that one who was 'more Pauline than Paul himself' would choose the Pauline Gospel; the fourth Gospel is not anti-Judaic in the Marcionite sense—'It swarms with recognition of the identity of the God of the Jews with the Father of our Lord, and of the authority of the Old Testament writers as testifying to Him[a]'; and, as compared with the Synoptics, it possesses special characteristics, so strongly marked that it could hardly have been taken as a typical setting forth of the Gospel of Christ[b].

2. But these special characteristics are themselves a stumbling-block. It is asked with some show of reason, 'Can the Christ of the fourth Gospel and the Christ of the Synoptics both be historical portraits?' A threefold contrast has already been referred to[c], and

[a] Salmon, *Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 247.

[b] Westcott, *The Canon of the New Testament*, p. 316, note.

[c] See pp. 628, 632.

further details are given below. There must be added the notable difference in the historical framework. The Synoptists mention only one visit to Jerusalem and one Passover: their narrative suggests, though it nowhere asserts, that the public ministry of our Lord falls within the compass of a single year. John names three Passovers (2^{13} 6^{4} 11^{55}: probably not 5^{1}), and several visits to Jerusalem, involving a ministry of at least a full two years. One more point of difference is in the revelation and recognition of the Messiahship of Jesus: in the Synoptists gradual and reluctant, in John clear from the first ($1^{29-41.49}$ 4^{26}). Here, undoubtedly, is a problem to which our sense of the supreme spiritual worth of the book, and our conviction that it is the true record of one with most intimate knowledge of the Master, cannot make us blind, not even though this inner witness be supported by the wealth of external testimony already noted. But a fuller consideration of the facts as well as of the circumstances under which the fourth Gospel was admittedly written goes far towards a solution.

(*a*) **The facts.**—The chronology of the Gospels is difficult and uncertain. But Mr. C. H. Turner[a] shows that Mark at least of the Synoptists gives indications of a two years' ministry. Moreover, in the fragmentary records of the first three Gospels there is ample room for the additional matter of the fourth (cf. Jn 20^{30} 21^{25}); while in the lament over Jerusalem (Mt 23^{37} Lu $13^{34.35}$) there is clear suggestion of a previous ministry there, just as the woes upon Chorazin and Bethsaida (Mt 11^{21} Lu 10^{13}) are the only notices of 'mighty works' done in those cities of Galilee[b]. Nor must the coincidences of John with the Synoptists be forgotten. Where his narrative runs parallel with theirs (the baptism of John, the 5,000 fed, the walking on the sea, the last week) he assumes their account, confirms it, supplements it, here and there corrects it (e.g. the time of the Anointing at Bethany and of the Last Supper).

But where the narratives stand apart the agreements are no less striking. The Synoptic title of our Lord, 'Son of man,' used only by Himself, appears with the same restriction in John: the characterization of Peter, of Judas, of Mary and Martha is evidently, like that of the earlier Gospels, a study from life.

[a] Art. 'Chronology of the New Testament,' Hastings' *Bible Dict.* vol. i.

[b] A well-attested reading in Lu 4^{44}, 'in the synagogues of Judæa,' is by some regarded as a unique reference in the Synoptics to a ministry in Jerusalem. Luke's use of the word 'Judæa,' however, seems not exclusive of Galilee, and the inference is uncertain.

(*b*) **The place and purpose of the writer.**—It has already been pointed out that John is not simply writing a life of Christ, he is interpreting His Person and mission: his theme is outlined in the great Prologue (1^{1-18}), his motive is summed up in his final word (20^{31}). It is this purpose which determines his selection of deed and word and the grouping of his chosen scenes. He looks back upon the events he records through many years of meditation and experience. If John's own manner is discernible in his version of our Lord's discourses, this cannot affect its substantial accuracy. Not only does his own repeated claim to truthfulness forbid: to suppose otherwise and to attribute to his own imagination these sublime utterances would be indeed to place 'the disciple above his Lord'!

(*c*) **The relation of the fourth Gospel to the Apocalypse** forms a separate problem. A comparison of the Greek of the two works makes it practically certain that if both are from the same hand the Apocalypse is the earlier. But the question rather belongs to the Introduction to that book. It may suffice here to quote the judgement of Bishop Westcott:—'The Apocalypse is doctrinally the connecting link between the Synoptists and the fourth Gospel. It offers the characteristic thoughts of the fourth Gospel in that form of development which belongs to the earliest apostolic age. It belongs to different historical circumstances, to a different phase of intellectual progress, to a different theological stage, from that of St. John's Gospel; and yet it is not only harmonious with it in teaching, but in the order of thought it is the necessary germ out of which the Gospel proceeded by a process of life[a].'

460. Integrity of the Gospel.—Two passages call for remark.

1. *The woman taken in adultery*, $7^{53}-8^{11}$. The external evidence against this section is overwhelming, and leads decisively to the judgement that it is no part of John's Gospel, a judgement confirmed by marked differences of style. On the other hand, 'it is beyond doubt an authentic fragment of apostolic tradition[b].' The only early MS. containing it is Codex Bezæ (D), a MS. whose Western additions to the standard text are being treated with growing respect as preserving authentic matter. Blass, on grounds of style, deems the passage Lucan, and attributes it to Luke's own second edition of his Gospel[c].

[a] *St. John*, Introd., p. lxxxiv: see the whole section.

[b] Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

[c] Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, pp. 161–4.

2. *The Appendix*, ch. 21. The chapter is evidently an afterthought, for the Gospel reaches its appropriate and solemn close at 20^{31}. Yet the unanimous external attestation and the evidence of style make it certain that this section, at any rate to verse 23, is part of the original Gospel. Possibly the saying of Jesus about John (verse 23) had become current and had been misinterpreted. John corrects the mistaken impression by explaining the saying in the context which led to it. It is more doubtful whether the last two verses are to be attributed to the Apostle. The form of witness in verse 24 differs from that in 19^{35}: on this ground Westcott inclines to assign the verses to the Ephesian elders. But they may possibly be John's repeated conclusion (cf. $20^{30.31}$) after the resumed narrative of the appendix.

461. Its Date.—For reasons already suggested, the book must be assigned to John's old age, perhaps to the **last decade of the first century.** There are no data for a more precise determination.

462. Summary of contents[a].

1^{1-18} The Prologue, setting forth the doctrine of the Divine and human nature in Christ, that the WORD was in the beginning God, with God, was made flesh and dwelt among us.

A. 1^{19}–12 Christ's revelation of Himself to the world.

1^{19-51} By the testimony of the Baptist and the first disciples.

2^{1}–4^{54} By the testimony of signs and works among Jews, Samaritans, and Galileans.

5^{1}–12 The conflict between Christ and the Jews, in which He shows Himself to be—the Source and Sustainer of Life, 5^{1-47} 6^{1-71}; the Source of Truth, 7–8^{11}; the Light of the World, 8^{12}–9^{41}; the Shepherd of the Flock of God, 10^{1-21}; One with the Father, 10^{22-42}; the Antagonist and Vanquisher of Death, 11^{1-57}. (Closing scenes of the Public Ministry, 12.)

B. 13–17 Christ's revelation of Himself to the disciples.

The Valedictory Discourses, 13^{31}–16^{33}.

The Intercessory Prayer, 17^{1-26}.

C. 18-21 The glorification of Christ in His Passion and Resurrection; laying down His life; taking it again.

[a] Mainly based on that of Dr. H. R. Reynolds in an exhaustive analysis of the Gospel in his Introduction and Commentary, in the 'Pulpit Commentary' Series.

463. Details peculiar to this Gospel.

1. **Miracles.**—Of eight miracles here recorded, five are peculiar to this Gospel: the water turned into wine (2^{1-10}); the nobleman's son healed (4^{46-54}); the paralytic at the pool of Bethesda (5^{1-15}); the blind man at the pool of Siloam (9^{1-7}); the raising of Lazarus (11); the miraculous draught of fishes (21^{1-12}). These miracles are described as manifestations of 'His glory,' and four of them are made the subject of discourses in which their lessons are enforced.

2. The prominence given in this Gospel to the *Discourses* of Jesus and certain conversations is especially noteworthy. John relates none of the parables recorded by the Synoptists, but gives us the dialogues with Nicodemus (3^{1-15}) and the Samaritan woman (4^{4-38}); the discourse after the healing at Bethesda (5^{10-47}), and the allegorical addresses on 'the Bread of Life' ($6^{35 ff.}$); 'the Light of the World' ($8^{12 ff.}$); 'the Door' and 'the Good Shepherd of the Sheep' ($10^{1 ff.}$); 'the Way, the Truth, and the Life' (14^{6-31}); 'the true Vine' (15); the mission of the Comforter (16). Different in style as these discourses are from those in the Synoptics, there are many remarkable correspondences of doctrinal teaching to be found, sufficient to prove that there is no new development of doctrine, only a fuller expanding of truths presented by the Synoptists in a more concrete form. 'The Synoptical Gospels contain the gospel of the infant Church, that of St. John the gospel in its maturity. The first combine to give the wide experience of the many, the last contains the deep mysteries treasured up by the one' (Westcott).

3. **Key-words: Characteristic Words and Phrases.**—The following are eminently characteristic of this Gospel, and are given with the approximate number of their occurrence, dependent in some instances upon the text followed:—*light* (φῶς)[a], eighteen times; *glory* and the corresponding verb *to be glorified*, forty times; *life* (ζωή) and *to live*, fifty-two times; *testimony*, *to testify*, seventy-nine times; *to know*, fifty-five times; *world* (κόσμος), seventy-nine times; *to believe* (πιστεύειν), ninety-eight times, especially with the preposition of motion εἰς, *into*; *work* (ἔργον), twenty-seven times; *name* and *truth*, each twenty-five times; *sign*, seventeen times; *comforter* (παράκλητος), four times; *to judge* and *judgement*, twenty-nine times. These are key-words. John alone gives us the solemnly repeated *Verily, verily* (ἀμήν, ἀμήν), occurring twenty-

[a] In one place (5^{35}) the A.V. has 'light' for another word, signifying 'light-bearer' or 'lamp,' as R.V. Christ was the Light, His forerunner but the medium of the revelation.

five times. The remarkable self-assertion shown in such phrases as 'I am the Bread of Life,' 'I am the Good Shepherd,' 'I am the Way, and the Truth, and the Life,' 'I am the true Vine,' culminates in the thrice repeated *I am* (ἐγώ εἰμι) of $8^{24.28.58}$.

N.B.—On the **genuineness and authenticity** of the fourth Gospel, the following maintain the views here advocated, while for the most part fairly stating the opposite opinion :—

Sanday, Dr. W., *The Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel*, 1872. Devoted mainly to the internal evidence.

Luthardt, C. E., *St. John the Author of the Fourth Gospel*, translated by C. R. Gregory, Leipzig ; with a long list of books and articles on the subject, up to date, 1875.

Lightfoot, Bishop, *Biblical Essays* (posthumous, 1893), containing Papers on the External and the Internal Evidence : complete and conclusive.

Godet, F., *Commentaire de l'Évangile de S. Jean.* Paris, 1864 (translated in Clark's Library).

Westcott, Bishop, *Introduction to Commentary on St. John's Gospel* (Speaker's Commentary), 1880 ; also published separately.

Reynolds, Dr. H. R., *Introduction to Exposition* in Dean Spence's 'Pulpit Commentary.'

Watkins, Archdeacon, *Bampton Lectures*, and article in Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, second edition.

Abbot, Dr. Ezra, *The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel : External Evidences.* Boston, U.S., 1880.

Stanton, Prof. V. H., D.D., *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, 1903.

Drummond, Prof. James, LL.D., from the rationalistic side contributes an argument of signal candour and cogency in support of the Johannine authorship ; *The Fourth Gospel*, 1904.

464. Parables of our Lord in the several Gospels.

[For Classification according to Subject, see § 141, p. 229.]

Related in Three Gospels (Synoptics).	Mt	Mk	Lu
The Sower	13^{3-23}	4^{3-20}	8^{4-15}
The Mustard-seed	$13^{31.32}$	4^{30-32}	$13^{18.19}$
The Wicked Vine-dressers	21^{33-41}	12^{1-9}	20^{9-16}
Related in Two Gospels only.			
The Leaven	13^{33}		$13^{20.21}$
The Lost Sheep	18^{12-14}		15^{3-7}
Related in One Gospel only.			
The Tares	13^{24-30}		
The Hidden Treasure	13^{44}		
The Pearl of Great Price	$13^{45.46}$		
The Draw-net	13^{47-50}		
The Unforgiving Servant [a]	18^{23-35}		
The Labourers in the Vineyard	20^{1-16}		
The Two Sons	21^{28-32}		
The Marriage of the King's Son [b]	22^{1-10}		
(The Wedding Garment)	22^{11-14}		
The Ten Virgins	25^{1-13}		
The Ten Talents	25^{14-30}		
The Seed growing secretly		4^{26-29}	
The Householder and his Servants		13^{34-37}	
The Two Debtors			7^{41-43}
The Good Samaritan			10^{25-37}
The Friend at Midnight			11^{5-10}
The Rich Fool			12^{16-21}
The Stewards and their Absent Master			12^{41-48}
The Barren Fig-tree			13^{6-9}
The Great Supper [c]			14^{16-24}
The Lost Piece of Silver			15^{8-10}
The Prodigal Son			15^{11-32}
The Dishonest Steward			16^{1-9}
The Rich Man and Lazarus			16^{19-31}
The Unprofitable Servant			17^{7-10}
The Judge and the Importunate Widow			18^{1-8}
The Pharisee and Publican			18^{9-14}
The Pounds [d]			19^{12-27}

[a] Neander finds part of this parable, at least, in Lu 7^{41}.

[b] Some expositors regard this parable as identical with that in Lu 14^{16-24}. For reasons to the contrary, see Trench, *Notes on the Parables*, xii, xxi.

[c] See note above on Mt 22^{1-10}.

[d] On this parable compared with that of the Talents, Mt 25, see Trench, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

465. Miracles of Christ in the several Gospels.

Recorded in the Four Gospels.	Mt	Mk	Lu	Jn
Feeding the Five Thousand	14[15–21]	6[35–44]	9[12–17]	6[5–14]
In Three of the Gospels.				
Stilling the Tempest	8[23–27]	4[35–41]	8[22–25]	
The Demons in the Swine	8[28–34]	5[1–20]	8[26–39]	
Raising the Daughter of Jairus	9[18.19.23–26]	5[22–24.35–43]	8[41.42.49–56]	
Healing the Woman with Issue of Blood	9[20–22]	5[25–34]	8[43–48]	
Healing the Paralytic at Capernaum	9[1–8]	2[1–12]	5[17–26]	
Healing the Leper at Gennesaret	8[1–4]	1[40–45]	5[12–15]	
Healing Peter's Mother-in-law	8[14–17]	1[29–31]	4[38.39]	
Restoring a Withered Hand	12[9–13]	3[1–5]	6[6–11]	
Healing a Lunatic Child	17[14–21]	9[14–29]	9[37–42]	
Walking on the Sea	14[22–33]	6[45–52]		6[19–21]
Healing Blind Bartimæus and another near Jericho	20[29–34]	10[46–52]	18[35–43]	
In Two Gospels.				
Healing the Syrophœnician Damsel	15[21–28]	7[24–30]		
Feeding the Four Thousand	15[32–39]	8[1–9]		
Withering the Fig-tree	21[17–22]	11[12–14.20–24]		
Healing the Centurion's Servant	8[5–13]		7[1–10]	
Demoniac in synagogue cured		1[23–26]	4[33–36]	
Healing a Blind and Dumb Demoniac	12[22]		11[14]	
In One Gospel only.				
Two Blind Men healed	9[27–31]			
A Dumb Demoniac healed	9[32.33]			
The Stater in the Fish's Mouth	17[24–27]			
Healing a Deaf Mute		7[31–37]		
Healing a Blind Man at Bethsaida		8[22–26]		
Miraculous Draught of Fishes			5[1–11]	
Raising the Widow's Son at Nain			7[11–16]	

In One Gospel only.	Mt	Mk	Lu	Jn
Healing the Woman with an Infirmity			13$^{10-17}$	
Healing a Dropsical Man			14$^{1-6}$	
Cleansing of Ten Lepers			17$^{11-19}$	
Healing the Ear of Malchus			22$^{49-51}$	
Turning Water into Wine				2$^{1-11}$
Healing a Nobleman's Son at Cana				4$^{46-54}$
Healing the Impotent Man at Bethesda				5$^{1-16}$
Opening the Eyes of one born Blind				9$^{1-8}$
Raising of Lazarus				11$^{1-46}$
Miraculous Draught of Fishes (second)				21$^{1-14}$

CHAPTER XIX

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

466. Title and Plan.—The title of the book in the oldest MSS. is simply 'Acts' (πράξεις, ℵ) or 'Acts of Apostles' (B). The indefiniteness well fits the selective character of the contents. Only the Apostles Peter and Paul are at all prominent: the history of Peter ends with ch. 12, and Paul becomes the one centre of interest. Yet the greater part of the perils of which the Apostle writes in 2 Cor 11^{24-27} are unnoticed in Acts[a]. There is evident that choice of material that marks *purpose*—a history rather than a chronicle; while the treatment suggests that information was here fuller, there more scanty.

The opening words link on the narrative of the Acts to that of the Gospel. Whether the expression 'all that Jesus *began* to do and to teach' is intended to suggest that the writer is going to record the *continuance* of His work through the Apostles, is uncertain. Possibly the phrase means simply 'did at the first,' the contrast being not between the first and second stages of *one* work, but between the work of Jesus and that of the 'Apostles whom He had chosen.' This, however, is unimportant, for, in fact, the whole book records the ministry of the Holy Spirit, His impulse and guidance (the Holy Spirit, the Spirit, the Spirit of the Lord, the Spirit of Jesus, being mentioned some sixty times). Its theme is set forth in 1^{8} 'But ye shall receive power, when

[a] The three shipwrecks of 2 Cor 11^{25} were of course *before* that of Ac 27.

the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be My witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa and Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth.'

The plan, thus informally indicated, is easily recognized in the **structure of the book.** The miracle of Pentecost is followed by the witness of the Apostles, and the growth of the Church in the *three* stages, Jerusalem (chs. 2–7), Judæa, and Samaria (chs. 8–12), 'unto the uttermost part of the earth' (chs. 13–28). The outward progress of the Church is accompanied by inward growth, especially in its gradual emancipation from Judaism; the third stage is almost wholly identified with the labours of Paul. It has sometimes been argued from the abrupt close that the writer contemplated a third work. This is, however, doubtful. In Paul's preaching in Rome, the centre of the Empire, the diffusion of the gospel to the 'uttermost part of the earth' is at least potentially accomplished: *Paulus Romæ apex evangelii*[a].

467. Author.—External testimony from Irenæus downwards is unanimous in attributing both Acts and the third Gospel to **Luke.** The known facts about Luke and the internal evidence of authorship are given in the Introduction to his Gospel. It is universally admitted that in the 'travel-document,' first appearing in the *we* of 16^{10}, we have the contemporary record of a companion of Paul. Even for this other names have been suggested, apparently on no other ground than that it is a 'disadvantage to an hypothesis that it should have some amount of historical attestation.' But Silas and Timothy are really excluded by the phraseology of the '*we*-sections' (cf. $16^{17.19}$ $20^{4.5}$), and if the name of Titus is rendered possible by the absence of any mention of him in Acts, there is nothing to give him preference over the positive tradition in favour of Luke. So little is known of Luke that it is difficult to find

[a] 'Paul in Rome is the climax of the gospel.'

internal confirmation of the tradition. One such, however, may be noted. Paul speaks of Luke as 'the beloved physician,' Col 4^{14}. In 1882, the Rev. W. K. Hobart, LL.D. of Dublin, published a work entitled *The Medical Language of St. Luke*, an attempt to show that both the third Gospel and the Acts 'are the works of a person well acquainted with the language of the Greek Medical Schools' (p. xxix). Of this work Dr. Chase writes (1902): 'When all deductions have been made, there remains a body of evidence that the author of the Acts naturally and inevitably slipped into the use of medical phraseology, which seems to me irresistible[a].' He adds that Dr. Hobart's argument has remained unnoticed by assailants of the traditional view.

A question.—But granting that the 'travel-document' is from the pen of an actual companion of Paul, and that Luke has the best claim to its authorship, does this certify the **whole book** as his? It is of course possible to regard the '*we*-sections' as a genuine document imbedded by a later compiler in his own work, and thus to refuse to the rest of the Acts the historical credit which undoubtedly attaches to this portion. But such a theory labours under insuperable difficulties. It is admitted by criticism adverse to the Lucan authorship that 'the writer of the book was not a mere compiler but an author. If he used materials, he did not put them together so loosely as to leave their language and style in the state he got them, but wrought up the component parts into a work having its own characteristics[b].' So marked a feature of the book is this unity, that even Prof. Schmiedel writes of the many attempts to partition it among several 'sources': 'No satisfactory conclusion has as yet been reached along these lines[c].' The argument for a single authorship is indeed unassailable: it rests upon (1) unity of plan and treatment, (2) linguistic characteristics—vocabulary and style—pervading the whole book, (3) cross-references[d]. How then did it come to pass that this skilful and capable author of a subsequent age, here and there, by his use of *we*, represents himself

[a] *The Credibility of the Acts of the Apostles*, p. 13.

[b] Dr. Samuel Davidson, *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. ii. p. 150.

[c] *Encyc. Bib.* vol. i. p. 45.

[d] The details are well given by Dr. S. Davidson, *op. cit.* pp. 144–52.

as sharing in the events he chronicles? If of set purpose, 'to recommend his production by setting it forth in the name of one who was known to be an associate of the Apostle[a],' we are left wondering at the unobtrusive modesty with which he makes his fraudulent claim. Others ascribe it to carelessness. The author is here using a document in the first person, and sets down the *we* just when it happens to occur in his source. But the literary qualities which these same critics admire in the book exclude the possibility of such clumsy patchwork. The only reasonable explanation is the remaining alternative, that at Troas the author did join Paul, accompanied him to Philippi, remained there till the Apostle returned, and was with him thenceforth till he reached Rome. So far as the evidence goes, we are on safe ground in ascribing both Acts and the third Gospel to a companion of Paul's travels, and in identifying him with 'Luke the beloved physician.'

468. Sources.—The 'travel-document' thus appears as Luke's own notes, supplemented by memory and research. For the rest we may suppose that Luke would follow the method suggested in Lu 1^{1-4}. With *Paul* he would have leisurely intercourse at Cæsarea, Melita, and Rome, where, it may well be, he subsequently met with *Peter*. At any rate, *Mark* 'the interpreter of Peter' was with him in Rome (Col 4^{10} Philem ^{24}), and could no doubt supply information about those early events in Jerusalem of which his mother's house was a centre. At Cæsarea Luke stayed with *Philip* the evangelist (21^{8}), and in Jerusalem met *James* and the elders (21^{18}). It is entirely probable that the interval of two years between the arrest and the departure for Rome were used by Luke in collecting authentic material for a work already projected. 'There is no part of the history contained in the Acts with a primary authority for which, if we accept the natural interpretation of the passages where the first person plural is used, we have not good grounds for saying that the writer had opportunities for personal communication[b].'

[a] Dr. Davidson, p. 156.

[b] Chase, *Credibility*, p. 22.

469. Date.—The closing words ($28^{30.31}$) bring the history down to the year 62. It has been argued that the somewhat abrupt ending indicates the limitation of the writer's *knowledge*, and so that the book was written about 63. But the ending may be regarded as the natural and fitting close to the work outlined in 1^{8}. Prof. Ramsay lays stress on the phrase in 1^{1}, 'the *first* treatise' (πρῶτον, not *former*, πρότερον), as pointing to yet a third work, contemplated, but never accomplished. If either of these positions be accepted, the suggested indication of date fails. Moreover, it is hardly probable that Luke's Gospel was written before 70, and the Acts is later. This and other slight indications, external and internal, lead to about A. D. 80 as perhaps the most probable date that can be assigned.

470. Historical Value.—The general impression that the book gives, of the truthful narrative of a careful historian, guided by the Holy Spirit, is confirmed at many points. So long ago as 1790, Paley in his *Horæ Paulinæ* traced the 'undesigned coincidences' between Acts and the Pauline Epistles in an argument which has by no means lost its value. The details of ch. 27 have been vindicated in the monograph of James Smith of Jordanhill, *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul* (1848), still a standard authority. In recent years brilliant work has been done on the Acts by Prof. W. M. Ramsay of Aberdeen, especially in his books *The Church in the Roman Empire* (1893), and *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* (1895). Some main results of modern investigation are gathered together by Dr. F. H. Chase in his Hulsean Lectures, *The Credibility of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles* (1902).

As bearing upon the question of authenticity, it is especially interesting to note the accuracy of the writer in the employment of official titles, as well as in reference to local or personal characteristics (see § 194). Thus, in describing Paul's visit to Macedonia, we find at Philippi, a Roman colony, the 'prætors' and 'lictors' after the model

of the imperial city (*στρατηγοί* and *ῥαβδοῦχοι*, 16^{20-36}). But in Thessalonica, a free city, the ruling authorities are 'politarchs' (*πολιτάρχαι*), an appellation not found in books, but occurring in an inscription found in this very city, and now in the British Museum. More strikingly still, at Corinth the chief magistrate is correctly designated (18^{12}) as 'proconsul' (*ἀνθύπατος*), as in *senatorial* provinces; but the province was before and after this time (A. D. 52 or 53) *imperial*, when the designation would have been 'proprætor' (*ἀντιστράτηγος*). It is noteworthy that the Corinthian proconsul Gallio, who is described by Luke as of so easy-going, tolerant a spirit, is described by Seneca his brother as distinguished for his amiability, which made him a universal favourite: 'Even those who love him best love him scarcely enough.' Another proconsul, Sergius Paulus, was at Cyprus (13^{7}), as it happened, at the very time of the Apostle's visit, and singularly enough a recently discovered inscription in the island mentions '*Paulus*, proconsul.' The record of Paul's visit to Athens, also, is full of accordances with what we know from other sources of the city and the time. These are but specimens of the unconscious truthfulness of the whole narrative.

471. Objections and Difficulties considered.—We are not here concerned with the assumption which underlies much of the hostile criticism of the historicity of Acts, viz. that its records of the miraculous must necessarily be legendary and of late date. Nor need we do more than refer to the exploded theory of the Tübingen school, that the book is a 'tendency-writing' (*Tendenzschrift*), a romance written to reconcile Pauline and Petrine Christianity. Tendency of a sort there undoubtedly is: the writer has a purpose which modifies both the substance and the treatment of his history. But recent attempts[a] to define this tendency, and to apply it to the weakening of the historical credit of the narrative, would seem to be as speculative and as futile as the earlier theory they have dispossessed. The positive evidence for historicity stands firm. We may well be content to accept Prof. Schmiedel's own dictum: 'Every historian who is not simply an annalist must have "ten-

[a] e. g. Prof. Schmiedel in *Encyc. Bib.*

dency" in the wider sense of that word. His trustworthiness is not necessarily affected thereby[a].' It is not irrelevant to add, that in the purpose of the writer we may discern the guidance of the Spirit of God,—in Canon Liddon's phrase, 'an inspiration of selection.'

There are however two or three specific **difficulties** to which brief reference must be made.

1. *The three accounts of Saul's Conversion.* The event is narrated by Luke (9^{1-19}) and by Paul in his speeches to the crowd in Jerusalem after his arrest (22^{4-16}), and before Agrippa and Festus at Cæsarea (26^{10-18}). The alleged discrepancies are concerned with the words of Jesus and with the effect of the vision on the companions of Saul. No doubt there is not verbal exactness. Before Agrippa, Paul abridges the story and ascribes to Jesus the commission which in the other accounts came to him through Ananias. More difficulty has been felt as to the description of the effect on the rest of Saul's company. The three accounts are as follows:—

A	*B*	*C*
9^{7} (*after* the voice)	22^{9} (*after* the voice)	$26^{13.14}$ (*before* the voice)
And the men that journeyed with him stood speechless, hearing the voice, but beholding no man. And Saul arose from the earth.	And they that were with me beheld indeed the light, but they heard not the voice of him that spake to me.	I saw on the way a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me and them that journeyed with me. And when we were all fallen to the earth, I heard a voice.

Two differences of detail are noted: 'stood' (*A*), 'fallen' (*C*): 'hearing the voice[b]' (*A*), 'heard not the voice' (*B*). The first is in any case trivial, and it is easy to suppose that the men had first fallen, then risen. As to the second, whatever precise explanation may be adopted, all the accounts equally convey the fact that all the

[a] *Encyc. Bib.* i. 39.

[b] R. V. marg. 'sound': same word as in 9^{4}, but genitive instead of accusative. For the difference between *ἀκούειν φωνῆς*, to hear with the physical ear, and *ἀκούειν φωνήν*, to hear as an act of the intellect, see Winer's *Grammar* (ed. Moulton), p. 249.

company were aware of the miracle, but that Saul alone understood its meaning. More than this, unless history is to be judged by mathematical standards, we need not require. It at least speaks for the fidelity of the historian that in each case he used his source as he found it, not caring to effect an easy harmony.

2. *The revolt under Theudas* (5^{36}). Gamaliel in his speech before the council refers to two insurrectionary movements which had come to nought: the first under Theudas, and '*after this man* rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the enrolment.' As to Judas, Luke's narrative agrees closely with that of Josephus (*Antiq.* xviii. 1, 6; *Wars*, ii. 8. 1), who also records (*Antiq.* xx. 5. 1) a rising under 'one Theudas by name.' But this, instead of being *before* that of Judas (A.D. 6 or 7), was in the procuratorship of Cuspius Fadus (A.D. 44-46), and therefore about ten years after Gamaliel's speech.

For the full details and for suggested explanations the reader is referred to the various Commentaries and Bible Dictionaries. It has been suggested that Luke has filled out his notes of Gamaliel's speech with the pertinent parallel of another Jewish insurgent, as to whose chronological position he was mistaken, a slip which would not seriously impair his general historical credit. But in proportion as his care and accuracy are recognized, it becomes less easy to attribute to him such an editorial anachronism. The 'mistake' may lie with Josephus; or the Theudas of Luke may be some other insurgent of Herod's days, unnamed by Josephus among the 'ten thousand other disorders in Judæa' of which he speaks.

A more serious use is made of the 'mistake' when it is pressed into an argument for the dependence of the writer of Acts upon Josephus, and consequently, for the non-Lucan authorship. The account of Theudas in Josephus is *followed* at a short interval by notice of a rising under 'the sons of Judas.' It is supposed that a vague recollection of this page leads our author to speak of the revolt of Theudas *followed* by that of Judas of Galilee! The suggestion may be dismissed as a curiosity of criticism[a].

3. *Divergences between Acts and Galatians.* In protesting to the Judaizing Galatians his independence of the original Apostles, Paul records the circumstances of two of his visits to Jerusalem. Various difficulties occur in harmonizing his version of the history with that in the Acts, and these are used to the disparagement of Luke's narra-

[a] For some trenchant remarks by Prof. Ramsay on this theory as 'incredible, irrational, and psychologically impossible,' see *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* pp. 252–257.

tive, Prof. Schmiedel going so far as to assert 'categorical contradiction.' This, however, can by no means be substantiated.

(*a*) Gal 1^{15-24} = Ac 9^{19-30}. Paul speaks of a sojourn in Arabia as to which Luke is silent. Three years elapsed before he went up to Jerusalem, and when he left for Tarsus he was 'still unknown by face unto the churches of Judæa.' The notes of time in Luke's narrative are vague; but it cannot reasonably be denied that they may cover three years. And though Luke speaks of a ministry in Jerusalem to 'the Hellenists,' this very limitation, and Paul's hurried departure, may well have left him virtually unknown to the Judæan churches. If the stress in Galatians is on Paul's independence of the Apostles, in Acts on his reception by them, each narrative also hints at the other side (Ac 9^{26} Gal 1^{18}).

(*b*) Gal 2^{1-10} = Ac 15^{1-29}. The points of difference chiefly urged are: the 'by revelation' (Gal 2^{2}) compared with the 'appointment' of Ac 15^{2}; the 'privately' of Gal 2^{2}, whereas Acts rather speaks of a general congress; and the stress in Paul's narrative on elements of controversy and discord. But though the facts are recorded from different points of view they can easily be harmonized: and the agreements of the two narratives are numerous and clear[a].

(*c*) It is not surprising that Luke omits to record the incident of Gal 2^{11-13}. If the question be raised, how could Peter act so after the part he is said to have played in the Council at Jerusalem? (Ac 15^{3-11}), it may perhaps be answered, with Bishop Lightfoot, that such inconsistency is Peter all over. And as Harnack has acutely pointed out, the incident at least corroborates the position taken in Acts; for Paul could not accuse Peter of hypocrisy unless he had previously adopted Paul's point of view[b].

Whatever points of difficulty may remain unsolved, there is at least no contradiction between Paul and Luke. Indeed the searching criticism to which the Book of Acts has recently been subject only strengthens confidence in this unique record of the history of Christianity for its first thirty or thirty-five years.

472. Contents.—The chief divisions of the book are intimated in 1^{6} (§ 466). The following Summary of Contents fills up the outline there given.

[a] Prof. Ramsay, however, identifies the visit to Jerusalem of Gal 2 with that mentioned Acts 11^{30} 12^{25}.

[b] According to Prof. Ramsay's identification of the several visits to Jerusalem, the incident is *prior* to the Council.

I. The Church in Jerusalem.

Introductory (ch. 1); descent of the Holy Spirit and opening of the apostolic mission (2); organization of the infant church, the first miracle, and consequent discourse (3); first persecutions (4); first recorded case of discipline and its effects (5); appointment of Hellenist diaconate (6^{1-7}); arrest, defence, and martyrdom of Stephen (6^{8}–8^{1}); dispersion of the community (8^{1-4}).

II. The Period of Transition.

Samaria evangelized (8^{5-25}); the *Ethiopian eunuch*, a proselyte converted (8^{26-40}); conversion of *Saul of Tarsus* (9^{1-31}); *Cornelius* and his household, 'who worshipped God,' embrace the gospel (10–11^{18}); extended evangelism by the scattered disciples, culminating in the visit of certain men of Cyprus and Cyrene to Antioch; *first preaching of the gospel to the heathen Gentiles* (11^{19-24}); Saul called to his life's work; the disciples first called 'Christians' ($11^{25,26}$); proofs of sympathy and brotherhood (11^{27-30}).

Interval. Renewed persecution in Jerusalem by Herod; James son of Zebedee the first apostolic martyr; imprisonment, release, and departure of Peter (12^{1-17}); death of Herod (12^{20-24}); Saul, Barnabas, and John Mark, fellow labourers (12^{25}).

III. The Church among the Gentiles.

From this time the book becomes chiefly a series of *memorabilia* of the Apostle Paul.

Designation of Paul and Barnabas to their mission (13^{1-3}). *First apostolic journey* from Antioch and Cyprus into Asia Minor (13^{5}–14^{28}). Council and decision of the church at Jerusalem respecting the admission of the Gentiles (15^{1-35}). *Second journey*: Separation of Paul and Barnabas (15^{36-40}); Paul and Silas in Syria and Asia Minor, including Phrygia and Galatia (15^{41}–16^{8}); *introduction of the Gospel into Europe* by way of Macedonia (16^{9}–17^{15}); Athens visited (17^{16-34}); Paul's residence at Corinth (18^{1-22}). *Third missionary journey*: Paul's residence at Ephesus (18^{23}–19^{41}); visit to Macedonia and Achaia (20^{1-3}); final visit of Paul to Jerusalem (20^{4}–21^{17}).

IV. Closing Scenes in the Life of Paul.

Interview with the church in Jerusalem (21^{18-25}); conciliatory measures, leading to his arrest (21^{26-40}); his address to the people (22); to the Council (23^{1-11}); sent to Cæsarea (23^{12-35}); remains there for two years; his successive defences (24, 26); on appealing to Cæsar (Nero) (25^{11}), he is sent to Rome; shipwreck on the way (27), and

a winter's residence at Melita or Malta (28^{1-10}); arrival in Rome, conference with Jews in that city; two years of work 'in his own hired house' (28^{11-31}).

Chronology of the Acts.

Note.—The following brief summary of a very difficult and complicated problem is mainly based upon the article 'Chronology of the New Testament' in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* by Mr. C. H. Turner, to which reference should be made for a full and able discussion of the whole subject.

473. Schemes of New Testament Chronology have been endless, and the leading authorities are not agreed. The reason is the uncertainty of the data. The Book of Acts has many notes of time, mostly indefinite, although those in the later part of the book suffice for a tolerably certain *relative* chronology of Paul's life, from his leaving Ephesus (20^{1}) to his arrival in Rome. Even a note of time, apparently so precise as 'after three years,' and 'after the space of fourteen years' (Gal 1^{18} 2^{1}), leaves doubt as to whether or not the longer period is inclusive of the shorter: the second visit to Jerusalem may be fourteen, or it may be seventeen years after the conversion. It might be expected that the numerous points of contact between Acts and secular history would yield at least some fixed data, but this is hardly the case.

The authorities for the period are: (1) Josephus, *Wars* (before 79), *Antiquities* (*c.* 93); (2) Tacitus, *Annals*, from the death of Augustus to the death of Nero (A. D. 14–68, with gaps in the extant work, written *c.* 115); (3) Suetonius, *Lives of the Cæsars*, from Julius to Domitian, written *c.* 120. Unfortunately these historians either give only approximate dates to the events critical to our inquiry, or are at variance one with the other. Thus, uncertainty more or less attaches to the time of Aretas (2 Cor 11^{32} Ac 9^{25}), of the death of Herod Agrippa I (12^{23}), of the famine under Claudius (11^{28}), of the proconsulate of Sergius Paulus in Cyprus (13^{7}), of the expulsion of Jews from Rome under Claudius (18^{2}), and of the proconsulate of Gallio in Achaia (18^{12}).

Successive Procurators of Judæa.—A point of contact that seems to promise a fixed date is that in 24^{27}, when, after Paul's two years' imprisonment at Cæsarea, 'Felix was succeeded by Porcius Festus.' Here we have an additional authority in the Chronicle of Eusebius. It seems certain that Felix followed Cumanus in A. D. 52, but as to the precise date of Festus the authorities again fail us: modern schemes of chronology place his arrival variously between A. D. 55 and 61.

It must suffice, therefore, to give some few schemes associated with representative names. For comparison, but as now of historic interest only, the traditional scheme of Archbishop Ussher (1650) is appended.

474. Tables (comparative).

	Ac	Harnack.	Turner.	Ramsay.	Lightfoot.	Ussher.
		A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.	A. D.
The Ascension	1^{9}	29 or 30	29	30	(30)	33
Conversion of Saul	9^{1-19}	30	35–36	33	34	35
First visit to Jerusalem	9^{26}	33	38	35–36	37	38
Second ,, ,,	11^{30}	(44)	46	46	45	44
First Missionary Journey	13^{4}	45	47	47	48	45
Council at Jerusalem	15^{1-29}	47	49	50	51	52
Paul's first visit to Corinth	18^{1}	48	50	51	52	54
Fourth visit to Jerusalem	18^{22}	50	52	53	54	56
Paul leaves Ephesus	20^{1}	53	55	56	57	59
Paul's arrest in Jerusalem	21^{33}	54	56	57	58	60
Paul reaches Rome	28^{16}	57	59	60	61	63
Close of Acts	$28^{30,31}$	59	61	62	63	65
Martyrdom of Paul		64	64–65	65	67	67

Roman Emperors.

Augustus	died	A. D.	14 (August)
Tiberius	,,	,,	37 (March)
Caius Caligula	,,	,,	41 (January)
Claudius	,,	,,	54 (October)
Nero	,,	,,	68 (June)

CHAPTER XX

THE EPISTLES

On the Study of the Epistles.

475. Purpose of the Epistles.—In the Book of Acts we have seen the gospel extend throughout the known world. In five-and-twenty years after the death of our Lord, churches seem to have been formed in Palestine and Asia, in Greece and Italy; 'so mightily grew the word of God and prevailed.' Wherever the truth had gone, it had found the same opposition, though under different forms, and had produced the same peaceful and sanctifying results. A more permanent record of truth, however, than the 'winged words' of speech could supply was wanting. The spirit which had hitherto opposed the gospel had begun to pervert it; and evil seducers have a strong tendency to wax worse and worse. To explain in writing, therefore, what had been in a great measure taught orally, to preserve these lessons in 'everlasting remembrance,' and to give such indirect corrections of incipient error as might, if prayerfully studied, keep the Church from subsequent heresy, is the aim of the Epistles.

Rules for studying them.—1. Ascertain **by whom, and for whom, they were written.** This rule is essential to the full apprehension of their meaning. For a letter to be adequately understood we must be able to place ourselves in the position both of the writer and his correspondent. More than in any other form of literature, the *personal* element has to be taken into account. Neglect of this obvious rule has been the source of much misunderstanding.

Their authorship.—Of the one-and-twenty epistles, thirteen bear the name of PAUL. As he was emphatically the Apostle of the Gentiles, he treats largely of the mystery of their call to equal privileges with the believing Jews. He maintains their freedom from the Mosaic yoke, urges them to stand fast in their liberty, and proves their subjection to the great law of faith and love. In defence of this doctrine, he resisted Peter to the face, endured the offence of the cross (Gal 5^{11}), falling at last a martyr to his attachment to this and kindred truths (see Introd. to 2nd Ep. to Timothy). His sentences are often long and intricate. His style is full of thought, prone to digression, but highly accurate, well guarded, and rich in allusion to the Old Testament. His epistles should be illustrated from each other and from his history.

PETER, the author of two epistles, writes chiefly as the Apostle of the circumcision. His writings also should be read in connexion with those parts of the Old Testament to which, in almost every sentence, he referred. JAMES, 'the brother of the Lord,' pastor of the church at Jerusalem, insists strongly on the ethical side of Christianity, and in the spirit of the old Hebrew prophets denounces the perversions and corruptions of the age. Not dissimilar in purpose are the epistles of JOHN. His style is rich in aphorisms, and his strong affirmations need to be interpreted by other parts of his own writings. JUDE wrote but one epistle, and that resembles the second of Peter, with which it should be compared. The Epistle to the Hebrews, which bears no writer's name, shows the harmony of the two dispensations, and sets forth the meaning of the Jewish ritual, with the realization of its types in Jesus Christ.

Their destination.—Of the Epistles, three seem to be addressed to private disciples; three to evangelists; two, Hebrews and James, to Jewish converts exclusively; two more, 1st and 2nd Peter, to Jewish converts chiefly; two more, 1st John and Jude, to the disciples of Christ in general; the last five being called 'catholic' or 'general' epistles; the remaining nine are addressed to various churches, consisting chiefly of converted Gentiles. In each case, knowledge of the author and the occasion often explains or illustrates the statements of an epistle; they all, in various aspects, present the one gospel of Jesus Christ.

2. Mark **the special design of each Epistle.** It has pleased the Divine Spirit to instruct mankind not in formal treatises, but in letters written under His guidance, and so as to meet peculiar emergencies; and to the emergency of each case each epistle is addressed. Ascertain, therefore,

what the *obvious design* of each epistle is—the *obvious* design, for it is an abuse of learning to seek for some hidden design, and then to interpret each part in subordination to *it* in violation of the natural meaning.

For this purpose, the plan of Mr. Locke is deserving of all praise. Read through an epistle at a sitting, and observe its drift and aim. 'If the *first* reading (says he) gave some light, the second gave me more; and so I persisted on, reading constantly the whole epistle over at once, till I came to have a good general view of the "writer's purpose," the chief branches of his discourse, the arguments he used, and the disposition of the whole. This, I confess, is not to be obtained by one or two hasty readings; it must be repeated again and again, with a close attention to the tenor of the discourse, and a perfect neglect of the divisions into chapters and verses. The safest way is to suppose the epistle but one business and one aim, until, by a frequent perusal of it, you are forced to see in it distinct independent matters which will forwardly enough show themselves.' Let this plan be adopted by any humble prayerful Christian, by one, that is, whose heart is on the whole in unison with the writer's, and the meaning of the whole will generally appear. In the meantime, and as a present blessing, he will feel and appreciate individual promises and truths to an extent unknown before. Scripture is in fact a tree of life; its matured fruits infinitely precious, and its very leaves for the healing of the nations.

To aid the reader in ascertaining the design of the Epistles, we have indicated the paragraphs and principal sections of each. The arrangement of the text in paragraphs is one of the advantages of the R. V.; but any copy of the Epistles may be marked by the student with much and lasting benefit to himself.

3. Mark the **prevailing errors** against which the teachings of the Epistles are specially directed.

Judaistic ritualism.—The first of these errors sprang out of the formalist and superstitious notions of the Jews. They still clung to their ritual law, and concluded that, if Gentiles were to be admitted to equal privileges, it must be through circumcision. 'Except ye be circumcised,' was their statement, 'ye cannot be saved,' Ac 15^1. Out of this question a serious controversy arose at Antioch, and though it was decided under the special direction of the Holy Ghost in the

negative, it sprang up again and again, impeded the progress of the gospel, alienated and often divided the church. From the first, Paul took a bold decisive stand. He maintained that, while a Jew might, and probably ought to submit to that rite so long as the ancient law remained, for a Gentile to submit to it was to relinquish his liberty and deny both the universality of the gospel and the sufficiency of the Cross. Throughout his preaching, and in nearly all his epistles, this view is maintained, Ac 15^{1-31} 21^{17-25} 2 Cor 11^{3} Gal 2^{4} 3^{5} 6^{12} Phil 3^{2} Col $2^{4.8.16}$ Tit 1^{10-14}, &c.

Rationalistic philosophy.—While the Judaizing tendency of early believers did mischief in one direction, the spirit of unhallowed philosophy did mischief in another; proving more fatal to Christianity than persecution itself. This spirit appeared under different forms, but the essence was for the most part a proud rationalism, that refused to receive as true any doctrine which could not be made to agree with a previous system, or that moulded into its own system whatever it received. The Greeks sought after wisdom. This tendency showed itself early in the various Gnostic (γνῶσις, 'knowledge') sects which sprang up in the Church; a name very loosely applied, and including the advocates of very different views. Such incipient gnosticism is especially combated in the Epistle to the Colossians.

Formalism in religion.—A third error prevailed among all sects, Jewish and Gentile—the tendency to separate religion from practical life. This assumed various phases, though representing but one principle: ritualism without spirituality, knowledge without practice, justification by faith without holiness. This was the perversion of Christianity which the Apostles most sternly rebuke, and which, in later days, has been termed Antinomianism. Many of the Gnostics held it, and in the persons of the Nicolaitans it called forth the condemnation of our Lord through the latest of His Apostles. It is, in fact, the principle of licentious religionism in every age, and several portions of the Epistles are directed against it. The followers of Balaam (probably equivalent to 'Nicolaitans'), mentioned by Peter and Jude, were of the same class.

The names of these sects (except the last) are not mentioned in Scripture, but their principles are. And herein is a double advantage. We are taught not to restrict the teaching of inspired men to their own times, and we are supplied with letters in which not sects, but principles—self-righteous formalism, rationalistic pride, and practical immorality—are for ever condemned. A knowledge of these sects, however, illustrates human nature, proves our need of a revelation, and of humility in studying it, and gives clearness and force to the teaching of the Bible.

4. The most important rule remains. **Carefully compare the various parts of the New Testament,** and especially the Epistles, and gather from the whole a consistent and comprehensive view both of truth and duty.

Old and New Testaments compared.—The necessity of such comparison in the case of the New Testament will appear on comparing it as a composition with the Law. The first dispensation was revealed through one person—Moses, and to one congregation assembled to receive it. The New Testament was composed by at least nine different authors, and was addressed to many congregations and individuals scattered over the earth. The Law was written in the plainest style, with systematic fullness, was adapted to the weakest capacity, and required submission only to such commands as were expressly enjoined. The New Testament, on the other hand, is composed of detached instructions, many of them given incidentally and indirectly, nearly all addressed to those who were already called out of the world, and had witnessed the ordinances or believed the truths they were directed to maintain. Obedience, moreover, is required to whatever was taught by word and example, as well as by epistles[a], and the whole, though sufficiently plain that all may understand and be saved, is so rich and profound as to afford opportunity for the exercise of the holiest spiritual discernment.

We may conclude, therefore, that to make the New Testament our standard of faith and practice, it must be compared and studied with the utmost attention. The facts of our Lord's life, the practical influence of them on the early Church, and the inspired comments of Apostles, must all be examined; the principles and duties they involve explained; and the whole cordially believed and practised, in preference to all the suggestions and inventions of man.

476. Reception of the Epistles in the Church.—It does not fall within the scope of this work to discuss in detail the authenticity of the Epistles. It may perhaps fairly be said that the general trend of recent criticism is to confirm the traditional views, with the doubtful exception of 2 Peter. A general summary may here be given of the early testimony to the Epistles. An asterisk (*) denotes unquestionable evidence; the sign (†) indicates more doubtful but still probable references. For the passages, see Lardner, *Credibility*, and Prof. Charteris, *Canonicity* (Kirchhofer's

[a] 1 Cor $4^{16,17}$ 11^{2} Gal 1^{6-9} Phil 4^{9}.

Quellensammlung). For convenience' sake, the testimonies to the Book of Revelation are included in the Table.

The Epistles, anciently designated the *Apostolicon* of the New Testament, may be thus divided—

1. Thirteen Pauline Epistles, as enumerated below.
2. The Epistle to the Hebrews.
3. Seven 'catholic' epistles (James, Peter, John, Jude).

Epistles.	Romans	1 Corinthians	2 Corinthians	Galatians	Ephesians	Philippians	Colossians	1 Thessalonians	2 Thessalonians	1 Timothy	2 Timothy	Titus	Philemon	Hebrews	James	1 Peter	2 Peter	1 John	2 John	3 John	Jude	Revelation
Clement of Rome.	*	*	·	·	*	·	·	·	·	+	·	+	·	*	*	·	·	·	·	·	·	·
Polycarp.	*	*	+	*	+	*	·	·	·	+	*	*	·	·	·	·	*	+	*	·	·	·
Ignatius.	*	*	·	·	*	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·
Papias.	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	*	·	·	·	·	*
Basilides.	*	*	*	·	*	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	*	·	·	·	·	·	·
Barnabas.	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	·	·	·	+	+	·	·	*	·	·	·	·	·	·	·
Hermas.	·	+	·	·	+	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	·	·	·	·	+
Valentinus.	*	*	·	·	*	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	*	·	·	·	*	·	·	·
Justin Martyr.	+	+	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	·	·	·	+	·	·	·	·	·	·	*
Tatian.	+	+	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+
Athenagoras.	*	+	+	*	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·
Irenæus.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	·	·	*	·	·	*	·	·	*
Theophilus.	*	*	*	·	*	*	*	·	·	*	·	*	·	*	·	·	+	·	·	·	·	+
The Syriac Version.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	·	·	·	·	·
The Old Latin Version.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	·	*	*	*	*
Tertullian.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	·	*	·	·	*	·	*
Ptolemæus.	*	*	+	*	*	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·
Clement of Alex.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	·	*	·	*	*	·	*	*	*
Origen of Alex.	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	·	*	+	+	*

The Pauline Epistles.

The thirteen epistles of Paul may be chronologically grouped, as follows:—

I. Epistles of his **Second Missionary Journey**, Ac 15^{36}–18^{22}, including his first visit to Europe—Philippi, Thessalonica, Berœa, Athens, Corinth, A.D. 51–54.

First Epistle to the Thessalonians, A. D. 52.

Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, A. D. 53.

II. Epistles of his **Third Missionary Journey**, Ac 18^{23}–21^{20}, including more than two years spent in visits to the churches in Galatia, Phrygia, and Ephesus; a renewed visit to Macedonia, and three months at Corinth, A. D. 54–58.

First Epistle to the Corinthians, A. D. 57 (Spring).

Second Epistle to the Corinthians, A. D. 57 (Autumn).

Epistle to the Galatians, A. D. 58?

Epistle to the Romans, A. D. 58.

III. Epistles of his **Roman Imprisonment**, Ac 28^{14-31}, A. D. 60–63.

Epistle to the churches of Asia ('Ephesians').

Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon.

Epistle to the Philippians.

IV. The Pastoral Epistles, written after his **temporary release** (as established by internal evidence), A. D. 63–68.

First Epistle to Timothy, A. D. 67.

Epistle to Titus, A. D. 67.

Second Epistle to Timothy, written when **prisoner a second time in Rome**, A. D. 67 or 68.

See the several introductions for further details. The epistles cover a period of fifteen years. It is probable that others were written which have not come down to us. We need no more suppose that we have every *letter* that Paul wrote than that we have every *sermon* that

he preached. Note his phrase 'the token *in every epistle*,' at the end of only the second of those extant, 2 Th 3^{17} [a].

The **Life of the Apostle Paul** should be studied in connexion with his epistles. Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ* is of course indispensable. The larger lives of the Apostle, by Conybeare and Howson, T. Lewin, and Dean Farrar, are full of information on all topics connected with this part of Scripture. The *Life of St. Paul*, by James Stalker, D.D., is a model of succinctness. Consult also Neander's *Planting and Training of the Christian Church*, Sabatier's *The Apostle Paul*, and (with caution) *Saint Paul* by Renan.

First Epistle to the Thessalonians

Corinth, A. D. 52.

477. Thessalonica, formerly Therma (as 'Bath,' or 'Hotwells'), was situated on an arm of the sea (the 'Thermaic Gulf'). Its later name was given by the Macedonian general Cassander, in honour of his wife, half-sister to Alexander the Great. Under the Roman government, it was the capital of one of the four districts of Macedonia, and the seat of the provincial governor or prætor, although itself a free city, administered by 'politarchs,' Ac $17^{6.8}$—a peculiar appellation still preserved on a triumphal arch. The position of Thessalonica, as the central station on the great Egnatian Road from Illyria through Macedonia to Thrace, and at the head of an excellent harbour, augmented its trade and wealth; and brought to it a mixed population of Greeks, Romans, and Jews. It is still, as it has ever been, a flourishing commercial town, bearing the but slightly changed name of *Saloniki*. Its geographical position and maritime importance fitted it to become one of the starting-points of the gospel in Europe, and explain the fact that

[a] 'The inference seems plain that Paul must have written other letters that have not come down to us. And this is a conclusion intrinsically not improbable, and which I see no reason for rejecting.' Prof. G. Salmon, *Introduction to the Books of the New Testament*, Lect. xx.

from this city the word of the Lord sounded forth 'in every place' (1^8).

The gospel was first preached here by Paul and Silas, shortly after their release from imprisonment at Philippi. For the church appears from the epistle to have mainly consisted of Gentiles (ch. 1^{10}), gathered therefore after these three weeks. The references by the Apostle to his manner of life among the Thessalonians implies a lengthened residence (ch. 2^9, 2 Th 3^8); and the supplies sent 'once and again' from Philippi (Phil 4^{16}) would require some time for their transmission, Ac 17^{1-10}. Paul addressed himself first, agreeably to his constant practice, to the Jews, and afterwards, with still more success, to the Gentiles.

Being driven away by the violence of the Jews, Paul left the newly-planted church in such difficulties as excited his anxiety respecting them, and led him to send Timothy from Athens, to encourage and comfort them under the persecutions to which they were exposed ($3^{1.2}$). Timothy rejoined the Apostle at Corinth, and brought him an account of the steadfastness of the Thessalonian Christians which filled him with joy and gratitude (3^{6-9}), and reawakened his desire to visit them. But, having been repeatedly disappointed in his plans for that purpose ($2^{17.18}$), he wrote this letter from Corinth, A. D. 52.

This, being perhaps the earliest of Paul's epistles, was accompanied by a solemn charge that it should be read publicly in the church (5^{27}).

478. Contents of the Epistle.—1. In the first portion of this epistle (1-3), the Apostle expresses his gratitude and joy on account of the manner in which the Thessalonians had received the gospel, and for their fidelity and constancy in the midst of persecutions and afflictions; vindicates the conduct of himself and his fellow labourers in preaching the gospel, and declares his affectionate concern for their welfare.

2. The remainder of the epistle is taken up with practical admonitions; warning them against the sin for which their city was

notorious; and exhorting them to the cultivation of all Christian virtues, particularly to a watchful, sober, and holy life, becoming their happy condition and exalted hopes (4^{1-12} 5). Special words of consolation are addressed to those who had been bereaved. Speaking by express Divine authority, he assures them of the resurrection of the pious dead on Christ's coming, to be followed by the transformation of the living; and exhorts them to take the comfort of this glorious hope, 4^{13}–5^{11}, adding a series of brief emphatic counsels—an epitome of the practical gospel, 5^{12-23}, ending with the injunction to 'abstain from every *form* of evil' (R. V.), with prayer and benediction, 5^{23-28}.

It is especially observable that, in this and the following epistle, there are no references to the subjects which were so prominent in the Apostle's later writings—such as the freedom of Gentiles from the Jewish ceremonial law and the doctrine of justification by faith. The controversies which occasioned these specially Pauline teachings may not yet have affected the Macedonian churches. The simple gospel, as preached among the Thessalonians, is epitomized in such passages as $1^{9,10}$ $2^{11,12}$ $4^{2-7,14}$. He had laid especial stress upon the Second Advent—its certainty and suddenness, with the consequent injunction to 'watch and be sober,' 5^{2-11}. From these teachings his hearers had drawn unwarrantable inferences as to the immediateness of Christ's appearing, and had mourned over their departed friends as shut out from the joy of meeting Him. Hence the special emphasis of such statements as in 4^{14-17}. '*We* who are alive and remain'—not denying the possibility of Christ's coming in their lifetime—and 'the dead in Christ shall rise first'; that is, first *among His people*, not before the 'sleeping' saints.

479. Key-words and noteworthy expressions.—As characteristic of this epistle note especially the expression 'the Coming' or 'Advent' (*Parousia*) 2^{19} 3^{13} 4^{15} 5^{23} (R. V. marg. 'Presence'). The message of salvation as 'the Gospel of God,' $2^{2,8,9}$, or 'the Word of God,' 2^{13}. Also the threefold expression 1^{3} 'work of faith, and labour of love, and patience of hope' (anticipation of 1 Cor 13^{13}), the threefold view of human nature, as 'spirit and soul and body,' 5^{23}. Observe, too, in this one of the earliest epistles of the Apostle, his use of the plural 'we' for the singular (see especially $3^{1,2}$).

Second Epistle to the Thessalonians

Corinth, A. D. 53.

480. Object of the Epistle.—This epistle was probably written, like the former, from Corinth, and not long afterwards; Silas and Timothy being still in Paul's company (1^1). Its chief object was to correct an erroneous notion which had begun to prevail among the Christians at Thessalonica, that the appearance of the Saviour and the end of the world were at hand, as well as to protest against some practical misapplications of the belief. These had been grounded in part upon a misconstruction of expressions in the former epistle, as when he had written, '*We* who are alive and remain,' and appears to have been supported by some who laid claim to inspiration and even produced fictitious letters in the Apostle's name. There were also persons who, on religious pretences, neglected their secular employments, and were guilty of disorderly conduct.

481. Contents.—The commencement and conclusion of the epistle are occupied with affectionate commendations, mingled with encouragements to perseverance and exhortations to holiness, beautifully introduced, so as to soften the apostolic reproofs; followed by directions for the maintenance of discipline with regard to idle and disorderly members. In ch. 2^{1-12}, Paul exposes the error of anticipating the near approach of the day of the Lord. Reminding the Thessalonian Christians of what he had said when he was with them, he tells them that he had spoken rather of the unexpectedness of the event than of its nearness, and that it must be preceded by 'the apostasy,' and by the temporary ascendancy of the 'man of sin,' the spiritual usurper, who, after certain obstacles were removed, should establish a system of error and delusion by which many would be carried away.

The **arrangement** of this, the shortest of the Pauline Epistles (excepting the note to Philemon), is thus very simple. After the salutation, $1^{1,2}$, are thanksgivings for the spiritual growth of the Thessalonians, and their patience under persecution, with words of encouragement and prayer, 1^{3-12}. The way is thus opened for the warning and prophecy, with affectionate counsel, which constitute the main portion of the letter, 2^{1}–3^{5}. The special injunctions that follow, impressively show how some persons had made the doctrine of the Parousia an excuse for sloth and disorderliness, 3^{6-15}. It was requisite in conclusion, no doubt to guard the Thessalonians against being imposed upon by forged letters, to notify to them that every epistle from Paul would be authenticated by his own signature. Then follows the characteristic benediction, 3^{16-18}.

482. Special teachings of the Epistle.—These are connected with the peculiar phrases, nowhere else occurring in the Apostle's writings: 'the man of sin,' 'the son of perdition,' 'the mystery of lawlessness,' 'one that restraineth.' A full account of the interpretations of the difficult and important passage in which these expressions occur would here be out of place. But following Archbishop Alexander's exposition [a] it may be said broadly, there have been four chief schools of interpretation:—

1. By the Fathers generally it was held that the restraining power was the Roman Empire; that the 'man of sin' would be manifested after the fall of that empire, and that he would appear as Messiah in a rebuilt temple.

2. In the Middle Ages it was brought into prominent notice that false teachers and usurping prelates were shadows and reflections of Antichrist, and that there were times in the history of the see of Rome when an Antichrist ruled as its head.

3. The older Protestant Reformers, e.g. Melanchthon, Jewel, Hooker, Andrewes, with the seventeenth-century Revisers in their Dedication of the Authorized Version, expressed strongly their conviction that in the system of the Papacy is an impressive application of the passage. On this see Bishop Wordsworth's important note in his Edition of the Greek Testament.

4. Later divines dwell more upon what, it may be presumed, is the historical groundwork of the passage as present to the mind of Paul. 'The reference to the predictions of Daniel (11^{21-45}), as partly fulfilled in Antiochus Epiphanes, is beyond doubt. The impious attempt of Caligula to have his statue placed in the Temple of Jerusalem (A. D. 40) was also present to the Apostle's mind. From such historical circumstances he is led by inspiration to forecast some fuller development of

[a] *Speaker's Commentary* on the epistle.

evil in the Church and the world, as the complete embodiment of Daniel's idea of Antiochus, and the consummated realization of the intentions of Caligula[a].'

5. In the opinion of other expositors the explanation lies in the two great opposing *tendencies*—'the antichristian, in the form of secular unbelief, and the political, in the form of the civil power.' Anarchy will lead to an outburst of wickedness, and this will be brought to an end by the Lord's coming.

On the whole, we are not encouraged to conjecture the details of prophetic interpretation; but rather, as the greater lesson of the epistle, to let the mysteries and glories of the future only lead on to a watchful and diligent discharge of present duty. The teaching corresponds with that of Christ Himself, Mt $24^{45,46}$ Lu $12^{42,43}$.

First Epistle to the Corinthians

Ephesus, A.D. 57.

483. Corinth: its Position and Character.—Corinth was a large city, the capital of the Roman province of Achaia, in the southern part of Greece. Its situation on the narrow isthmus between Peloponnesus (now called the Morea) and northern Greece gave it the command of the land traffic from north to south: whilst, by its two ports on the Ionian and Ægean Seas, Cenchreæ and Lechæum, it received on the one hand the rich merchandise of Asia, and on the other that of Italy and the West. Possessing these advantages, Corinth became a place of very extensive commerce. It was also distinguished for its sumptuous public edifices, and for the cultivation of the elegant arts and of polite learning. The Isthmian games also (alluded to in ch. 9^{24-27}), which were held near the city, had attained great celebrity, and attracted a vast concourse of strangers from all parts. From such causes, Corinth became remark-

[a] An elaborate essay 'On the Man of Sin,' by Prof. B. Jowett (*Epistles of St. Paul to Thessalonians*, &c., vol. i. pp. 178–194), discusses the connexion of the Apostle's prophecy with those of Ezekiel and Daniel.

able for wealth and luxury; and equally so for profligacy and licentiousness, which were greatly fostered by the worship of Venus established there; so that it became ultimately the most corrupt and effeminate city in Greece.

The Church in Corinth.—The first entrance of the Christian religion into this stronghold of vice is related in Ac 18. Paul was then on his way from Macedonia to Jerusalem. After passing some time at Athens, he came to Corinth; and was there joined by Silas and Timothy, who brought reassuring news from Thessalonica. He preached the gospel in that city, first to the Jews; but, when they 'opposed themselves and blasphemed,' he renounced all fellowship with them, and turned to the Greeks. Some, however, of the principal Jews believed. His fears and discouragements, while engaged in this work (see 2^3 Ac $18^{9.10}$), were met by a special revelation, assuring him of the Lord's presence with him, and of his purpose to collect a church there. Paul continued his labours at Corinth more than a year and a half: and they were afterwards followed up by the teaching of Apollos, Ac $18^{27.28}$. Thus a numerous and flourishing church was formed; teachers were set over them; and the ordinances of Christ were regularly observed.

It appears, however that, ere long, their peace was disturbed by certain would-be teachers, who sought to engraft on the doctrines of Christ the refinements of human philosophy. These persons attempted to depreciate the Apostle, contrasting him, it may be, with the eloquent Apollos, representing him as deficient in the graces of style and the arts of oratory, and even calling in question his apostolic authority in comparison with that of Peter: they also pleaded for a licentious manner of life, under pretence of Christian liberty. Hence arose divisions and irregularities; and the church was fast declining from its original faith, purity, and love.

484. Time and place of writing.—This epistle was **written from Ephesus,** after Paul had been for some time absent from Corinth, and had started on his third missionary journey, with the intention of revisiting the city (4^{19} 11^{34} 16^5) —a purpose which he eventually carried out, although after a delay which he subsequently explains (2 Cor 2^1). We learn from Ac 20^{1-3} that Paul did revisit Achaia, and doubtless Corinth, going thither from Ephesus, after having spent two years in that city. An **intermediate visit,** otherwise unrecorded, has been inferred from 2 Cor 12^{14} 13^1, but many

expositors understand these passages as referring to *intention* only. See also 2 Cor 2^{1} 12^{21}. That this epistle was written during the 'two years' is further confirmed by various incidental references. See 15^{32} 16^{8}; and 16^{9} compared with Ac 19^{20-41}: also the salutation from the churches of *Asia* in 16^{19}; and, further, the salutation from Priscilla and Aquila, who were at Ephesus at that time, Ac 18^{26}. Although known as the first epistle it had evidently been **preceded by another,** which has not been preserved, but to which reference is made in 5^{9} (see R. V.)[a]. This earlier letter was either crossed or followed by one from the Corinthians to Paul[b] (see 7^{1}), requesting his advice and instruction on some points. In replying to this communication, the Apostle takes occasion to correct some disorders prevailing among them, of which he had heard from some of their members (1^{11} 5^{1} 11^{18}), which had occasioned him deep concern, and led him to send Timothy to Corinth (4^{17} Ac 19^{22}).

Special questions considered.—The evils which Paul sought to correct among the Corinthians related to the following subjects:—

Party-divisions (1^{10-16} 3^{4-6}). A fondness for so-called **philosophy** and **eloquence** (1^{17} &c.). Notorious **immorality** was tolerated amongst them (5). **Law-suits** were carried on by one against another before heathen judges, contrary to the rules of Christian wisdom and love, and sometimes even to the principles of justice (6^{1-8}). **Licentious indulgence** (6^{9-20}). In their **religious assemblies,** the female members of the church, in the exercise of their spiritual gifts, had manifested an unfeminine deportment, laying aside the *veil*, the distinguishing mark of their sex (11^{3-10}). The **Lord's Supper** had been perverted by the manner in which it was celebrated (11^{20-34}); some having made it an occasion of joviality, and a source of humiliation to their poorer brethren (verses 20, 21). **Spiritual gifts,**

[a] Some have thought, not improbably, that the passage in 2 Cor 6^{14}–7^{1} retains a paragraph of this former letter, inserted there by some transposition, and certainly disconnected from the context in which it is now found.

[b] Mr. Lewin, in his *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, has ingeniously endeavoured to reproduce this letter from the Apostle's replies, vol. i. p. 366.

especially the **gift of tongues,** had been misused (14). And the momentous doctrine of the **Resurrection** had been denied or questioned (15^{12}).

The matters upon which the Corinthians had requested Paul's instructions are, 1. **Marriage,** and the duties in regard to it in their circumstances (7); 2. the effect which their conversion to Christianity produced upon a prior state of **circumcision** or of **slavery** (7^{17-24}); and 3. their duty with reference to **eating things offered in sacrifice to idols** (8^{1}). They had, probably, also addressed some questions to him respecting the employment of spiritual gifts, and the order to be observed in their religious assemblies. They appear, in addition, to have asked for some instructions respecting the **collection for the poor at Jerusalem,** as requested in Paul's former letter. All these points are met by the Apostle; and in discussing them he instructively shows how the highest principles may be applied to all the details of personal or of church life.

485. Place of this Epistle in the series.—In no epistle does Paul's own character appear more illustrious than in this. The assertion of his apostolic authority is beautifully blended with humility and godly jealousy of himself (2^{3} $9^{16.27}$). Means of influence he diligently employs, while acknowledging his entire dependence upon God (3^{6-9} 15^{10}). Fidelity he combines with the utmost tenderness (3^{2} 6^{12} 4^{14}); and whatever be his gifts, he prefers love to them all (13^{1}). Herein he is a pattern not only to ministers, but to all Christians.

The Epistles to the Corinthians are peculiarly instructive from their combining, in the most striking way, the utterances of a liberal manly spirit with doctrines the most humbling. They cherish the loftiest hopes for man, and for truth, and tell us how alone these hopes may be fulfilled. To the churches of all time they convey, throughout the discussion of the most varied topics, the great lessons of unity and charity.

The two letters to the Corinthians, more than any other, throw light on the state of the early Church, and on the evil tendencies with which the gospel had to struggle even among good men. They are '*the first chapter in Ecclesiastical History.*' 'While the Epistle to the Galatians was the foundation of *Christian Dogma*, the two Epistles to the Corinthians, signalizing as they do the emancipation of the regenerate conscience, are the beginning of *Christian Ethics* [a].'

[a] Sabatier, *The Apostle Paul,* book iii, ch. 3, p. 162

Second Epistle to the Corinthians

Macedonia, A. D. 57.

486. Occasion of the Epistle.—Not very long after writing the former epistle, Paul left Ephesus, and went to Troas. Here he expected to meet Titus (whom he had sent to Corinth); and to receive from him intelligence of the state of the church, and of the effects of his former epistle (2^{12}). But, not finding him there, he crossed over to Macedonia, where his anxiety was relieved by the arrival and report of Titus. From him Paul learned that his faithful reproofs had awakened in the minds of the Corinthian Christians a godly sorrow, and a practical regard for the proper discipline of the church. But, with these pleasing symptoms, there were others of a painful kind. The faction connected with the false teachers was still depreciating his apostolic authority, and misrepresenting his motives and conduct; even using his former letter to bring new charges against him, as having failed to keep his promise of coming to see them, and having adopted an authoritative style of writing, little in unison, as they alleged, with the contemptibleness of his person and speech.

The so-called painful letter.—It has been maintained by some expositors that the expressions by which Paul describes a letter of his to the Corinthians (2 Cor 2^4 7^8) are too strong to be applied to anything in the first epistle. Hence the hypothesis of an 'Intermediate letter,' supposed by some to have been inserted by mistake in 2 Cor 10^1–13^{10}. There does not, however, seem any adequate reason against applying the Apostle's description to part of 1 Cor, especially to chs. 3–6. See Canon Bernard, Introduction to 2 Cor in the *Expositor's Greek Testament*.

Under the strong and mingled emotions caused by the report of Titus, the Apostle wrote this second epistle, some authorities think at Philippi, as stated in note at end of the epistle in A. V., but that cannot be determined. From the

epistle itself it seems Paul had visited most of the churches of Macedonia (8^{1} 9^{2}): and he was more probably leaving Macedonia for Greece than entering it from Asia. Hence the supposition of other expositors—that the epistle was written at Thessalonica, at a time when Timothy had rejoined him (1^{1}). Titus, accompanied by two other brethren, 'messengers of the church,' was the bearer of the epistle to Corinth. It was designed to carry forward the work of reformation, to establish still further his authority against the objections and pretensions of false teachers, and to prepare the Corinthians for his intended visit, when he desired to find their disorders rectified, and their promised contributions for their afflicted brethren ready (8^{18} $9^{3.5}$ $10^{2.11}$ $13^{1.2.10}$.

487. Contents and general letters.—Although this and the preceding epistle are full of references to the peculiar circumstances of the Corinthian church, they are not the less important or instructive on that account. Principles and rules are laid down which are of general application, especially in opposing dissensions and other evils arising in the Church, and in promoting the important duty of Christian liberality.

The principal **contents of this Epistle** are as follows:—

1. The Apostle, after expressing his gratitude for the Divine consolation granted to him under his sufferings for Christ, states the reasons of his delay in visiting Corinth: and refers to the case of the guilty person upon whom discipline had been exercised; whom, being penitent, he exhorts them to restore to their communion (1^{12} 2^{13}).

2. He refers to his labours in the service of the gospel and their success, and to his own relation to the Corinthians; and is thereby led to speak of the differences between the ministry under the Old Covenant and under the New; showing the superior glory of the latter (2^{14}–3^{18}). He describes the principles and motives by which he and his brethren were actuated in fulfilling their ministry in the midst of great trials and afflictions; and exhorts the Corinthians not to frustrate the great objects of the gospel, enforcing the entreaty by affecting personal appeals of Christian discipline and purity (4–7).

3. Then, resuming a subject referred to in his former epistle, with persuasive earnestness he recommends to them the collection for the poor among the saints at Jerusalem; and shows the manifold advantages of such services (8, 9).

4. He now proceeds, although with evident reluctance, to vindicate his apostolic authority against the insinuations of false teachers; contrasting his own gifts, labours, and sufferings, with the character and conduct of those pretenders who opposed him (10, 11): referring, in proof of the Divine approval, to some extraordinary visions and revelations with which he had been favoured (12^{1-11}): and showing the openness, sincerity, and disinterestedness of his whole conduct. This part of the epistle has appropriately been called Paul's *Apologia pro vita sua*. Nowhere, indeed, has his very heart been more ingenuously and touchingly laid bare. Then, after a few affectionate admonitions to self-examination, and to love and holiness, he closes the epistle with prayer and benediction (12^{11-21} 13).

It may be noticed that the troubles at Ephesus (Ac 19^{23-41}) had occurred between the writing of the two epistles[a]. The memory of danger and the sense of a great deliverance give a peculiar intensity and pathos to the Apostle's words, 1^{7-10}.

What effect was produced by this epistle, we have no means of ascertaining. We only know that Paul speedily followed it up, and that during the visit to Corinth which ensued he wrote the Epistle to the Romans.

488. Key-words and peculiar expressions.—These have been thus effectively summarized by Dean Farrar[b]: '"Tribulation" is the one predominant word, and "consolation under tribulation" the one predominant topic of the first great section. These two words, though unfortunately varied by synonyms in the English version, occur again and again inextricably intertwined in the first chapter, verses 3, 4. This incessant recurrence of the same words—now "tribulation," now "consolation," now "boasting," now "weakness," now "simplicity," now "manifest" and "manifestation," now "folly"—are characteristic of the extreme emotion of mind in which the letter was written.' Peculiar to this epistle are the following words and phrases:—'veil,' and 'to unveil,' $3^{13,14,15,16,18}$; 'tabernacle,' $5^{1,4}$; 'to be clothed upon,' $5^{2,4}$; 'to be absent' and 'to be present' ('to be at home,' R. V.), $5^{6,8,9}$; 'to supply' ('to fill up the measure of,' R. V.), 9^{12} 11^{9}; 'without or beyond measure,' $10^{13,15}$; 'to be chargeable to,' 'to be a burden to,' 11^{9} $12^{13,14}$. Note that it is in this epistle that the words of the apostolic benediction in their completest form first appear, 13^{14}.

[a] The reference in 1 Cor 15^{32} cannot have been, as some have unthinkingly assumed, to this particular event.

[b] *Messages of the Books*, p. 232 (1884).

Epistle to the Galatians

Ephesus or Macedonia, A.D. 57 *or* 58.

489. Galatia: references in the Acts and Epistles.—The epistle is addressed to the 'churches of Galatia' (1^2), a phrase occurring again in 1 Cor 16^1. The name Galatia is found also in 1 Pet 1^1 and (with a various reading *Gaul*) 2 Tim 4^{10}. Paul addresses his readers as 'Galatians' (3^1). In the Acts neither substantive occurs, but during his SECOND missionary journey Paul visits the 'region of Phrygia and Galatia' (Ac 16^6 R.V., *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*), and on his THIRD 'the region of Galatia and Phrygia' (18^{23} R. V., *τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν*).

These terms have been commonly interpreted of the *geographical* Galatia, a strip of country in the north of Asia Minor occupied by the Celts (Celtæ = Galatæ = Galli) about B.C. 280, subdued by the Romans under Manlius B.C. 189, and incorporated into the Roman province of Galatia B.C. 25. The three chief cities, originally assigned to the three invading tribes, were Tavium, Pessinus, and Ancyra. No details of the visit are given in the Acts, and a glance at the map will show the long detour, northwards and eastwards, thus recorded by Luke in a single sentence (Ac 16^6). This **north Galatian theory** is, however, the traditional view, and claims the great authority of Bishop Lightfoot, though there is force in Professor Ramsay's contention that if the bishop had possessed the information which modern research has made available he would have changed his opinion.

The south Galatian theory.—Within recent years, and mainly through the brilliant advocacy of Professor Ramsay, a very different view has gained wide acceptance. It is contended that the Galatia of the New Testament writings is not a geographical but a *political* term, the great Roman province extending from Pontus in the north to the range of the Taurus; and that Paul, the Roman citizen, sums

up under this title 'churches of Galatia' the churches founded by him on his FIRST missionary journey, at Antioch of Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe (Ac 13^{14}-14^{24}). These churches are revisited on the second journey (16^{1-6}, verse 6 being rather a summary of verses 1-5 than a record of new work in a distant and difficult region) and on the third (18^{23}). Thus we have no gap in Luke's narrative, and no departure from Paul's policy of founding churches along the great lines of communication throughout the Roman Empire. For details of the argument and the bearing of the theory on the interpretation of the epistle the reader must be referred to Professor Ramsay's *The Church in the Roman Empire*, *Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, and his articles in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*: also to the most recent commentary on Galatians in the *Expositor's Greek Testament*, by Mr. Rendall, who warmly espouses the south Galatian view.

490. Occasion and tenor of the Epistle.—It is generally agreed, from the expression in 4^{13} 'I preached the gospel unto you the *former* time,' that the epistle was preceded by *two* visits to Galatia. On the former of these visits Paul had been a great sufferer, Gal 4^{13-15}, and had been welcomed and kindly treated by the warm-hearted Galatians, but in or after the second the Apostle learned that the once zealous converts were 'quickly removing' (R. V.) to 'another gospel,' being fascinated by some form of Jewish ceremonialism. Hence this letter of earnest and impassioned remonstrance. It is the only one of Paul's epistles which opens without any words of praise and congratulations. 'I wonder,' is the Apostle's cry. Yet the affectionateness of the letter is fully equal to its vehemence. In the words of Prof. Sabatier: 'There is nothing in ancient or modern language to be compared with this epistle. All the powers of Paul's soul shine forth in its few pages. Broad and luminous view, keen logic, biting irony, everything that is most forcible in argument, vehement in indignation, ardent and tender in affection, is found here, combined and poured forth in a single stream, forming a work of irresistible power.'

Besides the proselytizing endeavours of the Judaizing teachers, there were also attempts to undermine Paul's

authority. It was insinuated that he was inferior to Peter and the other Apostles at Jerusalem, from whom these perverters of the truth professed to have derived their views and credentials. To settle these important matters, in which the Apostle evidently considered that the very life and soul of Christianity were at stake, he wrote this epistle with his own hand (6^{11}) (or, perhaps, part of it, in large bold characters), contrary to his usual practice of dictating his letters.

On the north Galatian theory the two previous visits are those of the second and third journeys, and the epistle falls within the later part of the third journey, dating probably from the latter period of the Apostle's stay at Ephesus, or from some part of his tour in Macedonia (Ac $20^{1.2}$) on his way to Corinth, where he wrote the Epistle to the Romans. It is in fact an outline, or preliminary rough draft, of the argument in that great epistle; while in its vindication of his own apostolic authority it resembles part of 2 Corinthians. Between these two epistles, therefore, it may probably be placed. (So Lightfoot.) This chronological arrangement fully accords with the word *soon* (or 'quickly,' R.V.), 1^{6}. If, however, the south Galatian theory be accepted, the two visits are those of the first and second journeys, and the letter comes *before* the visit recorded Ac 18^{23}. Prof. Ramsay, impressed by Lightfoot's argument as to the affinity of thought with the Corinthian and Roman epistles, and so desiring to place Galatians as late as possible, dates it from Antioch (Ac 18^{22}), immediately before the third journey. Mr. Rendall, on the other hand, finds traces of early date in the epistle itself, and places it during the second journey, probably at Corinth before Paul was rejoined by Silas and Timothy, whose names are joined with the Apostle's in 1 and 2 Thess., but not in Galatians. On this view the present epistle would be the *earliest* of Paul's letters.

491. Contents of the Epistle.—1. After his usual salutation, Paul asserts his full and independent authority as an Apostle of Christ: he relates the history of his conversion and introduction into the ministry; showing that he had received his knowledge of Christian truth, not by any human teaching, but by immediate revelation; and that the other Apostles had recognized his Divine commission, and treated him as their equal (1, 2).

2. To show that men are accepted of God by faith alone, and not by the rites and ceremonies of the Law, he appeals to the experience of the Galatians since their conversion to Christianity, and to the case

of Abraham, who had been justified and saved by faith, and shows that the design of the Law was not to supersede the Divine covenant of promise previously made, but to prepare the way, and to exhibit the necessity for the gospel (3). He contrasts the pupilage and subjection of the people of God under the Law, and their happier condition under the gospel, as, by the redemption of the Son of God, they become possessed of the privileges and blessings of sonship: and addressing that portion of the Galatians who had been heathen, he reminds them that, having been rescued from the far more degrading bondage of idolatry, it was especially deplorable that they should fall back into the slavery of superstition (4^{1-11}). He tenderly appeals to them as his spiritual children, reminding them of their former attachment to him: and then, addressing those who relied upon the Law and the letter of the Old Testament, shows them that the history of Abraham's two sons afforded an emphatic illustration of the relative position and spirit of the two contending parties,—the rejection of the one, and the blessedness of the other (4^{11-31}).

3. He exhorts believers to stand firm in their Christian liberty, but not to abuse it; shows them that holiness of heart and life is secured under the gospel by the authority of Christ and the grace of the Holy Spirit (5); and enjoins upon them mutual forbearance, tenderness, love, and liberality; and, after again condemning the doctrine of the false teachers, closes his epistle with a declaration which may be regarded as the sum of the whole (6).

It is urged in favour of the traditional destination of the epistle that the persons to whom it was addressed were Gauls (whose name in Greek is Galatians), both in name and in character[a]. They manifest all the susceptibility of impression and fondness for change which authors from Cæsar to Thierry have ascribed to that race. They were ever in extremes, first receiving the Apostle as an angel, and ready to pluck out their eyes and give them to him; but 'soon removing' by false teachers 'to another gospel,' and then under the influence of the same ardour beginning to 'bite and devour one another.' On the other hand, Mr. Rendall contends that this fickleness 'belonged as certainly to the populace of the southern cities.'

[a] See Lightfoot, 'On the Galatian People,' chap. i of Introduction to *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.*

492. Key-words and peculiar expressions.—'Law,' in a comprehensive sense, including the moral and the ceremonial, occurs about thirty-one times. 'Liberty,' 2^{4} 3^{28} $4^{26.31}$ $5^{1.13}$. 'Flesh,' about eighteen times. 'Spirit,' about fifteen times. 'Faith,' twenty-two times. 'To justify,' 'to be justified,' $2^{16.17}$ $3^{8.11.24}$ 5^{6}. 'Bondage' and 'to be in bondage,' $4^{3.8.9.24.25}$ $6^{1.13}$. 'The promise,' about ten times. 'The cross,' 5^{11} $6^{12.14}$. 'Pillars' (of the Church), 2^{9}. 'Beggarly elements' ('rudiments,' R. V.), 4^{9}. 'The marks (*στίγματα*) of Jesus,' 6^{17}. The references to Arabia, 1^{17} 4^{25}, and to Hagar, $4^{24.25}$, as types. In regard to the difficult passage 3^{20} see Bishop Lightfoot[a], and on 'James, the Lord's brother,' see Introduction to the *Epistle of James*; also Lightfoot, 'On the Brethren of the Lord,' *Dissertations*, pp. 241 sq.

Epistle to the Romans

Corinth, A. D. 58.

493. Jewish and Christian Communities in Rome.—The Epistle to the Romans was addressed to the Christians in the metropolis of that great empire, whose dominion then extended over almost the whole known world.

The way had been prepared by Divine Providence for the introduction of the gospel into Rome by the extensive settlement of Jews there. That the establishment of the Jewish worship at Rome had produced considerable effect on the general community, is clear from the statements of heathen writers. Ovid speaks of the synagogues as places of general resort: and, still later, Juvenal ridicules his countrymen for becoming Jews[b].

At what time or by whom the gospel was first preached

[a] In substance, the explanation is that the 'mediator' spoken of is *Moses*: that the Law as given through him was of the nature of a contract between two parties, God and the Jewish people—valid, therefore, only as long as both parties fulfil its terms, therefore contingent and not absolute; 'but God,' the Giver of the Promise, 'is One.' Unlike the Law, therefore, the Promise is absolute and unconditional.

[b] Ovid, *Ars Amat.*, i. 76; Juv. *Sat.* xiv. 96 sq. See Merivale, *Romans under the Empire*, chs. liv, lxii.

in the imperial city is unknown. That it was at an early period may be inferred from the circumstance that, when Paul wrote this epistle, the faith of the Roman Christians 'was spoken of throughout the whole world,' 1^{8}. It is probable that some of those 'strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes,' who were present at Jerusalem on the great Day of Pentecost (Ac 2^{10}), carried back to that city the knowledge of the gospel. And it is not improbable, also, considering the constant intercourse between Rome and the provinces, that some of the numerous converts to Christianity in Judæa, Asia Minor, and Greece, might soon have found their way to the capital. This would explain the wide range of the salutations in ch. 16; although another explanation has been given, as noted below.

The traditions of some of the ancient Fathers, that **Peter** was the founder of the church at Rome, appears plainly inconsistent with the evidence derived from this epistle, as well as from the Book of Acts, which shows him to have been at Jerusalem at the very time when he is alleged to have been at Rome. In this whole epistle there is no mention of Peter as ever having been at Rome. Now, if Peter had not only been there, but had actually founded the church, and had presided over it, it is impossible to suppose that Paul could have failed to advert to that fact. And, further, had Peter been at Rome when Paul wrote this epistle, he would certainly have been included in the particular enumeration of persons to whom salutations are sent, in ch. 16.

494. The **Date of this Epistle** is very precisely fixed by the following facts. Paul had not yet been to Rome ($1^{11.13.15}$). He was intending to visit it, after first visiting Jerusalem (15^{23-28}), and this was his purpose during his three months' residence at Corinth, Ac 19^{21}. He was about to carry a collection from Macedonia and Achaia to Jerusalem ($15^{26.31}$): and this he did carry from Corinth to Jerusalem at the close of his visit, Ac 24^{17}. When he wrote the epistle, Timothy, Sosipater, Gaius, and Erastus were with him ($16^{21.23}$). Gaius was his host, and resided at

Corinth, 1 Cor 1[14]. Erastus was himself a Corinthian, and had been sent shortly before from Ephesus with Timothy on their way through Corinth to Macedonia, Ac 19[22] 1 Cor 16[10.11]; and the first three are expressly mentioned in Acts 20[4] as being with Paul at Corinth. Phœbe, moreover, generally supposed to have been the bearer of the epistle, was a member of the church at the Corinthian port of Cenchreæ (16[1]). As Paul, therefore, was preparing to visit Jerusalem, one of his converts was also departing from Corinth in an opposite direction for Rome, and by her this epistle was taken to that city. Its date is thus fixed, A.D. 58.

The **constitution of the Roman church** when the Apostle wrote, whether consisting mainly of Jews or Gentiles, has been keenly discussed. That the majority of the Christians in Rome were of Gentile origin is the view of Conybeare and Howson, Tholuck, Alford, S. Davidson, Godet; that the Jews outnumbered them is maintained by Neander, Meyer, Baur, Sabatier. An intermediate position adopted by Jowett, Farrar, Sanday, and others is that the Christian community in Rome may possibly have predominantly included Jewish Christians in belief, yet at the same time Gentiles in origin—Jewish, for the Apostle everywhere argues with them as Jews; Gentiles, for he expressly addresses them as Gentiles. Cf. 2[17] 4[16] 7 16[7], &c., with 1[13.15] 11[13] 14[15], &c.

To such converts it was especially important that they should have a full and inspired exhibition of Divine truth, especially to strengthen them against the Judaizers whose influence had been so disturbing in the churches of Galatia and at Corinth. The doctrine of justification by faith had been employed to justify immoral practices (3[8]), and moreover dissensions had sprung up between Jewish converts and Gentile Christians (11[17.18] 14). The Jewish believer was unwilling to regard his uncircumcised Gentile brother as his equal in Christ's kingdom (3[9] 15[7–11]); and, on the other hand, the more enlightened Gentile convert was inclined to treat the lingering scruples of the Jew with contempt (14[3]).

Here, therefore, the doctrine of justification is shown to produce holiness. To the Jewish Christian, *truth* and its claims are revealed; to the Gentile Christian, *love* and its claims; and both are taught that faith in Christ and subjection to Him are the only conditions of a place in the Church and of an interest in the covenant. In the whole of this discussion principles are laid down of the greatest value to the Church in every age.

495. Contents of the Epistle.—As the Epistle to the Romans treats of the doctrine which has been regarded as the test of a true church, and is moreover the most full and systematic of all the Apostle's writings, we append a full analysis, showing the course of argument and illustration. The significance of particular passages depends in a great degree, as will be readily seen, on their connexion.

I. Introduction (1^{1-17}).

1. The salutation (1^{1-7}).
2. Introduction, and Paul's estimate of the gospel ($^{8-17}$).

The sixteenth verse contains in brief *the subject of the whole epistle.* The gospel is—(1) the power of God unto salvation, (2) to every one that believeth; (3) to the Jew first, and also (4) to the Greek.

II. Doctrinal Exposition (1^{18}—8^{39}).

(*a*) *Sinfulness* of the human race.

1. Condition of the Gentiles—
   In relation to God (1^{18-32}).
   In relation to human duty ($^{24-32}$).
2. Condition of the Jews—
   Mere knowledge will not save (2^{1-11}).
   It even aggravates guilt ($^{12-29}$).
3. Comparison of Jews and Gentiles—
   Value of Old Testament dispensation not lowered (3^{1-8}).
   Both guilty, and needing salvation ($^{9-20}$).

(*b*) The *gospel plan* of *salvation* explained, in itself, and in its results.

1. This plan explained, a revelation of Divine justice and mercy—
   Excludes all boasting (3^{27}), and—
   Saves all on the same terms ($^{21-31}$).
2. Holy men of old justified by faith—
   Illustrated, Abraham (4^{1-5}): David ($^{6-8}$).

Circumcision the sign (9^{9-12}), and the theocracy the result (13^{13-17}) of the covenant: the result, therefore, of justification, rather than subservient to it.

3. Abraham's faith described. Its results (4^{18-25}).

4. The fruits of faith in Christian experience, in imparting peace, joy, and hope (5^{1-11}).

5 The excellence of faith shown by a comparison between Adam, the head of the fallen race, and Christ, the Author of spiritual life, to all who are united to Him 5^{12-21}).

(*c*) This *way* of *salvation* (χάρις, δικαιοσύνη) favourable to holiness. (See 3^{8}.)

1. We cannot go on in sin, that grace may abound; for we are one with Christ our Head, in His baptism, death, and life (6^{1-14}); verses 12–14 illustrating the idea that Christ is our King, as well as Head.

2. Nor can we go on in sin, because under grace and not under law.

For the servants of another are bound to obey their master, and moreover—

Men are increasingly swayed by that authority, which they heartily acknowledge. It becomes a yoke, which, however, if it be righteousness, is free, and has a glorious issue (6^{15-23}).

3. The same truth illustrated, as in 6^{2}, by an example founded on the Law (7^{1-6}).

4. Hence a twofold objection:

(i) Either the Law is sin—

No; for it reveals sin, and impresses it on the conscience (7^{7-12}):

(ii) Or being itself good, it has become death (7^{13-25}).

No; for we ('our inner man') admit it to be spiritual, even when not obeying it; the paradox of the awakened and regenerate conscience.

Both facts meet the objection, and show our need of a new system.

(*d*) The *Law* having *failed* to *justify* and *sanctify*, *Christ for us* and *Christ in us* is our justification and holiness.

1. The Christian justified in Christ and sanctified in Him, through the Spirit; which sanctification will be complete (8^{1-11}).

2. The Christian's duty and privilege (8^{12-17}).

3. The connexion between the perfection of creation, and that of the children of God (8^{18-30}).

4. Exultant assurance of salvation (8^{31-39}).

III. Special Relation of the Jews to the Gospel (9–11).

As in 1^{18}–3^{20} the Apostle has explained the relation of Jews and Gentiles to the Law, so in 9^{1}–11^{36} he explains the *relation* of *both* to the *gospel*.

That salvation is by Christ, and for all that believe, is the conclusion to which the Apostle has come; but if so, the great majority of the Jews perish, and the Gentiles have taken their place; a result apparently severe, and to the Jew particularly startling. The Apostle meets this feeling.

1. He affirms his own distress at their state of rejection (9^{1-5}).

2. It cannot be said, however, that the promise is unfulfilled, or that this difference of treatment is without precedent; for—

The promise did not extend to all the children of Abraham, but only to the descendants of Sarah; nor to all her descendants, but only to Isaac (9^{7-9}). and of Isaac's children, to Jacob (9^{10-13}), the ground of the difference being, not the actual merit of the persons, but the election of God.

Least of all does it follow that God is unjust, for all mercy on God's part is evidence of kindness, and is altogether undeserved.

That God has a right to make distinctions in His dealings, and does make them, is further shown in the case of Pharaoh (9^{14-18}).

3. But does not this idea of purpose on God's part free us from blame? No, for first God has a right to do as He will; and in the exercise of that right, there can be no wrong; and secondly, in exercising that will, both the justice and the mercy of God will be the more illustriously revealed (9^{19-24}), saving all on the same conditions, both Jews and Gentiles.

4. Both this call of the Gentiles, and the salvation of a remnant only of the Jews, are foretold, or have their precedents in the Old Testament (9^{25-29}).

5. The failure and rejection of the Jews, though in one sense in accordance with the Divine purpose, are really results of unbelief (9^{30-33}).

This last thought is expanded (10). After again expressing his distress at the unbelief of the Jews, the Apostle shows that their rejection is the result of unbelief; and that all who call on the name of the Lord, Jews or Gentiles, shall be saved (10^{4-13}).

Objected, that the Jews could not call upon one of whom they had not heard (10^{14-17}). Answer, they have heard, so that their rejection of truth was not owing to ignorance, but to disobedient unbelief; as foretold by their own prophets (10^{18-21}).

6. It must not be supposed that Israel, as a whole, have been rejected.

Not Jews as *Jews*, but Jews as *unbelievers*; for 'I myself,' says he, 'am an Israelite' (11^{1}). In Elijah's days there were thousands who had not bowed to Baal, so now there is a remnant according to the election of grace, chosen not for their works, but from free favour; while the rest have missed the blessing through unbelief (11^{2-10}).

Nor, speaking of the Jews as a nation, is there utter rejection:

Their unbelief gave occasion for the proclamation of the truth to the Gentiles, and their conversion will be connected with the general diffusion of the truth (11^{11-15}), of all which the faith of their fathers is a kind of earnest (11^{16}).

7. Humility, faith, adoring reverence of the justice and mercy of God, with hope in this general issue, become all Gentile converts (11^{17-24}), and—

8. By and by Israel, as a whole, shall be converted to God (11^{25-32}).

9. The whole scheme of salvation an evidence of the unfathomable wisdom and love of God (11^{33-36}), to Whose praise all will ultimately redound.

IV. Ethical Development of Truth ($12-15^{17}$).

(*a*) In relation to general behaviour.

1. All previous doctrine points to consecration of the whole life as the appropriate result, and with this consecration all holiness begins ($12^{1.2}$).

This founded in humility, i.e. in a true and healthy view of ourselves, and of our position (12^{3}).

This consecration will include—

2. The Christian's relation to the Church (12^{4-13}), including love, faith, and hope; and—

3. The Christian's relation to the world (12^{14-21}).

4. Ch. 13. Especially is this spirit of consecration seen in submission to the ruling power, which has the force of a Divine law ($^{1-7}$).—Obedience in such cases is another form of the great law of love ($^{8-10}$), which is especially incumbent under the gospel, as is all spiritual holiness ($^{11-14}$).

(*b*) In relation to our behaviour in things indifferent ($14^{1}-15^{7}$).

Here, forbearance is our rule. He who regards things indifferent as binding may be the weaker Christian, but God has received him; he does all to Christ, Who is his judge; and in accordance with his own conscience, which is, subordinately, his law.

Therefore, neither is he the less welcome, nor is he to be tempted by ridicule or rebuke to violate what he himself believes (14^{2-23}).

The example of Christ, and the ultimate design of the Scriptures, teach this duty on even more comprehensive grounds—the common good (15^{1-7}).

The lesson is repeated, that Gentiles and Jews are one body, and that the salvation of each illustrates the faithfulness and mercy of God (15^{8-13}).

V. Personal Communications.

1. Explanation of the Apostle's relation to the Gentiles and of his earnestness on their behalf (15^{14-21}).

2. Notice of his proposed journeys (15^{22-23}).

3. Salutations (16^{1-23}), with cautions in reference to such as caused divisions ($^{17-20}$).

4. Conclusion (16^{24-27}).

The interesting series of salutations, twenty-six in all, in the last chapter, addressed to a community personally unknown to the Apostle, has presented a difficulty to expositors which has been variously met. Certain variations, and the absence from some early copies of the text of the last two chapters, have led to the supposition that the epistle 'was circulated at an early date in two forms, both with and without the last two chapters. In the shorter form it was divested as far as possible of its epistolary character by abstracting the personal matter addressed especially to the Romans' (Bp. Lightfoot). Or early copies of the epistle may have been sent with varying terminations to different churches, one being the church at Ephesus, as the salutations (16^{1-20}) are addressed to persons whom one would expect to find rather there than in Rome (e. g. verse 3 Aquila and Priscilla, verse 5 Epænetus); so in other districts where the Apostle had resided and laboured, verses 9, 13. There seem in fact to be at least two distinct endings to the epistle, one beginning 15^{30}, the other 16^{17}. There are two (or three) closing benedictions, 15^{33} $16^{20.24}$, but according to the best texts one of them is to be omitted. R. V. omits 16^{24}. See papers by Bp. Lightfoot and Dr. Hort in *Biblical Essays*.

496. Key-words and expressions. — Leading Thought. 'The gospel of Christ: the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. . . . Therein is revealed a righteousness of God by faith unto faith, i. e. which begins in faith and ends in faith, of which faith is the beginning, the middle, the end' ($1^{16.17}$ R. V.). 'The righteous shall live by faith' (1^{17}), a motto from Habakkuk 2^4. 'The righteousness of God,' $3^{5.22}$ 10^3, &c. Though there is much greater consistency in the rendering of the same word in the R. V. than in the A. V., it should be noted that 'righteous,' 'righteousness,' 'just,' 'justified,' 'justification' are *from the same root-word*. So are the two words 'faith' and 'believe,' forms of which occur about fifty-seven times. Observe the frequency of the use of the word 'law' with and without the article. Of the distinction Bp. Lightfoot says:—'The written law—the Old Testament—is always *ὁ νόμος*. At least it seems never to be quoted otherwise; *νόμος* without the article is "law" considered as a principle, exemplified no doubt chiefly and signally in

the Mosaic Law, but very much wider than this in its application.' Another noteworthy expression, 'the flesh,' occurs twenty-eight times, with various shades of meaning which should be carefully distinguished. Other prominent words are 'sin' and 'death,' the former occurring forty-seven times, the latter about half as many. The strong expression, *μὴ γένοιτο*, 'let it not be,' should also be noted; rendered 'God forbid,' $3^{4.31}$, &c. In this epistle Paul first speaks of himself as 'a servant,' i.e. bondservant of Jesus Christ, 1^{1}, and substitutes for 'to the church' or 'churches,' as in his former epistles, the expression 'to the beloved of God, called [to be] saints,' 1^{7}.

The Prison Epistles.

Of the thirteen Pauline Epistles, four were written during the latter part of the Apostle's two years' imprisonment, when he was a prisoner under guard in his own 'hired house.' The Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians were written at the same time, and sent by the same messenger, Tychicus, who carried with him also a letter from Paul to Philemon. That to the Philippians is generally regarded as the latest of the four, written when the author was awaiting the issue of his trial before Nero[a].

Epistle to the Ephesians

Rome, A.D. 62.

497. To whom addressed. — That this epistle was written by the Apostle Paul there is abundant evidence, both external and internal. But as the name *Ephesus* is wanting in 1^{1} in a few ancient manuscripts, it has been doubted to whom it was addressed. Some have supposed it to be 'the Epistle from Laodicea,' referred to in Col 4^{16}. Others extend this view further, and more reasonably conjecture from the general character of its contents, and the absence of local and personal allusions, that it was a **Circular Letter** to the churches of Asia Minor; sent on from

[a] Lightfoot, however, regards Philippians as the earliest.

one to another, with a blank in the address to be filled up according to its immediate destination. This is the view now generally held by scholars.

Ephesus, the chief city of the district, was a large city of Ionia, the capital of the Roman province of Asia. It was chiefly celebrated for its temple of Artemis (Diana), which was of extreme magnificence, enriched with immense treasures, and regarded as one of the wonders of the world. Its inhabitants were noted for luxury and voluptuousness, and for the practice of magical arts.

The Book of Acts ($18^{18.19}$ 19) mentions **two visits of Paul** to Ephesus. The first time, on his way to Jerusalem, he preached on one Sabbath in the synagogue, leaving behind him Priscilla and Aquila, who were shortly afterwards joined by Apollos. On his second visit, Paul remained there more than two years; probably on account of the importance of the place, as a principal seat of idolatry and a great centre of influence, and his labours were crowned with signal success, both among the citizens and the inhabitants of the surrounding country. About a year subsequently, when he was on his way from Macedonia to Jerusalem, he had an interview with the elders of the Ephesian church at the neighbouring seaport of Miletus.

498. Character and contents of the Epistle.—This epistle is one of those written by Paul while he was a prisoner at Rome, and, like the letters to Philippi and Colossæ, is remarkable for a peculiar pathos and elevation of thought and feeling. The Apostle's whole mind seems to have been filled with the transcendent excellency of the privileges and hopes of believers in Christ, the all-comprehensive character of the Christian dispensation, and its certain triumphs and glorious results.

Anxious for the welfare of his Asiatic converts, the Apostle was about to send Tychicus to them; and he wrote

this epistle, one object of which was to remove any feelings of distrust or discouragement which the intelligence of his imprisonment might have produced in their minds, and to prevent that circumstance being taken advantage of by Jewish zealots to lower his apostolic authority, or oppose the great truth in which he gloried—the unity and universality of the Church as the body of Christ. In the words of the Dean of Westminster, the epistle is 'one supreme exposition, non-controversial, positive, fundamental, of the great doctrine of his life, the doctrine of the unity of mankind in Christ, and of the purpose of God for the world through the Church [a].'

Contents.—This epistle may be divided into two parts:—(1) *Doctrinal* (1–3); and (2) *Practical* (4–6).

1. After the opening salutation, Paul breaks forth into expressions of praise to God for the blessings of redemption, and especially for the extension of them to the Gentiles, of which they had an earnest in the baptism of the Spirit; dwells on the two wonderful displays of omnipotent grace, first in the glorification of Christ, and then in that of His regenerated people (1, 2^{1-10}), and reminds his Asiatic readers of their former heathen state of spiritual death and distance from God, and of the great change in their condition by being now, through His sovereign mercy, admitted to the fellowship of the saints (2^{11-22}) [b]. Then, describing himself as a prisoner in the cause of Christ for the sake of the Gentiles, he speaks of the special revelation and commission granted to him in reference to them; grounds upon it an exhortation not to be discouraged at his sufferings; and assures them of his prayers that they might be increasingly enlightened and strengthened, and have a full enjoyment of the benefits of Christ's redeeming love (3).

2. In the remaining chapters of the epistle, which are chiefly practical, the Apostle beseeches them to maintain a conduct and spirit worthy of the exalted privileges to which they had been called; reminds them of the great ends which the spiritual gifts bestowed upon them were designed to promote; enjoins upon them a course of conduct in direct contrast to that of the heathen around them and to their own former lives; exhorts them particularly to unity, truthfulness, meekness, honesty, and industry; to purity of speech; to kind-

[a] J. Armitage Robinson, *Ephesians*, p. 10.

[b] On the Divine grace manifested towards heathen converts, see Col 1^{27} 2^{9-14} 1 Pet 1^{18} 2^{10}.

ness and generosity, after the example of Christ; and to universal uprightness and holiness of conduct (4, 5^{1-20}). He then enforces, by motives peculiar to the gospel, an exemplary discharge of all relative duties (5^{21}-6^{9}); concluding with animated exhortations to fortitude, watchfulness, and prayer; followed by a commendation of Tychicus, the bearer of the epistle, and by his apostolic benedictions (6^{10-24}).

Lessons.—In the circumstances in which this epistle was written, and in the subsequent history of the churches to which it was addressed, there is much that is instructive. The epistle which dwells most on the unsearchable riches of God's wisdom and love was written when its author was in bonds. A heart filled with thoughts most spiritual and heavenly devotes attention to relative and moral duties (4^{28} 5, 6^{1-9}), and enforces them by appeals founded on our relation to Christ and to the Holy Spirit ($4^{30.\ 32}$ 5^{2-25} 6^{5}). The churches a few years later were in a very different state from that which is here implied, Rev 2^{1-7} 3^{14-19}. Their history is a solemn warning to Christians in every age.

499. Key-words and characteristic expressions.—On the leading thought of this epistle Dr. Marcus Dods says: '*Unity* is the key to this epistle: the unity of the Church with God, the unity of the two great sections of the Christian Church, the unity of the members of the Church Catholic.' In Christ all things, both in heaven and on earth, are gathered together in one, 1^{10}. Five times in this epistle occurs the phrase 'heavenly places' (*τὰ ἐπουράνια*); and 'grace' no less than twelve times. 'Riches' is another recurrent expression, 'riches of grace,' 1^{7} 2^{7}; 'riches of glory,' 1^{18} 3^{16}; 'riches of Christ,' 3^{8}. 'Mystery,' in the sense of a secret once hid but now revealed, is characteristic indeed generally of Paul, but characteristic specially of this epistle, in which it is five times used (1^{9} $3^{3.4.9}$ 6^{19}), and each time with remarkable emphasis; see Robinson's *Ephesians*, p. 234. The comparison of the church to a magnificent building, and the allegory drawn from the armour of a Roman soldier, have their fullest expression in this epistle (2^{20-22} 6^{13-17}). The omission of personal greetings has been already noted.

Epistle to the Colossians

Rome, A.D. 62.

500. Colossæ or **Colassæ** was one of the chief cities of Phrygia. It was situated on the Lycus, a branch of the Mæander, 'distant,' says Professor Ramsay, 'only about

ten miles from Laodicea and thirteen from Hierapolis, and hence the three cities formed a single sphere of missionary labours for Epaphras, an inhabitant of Colossæ' ($4^{12.13}$). From 2^{1} it seems certain that Paul had never visited Colossæ; but he knew several of the Colossian Christians, among whom were Philemon, Apphia, and Archippus, possibly husband, wife, and son [a]. The Colossians, having heard of Paul's imprisonment, sent to him Epaphras, to comfort the Apostle, and to inform him of their state. Epaphras, shortly after reaching Rome, was also imprisoned, Philem ^{23}.

501. Place and time of writing.—This epistle was written during Paul's first imprisonment at Rome (1^{24} 4^{18})[b]; and probably about the same time as those to the Ephesians and to Philemon; the three letters being all sent by the same messengers, Tychicus and Onesimus, the latter of whom was returning to his master, Philemon, at Colossæ. The account given of the church by Epaphras was on the whole satisfactory. There appears, however, to have been some danger from false teachers, who aimed to combine with Christianity the speculations of the philosophers, such as in the next century developed into gnosticism. The supreme dignity of Christ was denied, by ascribing to angels the work of creation (1^{16}) and of mediating in redemption between God and man; the worship of angels was introduced into the church (2^{18}). Reference is also clearly discernible to the disturbing influence of Judaizing and of ascetic teachers (2^{16} $3^{11.18.19}$). To correct and refute this threefold error was the purpose of this epistle [c].

[a] See Lightfoot, *Colossians and Philemon*, pp. 301–308. Onesimus was a slave in the same household.

[b] With less probability the letter has been assigned to the two years' captivity at Cæsarea; so Reuss, Meyer, Holtzmann, De Pressensé. But by far the larger number of critics refer the letter to the Roman captivity.

[c] On the Colossian heresy, especially in its bearing on the date and authenticity of the epistle, see Lightfoot, *Colossians*, pp. 71–111.

Colossians and 'Ephesians.'—The striking resemblance between this epistle and that 'to the Ephesians' indicates some similarity in the tendencies of the churches addressed, and is also ascribable to the fact that both epistles being written about the same time, the same ideas, and even the same expressions, would be likely to recur. The two epistles must, in fact, be read together. 'The one is,' as Michaelis observes, 'a commentary on the other.' A difference of *stress* may be noted. The controversial note in this epistle leads to insistence on the nature of Christ and on what He is to His Church; in Ephesians Paul expounds the unity of the Church and its glorious destiny in the purposes of its Divine Lord.

This epistle was to be sent to Laodicea, and the Colossians were to receive from Laodicea the epistle he had directed to be sent on to them (4^{16}), probably the circular letter known as the Epistle to the Ephesians.

502. Contents of the Epistle.—The epistle may be divided into two parts—doctrinal and practical.

1. After the usual salutation, the Apostle expresses his thankfulness for the effects of the gospel among the Colossians, and his prayerful anxiety that they might continue to advance in spiritual knowledge and in Christian virtues (1^{1-14}); he sets forth the creative and the mediatorial function of the Divine Redeemer, giving a sublime view of the whole doctrine of reconciliation by Christ, both in its amplitude, as affecting all created beings, and in its individual application to 'His body, the Church,' and especially to these Gentile converts (1^{14-23}). He then speaks of his own labours and sufferings as the Apostle of the Gentiles, and expresses his intense solicitude for their stability and perseverance (1^{24}-2^{7}).

He cautions them against particular errors; showing that no philosophical speculations, no human ordinances or traditions, no ascetic austerities, could raise the soul above gross pursuits, or enable it to realize unseen and eternal objects. But that, on the other hand, in Christ is perfect salvation; faith in Him not only reconciling us to God, but, by connecting us with an ascended Redeemer, leading our thoughts and desires to things above (2^{8}-3^{4}).

2. He then expands the application of the foregoing doctrine, points out the operation of this vitalizing faith, in subduing the propensities

of the old sinful nature, and producing and sustaining the varied holiness of the new man; and, above all, brotherly love, which is to be exercised in social worship and mutual edification (3^{5-17}). He gives brief directions for the fulfilment of domestic duties (3^{18}–4^{1}); exhorts the Colossians to constancy in prayer and thanksgiving, and to consistent conduct before the world (4^{2-6}); and, in conclusion, mentions Tychicus and Onesimus, who would give them full information of all his circumstances; and sends salutations from his fellow labourers and from himself, with a special message to Archippus: adding a touching injunction, at the moment of signing the letter, to remember his bonds (4^{7-18}).

503. Key-words and phrases of the Epistle.—Leading thought —'Christ all, and in all,' 3^{11}. 'In Him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily.' 'Christ is the *Pleroma*, the Plenitude, at once the brimmed receptacle and the total contents of all the gifts and attributes of God' (F. W. Farrar). Note the constant repetition of 'to fill,' 'to fulfil,' and kindred words, $1^{9.24.25}$ 2^{10} 4^{12}; 'fullness' or 'plenitude,' 1^{19} 2^{9}; the repetition of 'all,' 'every,' $1^{15.16.17.23.28}$, &c., and the use of current terms of incipient gnosticism, 'knowledge,' 'full knowledge,' 'wisdom,' 'understanding.' 'Mystery,' $1^{26.27}$ 2^{2} 4^{3}, as in other Pauline writings, is generally accompanied by the idea of revelation, or manifestation, to signify a secret *made known*. As in 'Ephesians,' so here appears his favourite expression 'riches,' 'the riches of the glory of this mystery,' 1^{27}; 'riches of the full assurance of understanding,' 2^{2}; and in adverbial form, 'let the word of Christ dwell in you richly,' 3^{16}.

Among the peculiar words to be noted as occurring only once are: 'philosophy,' 2^{8}; 'will worship,' 2^{23}; to beguile of one's reward ('rob you of your prize,' R. V.) (καταβραβεύειν), 2^{18}, from the word denoting the judge or umpire in the public games (see 3^{15} R. V. marg.).

The shorter form of benediction, characteristic of Paul's later epistles, occurs here for the first time. Cf. 4^{18} with 1 Tim 6^{21} 2 Tim 4^{22} Tit 3^{15}.

The Epistle to Philemon

Rome, A.D. 62.

504. A private Letter: subject and contents.—This inspired model of private Christian correspondence was addressed by the Apostle Paul to Philemon, one of his

converts residing at Colossæ (compare verses 2, 10, 19 with Col $4^{9,17}$), of whom nothing more is known than may be gathered from the letter. From this it has been supposed that Philemon was an elder or deacon in the church, and that Apphia was his wife. Archippus seems to have been pastor at Colossæ, Col 4^{17}.

This epistle was evidently written (see verses 10–12, 23) and sent at the same time as that to the Colossians (see Col 4^{8}: compare also verses 23, 24 with Col 4^{10-14}). Onesimus, the subject of this epistle and the bearer of both, was a slave (probably a domestic servant) of Philemon, who, having fled from his master, had found his way to Rome; and, while there, had been converted by the instrumentality of Paul, verse 10. After a time, Paul, thinking it right that he should return to his master, wrote this beautiful and persuasive letter in order to secure for him a kind reception. 'A few friendly lines,' says M. Sabatier, 'so full of grace and wit, of earnest trustful affection, that this short epistle shines among the rich treasures of the New Testament as a pearl of exquisite fineness.'

After an affectionate salutation from himself and Timothy, the Apostle expresses his thankfulness at hearing of the good reputation which Philemon as a Christian enjoyed, and then gracefully introduces the main subject of his letter: requesting as 'Paul the aged,' now a prisoner for their common faith, what he might as an Apostle have commanded. Acknowledging the fault of Onesimus, he mentions the happy change which had taken place in him: and hints that his flight had been overruled for his master's benefit as well as his own; and entreats that he may be received back, no longer as a slave, but as a beloved Christian brother. He then delicately proposes to make good any loss Philemon might have sustained; whilst he intimates how great were his friend's obligations to himself.

This short letter is invaluable, as offering an example of humility, courteousness, and freedom, in the intercourse of Christian friendship: and we cannot but suppose that the gentleness and address of the Apostle's pleading were effectual.

505. Key-words and phrases.—Short as is this letter, there are a few distinctive expressions of which note should be made. It is here

the Apostle speaks of himself as 'Paul the aged,' verse 9[a]; plays with a touch of humour on the name Onesimus, which means 'Helpful,' and the word *ὀναίμην* ('have joy or help') in verse 20, and uses in close antithesis 'unprofitable' (*ἄχρηστος*) and 'profitable' (*εὔχρηστος*), verse 11. Characteristic of this epistle is the thrice-repeated 'bowels' (*σπλάγχνα*) in the sense of the heart, tender affection.

Epistle to the Philippians

Rome, A.D. 63.

506. Introduction of the Gospel to Europe.—Philippi was a city of Macedonia, enlarged by Philip of Macedon, and afterwards raised to the rank of a Roman military colony by Julius Cæsar, who gave the people the privileges of a Roman city; and it is distinguished as having been the first place in Europe which received the gospel, Paul having been specially directed thither by the Holy Spirit, in opposition to his previous plans (Ac 16). On arriving at Philippi, Paul followed his usual custom of addressing himself first to the Jews; who appear, however, to have been few in number. Those who met for worship at a place of prayer outside the city were chiefly women; one of whom, a visitor from Asia, was the first convert to Christianity. The successful labours of Paul and Silas, and the persecution raised against them, which led to their sudden departure from it, are related in Ac 16. That Paul twice visited Philippi again, before his first imprisonment at Rome, is plain from Ac $20^{1.2.6}$. On his first visit he seems to have left Luke behind him (16^{12} 17^{1}). Luke also, who was with him in the earlier part of his imprisonment (Ac 27 Col 4^{14}), seems now to have left him ($2^{20.21}$).

507. Place and time of writing the Epistle.—This epistle was manifestly written at Rome (see 1^{12-14} 4^{22}),

[a] Or possibly 'Paul the ambassador.' See Lightfoot.

and, perhaps, during the latter part of the Apostle's first captivity in that city. For Paul, at the time of writing it, seems to anticipate a speedy decision of his case, and hopes to obtain his release ($1^{25.27}$ $2^{23.24}$). It appears to have been written on the occasion of the return of Epaphroditus, whom the Philippian church had sent to Rome with a pecuniary contribution for the Apostle's relief during his imprisonment, and who, while zealously performing this service, had fallen dangerously ill: the tidings of which so afflicted the Philippians, that the Apostle was induced, upon his recovery, to send him back sooner than he had intended (2^{24-30}).

Character of the Church at Philippi.—The church at Philippi appears to have been one of the most pure and generous of that age. Its members showed the tenderest regard for Paul. Twice while he was at Thessalonica, and once when at Corinth, they had sent him contributions for his support, which he accepted, to prevent the gospel being burdensome to more recent converts ($4^{15.16}$ 2 Cor 11^{9}). They had also cheerfully borne many sufferings for their adherence to the Saviour (1^{28-30}). Their conduct had been uniformly so exemplary that he had only to rejoice over them. Accordingly, in this epistle, he pours forth his heart in expressions of devout thankfulness and hearty commendations, not unmingled, however, with exhortations and counsel.

508. Contents.—The epistle may be divided into three parts:—

1. After an affectionate introduction, Paul expresses his gratitude to God for the Philippians, and his earnest desire for the increase of their knowledge and holiness (1^{1-11}). That they might not be dejected on his account, he assures them that his imprisonment had not hindered but promoted the gospel; some gathering boldness from his bonds, and others preaching Christ in a spirit of rivalry. If Christ be but preached and magnified, whether it be by Paul's labours or by his martyrdom, he himself is more than content. The former he thinks the more probable; and he exhorts the Philippians at all events to

maintain a conduct worthy of the gospel, to be steadfast and courageous, united, generous, and humble, copying the example of their blessed Lord, and reminds them that their consistency and usefulness are his own highest rewards. He promises to send Timothy to them, gives his reason for sending Epaphroditus, and commends the character of each (1^{12}–2^{30}).

2. He exhorts them to rejoice in their Christian privileges; and to be on their guard against Judaizing teachers, who prided themselves upon distinctions in which he himself could more than compete with them; but which, however once valued, he now regarded as utterly worthless, in comparison with the surpassing excellency of the knowledge of Christ; and then, referring to his own holy ambition to strive after perfection, urges upon the Philippians a similar spirit; contrasting with this the conduct of some false professors, against whom he had previously warned them (3^{1}–4^{1}).

3. Admonitions are addressed to individual members of the church, hinting at some kind of disagreement; followed by exhortations to holy joy, moderation, prayer, and thanksgiving; and to the study and practice of all that is true, just, pure, amiable, and praiseworthy (4^{2-9}). The epistle concludes with grateful acknowledgements of the repeated proofs of affection, care, and sympathy which he had received from the Philippians, in which he rejoiced for their sakes, intimating, however, with noble delicacy, his contentment with either poverty or abundance; and closes with salutations and a benediction (4^{10-23}).

509. Key-words and characteristic expressions.—*Joy* is the key-note. '"I rejoice," "ye rejoice,"' says Bengel, 'is the sum of the epistle.' This spirit of joy finds expression in $1^{4.18.25}$ $2^{2.17.18}$ 3^{1} $4^{1.4.10}$. The epistle abounds likewise in expression of *Love*. 'I long after you all in the bowels ('tender mercies,' R. V.) of Jesus Christ,' 1^{8}, cf. 2^{1}. 'Brethren dearly beloved and longed for,' 4^{1}. 'Beloved' and 'brethren' again and again recur. *Unity* is another prominent idea, 1^{27-30} 2^{1-4} 4^{2}. Perhaps there was some special cause for insisting upon this, and a measure of rebuke is most delicately conveyed. See 4^{2-3}. Among expressions peculiar to the epistle:—'to depart,' i. e. from life (ἀναλύειν), 1^{23}, literally 'to unloose,' as of a ship weighing anchor, or of a camp breaking up. The references to Christ:—'in the form of God' (ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ), 2^{6}; 'He made Himself of no reputation' (i. e. 'emptied Himself,' R. V.), 2^{7}; 'thought it not robbery' (ἁρπαγμός) ('counted it not a prize,' R. V.), 2^{6}. The comparison of Judaizers (?) to 'dogs,' 3^{2}; 'the mark,' 'the goal' (σκοπός), 3^{14}. Observe the famous doctrinal passage on the Godhead of Christ and His Manhood, 2^{6-11}, and the striking and beautiful directions for profitable thought, with the six times repeated 'whatsoever things' (ὅσα), 4^{8}. Note also Paul's allusions to the Prætorian guard, 1^{13}, among whom he seems to have been

well known as a prisoner for the cause of Christ, and to 'the saints of Cæsar's household,' 4^{22}, probably slaves or freedmen in Nero's palace. Observable also is it that, writing to those who had the Roman franchise, the Apostle speaks of the rights and duties of citizens, 1^{27} (marg. R. V.) 3^{20}.

The Three Pastoral Epistles.

510. Specialities of these Epistles.—Of these epistles it has been well said: 'They were not addressed to churches, but to individuals—to two younger men, friends and companions of Paul's travels, who were in perfect sympathy with him—to men who had submitted themselves to his personal influence, and were familiar with his methods of thought. To them there was no need to expound the philosophy, whether of law, or of sin, or of redemption. It was unnecessary for him in these epistles to vindicate his apostolic office, or to recount either his afflictions or his services. Timothy and Titus had suffered with him. They had difficult duties to discharge, and needed both advice and stimulus. The principles and details of church discipline, the motives and law of Christian service, were the themes on which he dilated. It is in harmony with these obvious peculiarities of the epistles that they should abound in phrases suitable to confidential intercourse, and that they should refer to matters which were not included in other and earlier correspondence[a].'

Their authenticity has been more questioned than that of any other of the Apostle's writings; but as there was never any doubt on the subject in the early Church, and all the differences observable between these and the other Pauline epistles may be accounted for by differences of time and subject, as well as by the hypothesis of a journey by Paul after his first Roman imprisonment, there is little real ground for doubt on the question. See a valuable excursus on the subject in Conybeare and Howson, *Appendix* I.

[a] Dr. H. R. Reynolds in the *Expositor*, vol. i, first series.

First Epistle to Timothy

Macedonia, A.D. 64 *or* 67.

511. Training and character of Timothy.—Timothy was an inhabitant, perhaps a native, of Lystra, Ac $16^{1.2}$. His father was a Greek, his mother and grandmother were devout Jewesses, by whom he was carefully trained in a knowledge of the Scriptures, 2 Tim 3^{14}. He was probably converted by Paul when but a boy[a] on the Apostle's first visit to Lystra, Ac 14^{6} 16^{1} (see 1 Tim 1^{2} 2 Tim 1^{2} 1 Cor 4^{17}); and on his second visit was chosen to be the companion of the Apostle in his journeys and labours. He is everywhere spoken of in terms of high praise, 1 Th 3^{2} Phil 2^{22}, and is a noble instance of eminent gifts and grace in one young in years and feeble in health, 4^{12} 5^{23}.

512. Date of the Epistle.—It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to determine when this epistle was written. From 1^{3} it has been supposed that it belongs to the period when Paul left Ephesus after the uproar caused by Demetrius, and went to Macedonia (Ac 20^{1}). There are, however, serious difficulties in the way of this supposition, and it is now the generally accepted conclusion that this epistle must have been written at a later period, after the Apostle's first imprisonment at Rome, while upon a journey undertaken by him shortly before his final imprisonment.

Considerations of style and diction, of subject-matter in reference to the state of the church, and disturbing heresies indicate an interval of several years from the time of the earlier prison epistles.

513. Its purpose and contents.—The epistle appears to have two chief objects:—

1. To counteract the false doctrines of Jewish teachers, who, whilst professing adherence to the Law, taught doctrines at variance with its holy requirements. Their fallacies and

[a] Some sixteen years afterwards Timothy is addressed as a young man, 1 Tim 4^{12}.

the contrary truths are forcibly exhibited in 1 4^{7-10} $6^{3-5.20.21}$. Compare Ac 20^{27-32} 2 Cor 4^{1-7}.

2. To guide and encourage Timothy in the duties of his office; directing him as to (1) public devotions, 2^{1-8}; (2) the duties and behaviour of Christian women, $2^{9.12}$: compare 1 Cor 11^{3-16} 14^{34-40} 1 Pet 3^{1-6}; (3) church officers, 3^{1-13}; (4) his own teaching, 3^{14} 4; (5) his personal holiness, 4^{11-16}; and (6) his church administration in the treatment of offenders, of widows, of good elders and bad, of slaves, of the rich; and the duties of those several classes of persons, 5, 6: compare Tit 1^{10}–3^{11}. With this teaching are mingled many urgent and affectionate appeals, tender references to Paul's own conversion, and solemn anticipations of the coming of Christ.

Views of the Christian Ministry.—In the Epistles to Timothy and Titus—the Pastoral Epistles—we have the clearest revelation given in Scripture of the character (*a*), qualifications (*b*), and duties (*c*) of the Christian minister. Though the whole are often described in the same passage, they may be thus arranged:

(*a*) 1 Tim 1 2 Tim 1^{6-8} $2^{1-8.\ 14-26}$ 2 Cor 4^{1-7} Ac 20^{28-35}.
(*b*) 1 Tim 3^{1-7} Tit 1^{5-11}.
(*c*) 1 Tim 4^{6}–6^{21} Tit 1^{13} (see Ro $16^{17.18}$) 2 Tim 3^{14}–4^{5}.

With all these passages compare Paul's description of his own experience, motives and labours (see 2 Cor 4-6); a model of the gospel ministry.

Deacons.—The qualifications of deacons are described in 1 Tim 3^{8-13}; see also Ac 6^{2-6}. In Phil 1^{1} ministers and deacons are addressed with all the saints.

On the other hand, churches owe to their ministers support (*d*), affection and respect (*e*), and within proper limits, obedience (*f*).

(*d*) 1 Tim $5^{17.18}$ Gal $6^{6.7}$ 1 Cor 9^{4-14} 2 Th $3^{8.9}$ (cf. Mt 10^{10} Lu 10^{7}).
(*e*) 1 Tim 5^{17} 1 Th $5^{12.13}$.
(*f*) Heb 13^{17}; for the limits see 1 Cor 11^{1} Phil 3^{17} Heb 13^{7}.

Warnings against error.—These epistles contain also the fullest account of the approaching corruption of Christianity (*g*), and of the extensive prevalence of infidelity (*h*), in what Scripture calls the last times.

(*g*) 1 Tim 4^{1-5} 2 Tim 3^{1-13} 2 Th 2^{1-12} (cf. 2 Pet 2 Ju ^{17,18}).
(*h*) (Cf. 2 Pet 3^{3} Lu 12^{35-38} 18^{8}.)

To correct these errors, inspired writers direct us to appeal to apostolic doctrine and example, and to the Scriptures generally, 1 Tim 4^{6-11} 2 Tim 3^{14} 4^{1-5} 2 Th 2^{13-17} 2 Pet 1^{12-21} Ju ^{20,21}. This Scriptural plan of checking error is highly instructive.

514. Key-words and memorable sayings.—The verbal peculiarities of the Pastoral Epistles have given rise to much discussion; concerning many of them considerations of time and of their special topic afford satisfactory explanation. Among the phrases which characterize this and other epistles of the Pastoral group note the following:—The epithet 'sound' or 'healthful doctrine' (*ὑγιής, ὑγιαίνειν*), 1 Tim 1^{10} $6^{3,4}$ 2 Tim 1^{13} 4^{3} Tit $1^{9,13}$ $2^{1,8}$, suggested probably by the tendency of growing heresies or diseased forms of thought. 'It is a faithful saying,' a phrase of repeated occurrence, prefacing words of peculiar significance, may denote certain Logia current in the early churches, or, as some writers have suggested, the use of liturgical forms; see 1 Tim 1^{15} 3^{1} 4^{9} 2 Tim 2^{11} Tit 3^{8}. 'Godliness,' 'godly' (*εὐσέβεια, εὐσεβῶς*), rarely found elsewhere in the New Testament, occurs thirteen times in the Epistles as a compendious term for the religion of Christians. The words 'fables' (*μῦθοι*, 1 Tim 1^{4} 4^{7} 2 Tim 4^{4} Tit 1^{14}; 'genealogies,' 1 Tim 1^{4} Tit 3^{9}; 'vain janglings' (*ματαιολογία*), 1 Tim 6^{20} 2 Tim 2^{16}, are all such as owe their use to the progress of heresy.

Of memorable passages and phrases in this epistle, especially noteworthy are 1^{15} the Gospel Message; $2^{5,6}$ Christ the Mediator; 3^{16} Doctrine of the Incarnation, 'the Mystery of godliness manifested in the flesh'; 6^{6} 'Godliness with contentment is great gain'; 6^{10} 'The love of money is a root of all kinds of evil' R. V.

Epistle to Titus

Macedonia, A.D. 64 *or* 67.

515. Notices of his life.—Titus is not mentioned in the Acts, and nothing more is known of him than we find in the epistles of Paul. From incidental allusions we learn that he was a Greek by birth, Gal 2^{3}, who had been converted to Christianity by the instrumentality of Paul, Tit 1^{4}. He went up with Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, Gal 2^{1}, and afterwards accompanied Paul on his travels, being sent by

him on various important missions; and he is repeatedly mentioned by the Apostle in terms of approbation and affection, 2 Cor $7^{5-7.13-15}$ 8^{16-24} $12^{17.18}$.

Being the son of Gentile parents, and therefore in a different position from that of Timothy, he was not circumcised. Circumcision in his case would have involved, as Paul reasoned, a compromise of principle, especially if performed at the bidding of the Judaizing party, Gal 2^{5}.

Titus at Crete.—At the time when this epistle was written, Titus had been left by the Apostle in the island of Crete, that he might establish and regulate the churches there (1^{5}). It is not easy to determine when this occurred; no opportunity for it having been afforded by the only visit to Crete, recorded in Ac $27^{7.8}$; for Paul was then on his way to Rome as a prisoner, his stay was short, nor could he then expect to spend the ensuing winter in Nicopolis (see 3^{12}).

Some have supposed that Paul may have landed at Crete on his voyage from Corinth to Ephesus, mentioned Ac 18^{18}; and that he wrote this epistle subsequently from Ephesus, having formed the intention of spending the winter at a town named Nicopolis in Cilicia, between Antioch and Tarsus (see 3^{12}). Others have placed Paul's visit to Crete between his leaving Ephesus for Macedonia and his second visit to Corinth, Ac 20^{2}. But such hypotheses are forced and artificial, and the simplest account of the matter is that Paul, sailing to Asia after his first imprisonment in Rome (see Introd. to 1 Timothy), took Crete in his way and left Titus there, and that he wrote this epistle from Macedonia, when on his way to the Thracian Nicopolis.

It is further supposed that Titus, according to Paul's desire, joined the Apostle at Nicopolis, and afterwards accompanied him on his last journey to Rome, being with him there during part of his second imprisonment, 2 Tim 4^{10}; and having then been sent into Dalmatia, probably to preach the gospel, or to visit churches already formed there.

516. The Gospel in Crete.—We know nothing of the first introduction of the gospel into Crete, but as there were Jews from that island among Peter's audience on the day of Pentecost (Ac 2^{11}), it is probable that the Christian faith

was carried thither by converts from among them. It appears also from this epistle that Paul had laboured there, and probably with considerable success; but that by some means he had been hurried thence before he could order the state of the churches in a regular manner.

The commission entrusted to Titus in Crete appears to have been peculiarly difficult. Although nature had endowed this island with all that could tend to render man happy, and the inhabitants had formerly been renowned for the wisdom of their constitution and their laws, long before this time the state of law and of morals had sunk very low. The character of the people was unsteady, insincere, and quarrelsome: they were notoriously given to licentiousness and intemperance. Some of the Jews who had settled among them seem to have been regarded by the Apostle as more dangerous in many respects than the natives themselves.

517. Contents of the Epistle.—There is a striking resemblance between this epistle and the First Epistle to Timothy; and they are generally supposed to have been written about the same time. This epistle is particularly remarkable, as compressing into a very short compass a large amount of instruction, embracing doctrine, morals, and discipline. Its contents are as follows:—

After an apostolic salutation, declaring the object for which Paul had invested Titus with special authority, he describes the qualifications required in those who were to be ordained to the ministry; and which were the more necessary on account of the dangerous principles of the false teachers whom they had to oppose, and the general character of the Cretans (1). He next describes the instructions which were to be given to various classes of persons, enjoining upon the aged and the young the virtues which ought severally to distinguish them; exhorting Titus (himself a young man) to set a pattern, in his own conduct, of the virtues he was to inculcate; teaching servants to be obedient and faithful; for the salvation of the gospel was designed for all orders and classes of mankind, making them holy in this life, and preparing them for a higher and better (2). Titus is then instructed to enjoin obedience to rulers, and a peaceable and gentle behaviour to all men; remembering their own former sinfulness, and their salvation through the free grace of God. The

indispensable obligation which believers are under to excel in good works is insisted upon; cautions are given against engaging in frivolous inquiries and unprofitable disputations; and after some other brief directions to Titus, the epistle is closed with salutations and a benediction (3).

It is very observable in this epistle that those of the *humblest* rank are exhorted to *adorn* the gospel (2[10]), and that while our salvation is ascribed exclusively to grace (2[11]), to the 'kindness and love of God our Saviour' (3[4]), this fact is made the ground of most urgent exhortations to holiness (2[14] 3[8]).

On the duties Christians owe to civil government, compare Tit 3[1] Ro 13[1–10] 1 Pet 2[13–17] 2 Pet 2[10] Ju [8].

518. Key-words: special phrases and passages. — Prominent among the leading words of the epistle is that of *Saviour*. The word occurs six times in the three chapters, 1[3.4] 2[10.13] 3[4.6]: of these instances three (1[3] 2[10] 3[4]) refer to God; 2[13] is of uncertain application. See also 2[11]. 'Sound' or 'healthy' doctrine is another characteristic expression (as in 1 Tim) 1[9.13] 2[1.2.8]. 'Sober- (or "sound-") minded' (*σώφρων* and its derivatives) occurs 1[8] 2[2.4.5.6.12]. 'Good works' as the practical issue of faith is a recurrent phrase, 2[7.14] 3[1.8.14]. Noteworthy also the quotation from a heathen poet descriptive of the Cretan character, 1[12]; and the two doctrinal summaries, 2[11–14] and 3[4–7].

Second Epistle to Timothy

Rome, A.D. 67 *or* 68.

519. When written.—This epistle was written when Paul was a prisoner at Rome (see 1[8.16] 4[6]); during his *second* captivity, not long before his martyrdom. That it was not written during his first imprisonment may be gathered in part from the absence of several who were with him then (see Phil 1[1] Col 1[1] Philem [1]: compare also 4[10.11] with Col 4[10.14]); and from the difference in the Apostle's expectations, which were now fixed upon a speedy decease (compare 4[6] with Phil 1[25] 2[24] Philem [22]); as well as from his circumstances of increased restriction and greater solitude (compare 1[17.18] with Ac 28[30.31] and Phil 1[13]). But more decisive evidence is afforded by several

incidental allusions to events which had clearly occurred not long before this letter was written. Mention is made of a cloak and books left at Troas (4^{13}), which Paul had not visited for five years before his first imprisonment at Rome; of Trophimus, who had been left sick at Miletus (4^{20}), but who had been with the Apostle at Jerusalem at the time of his first apprehension, Ac 21^{29}; of Erastus as having stayed at Corinth (4^{20}), where Paul had not been since his visit there five years before, accompanied by Timothy, Ac 20^{4}. All these circumstances point to a date later, probably by two years, than that of his first epistle. Such incidental allusions are quite unlike the work of a forger. The interval between Paul's two imprisonments he seems to have spent in Asia, Philem ^{22}, afterwards in Macedonia, Phil 1^{25} 2^{24} 1 Tim 1^{3}; wintering in Nicopolis (of Epirus), Tit 3^{12}. Why he returned to Rome we are not told, but he was soon imprisoned as an evil-doer, 2 Tim 2^{9}; and among his accusers was Alexander, the coppersmith of Ephesus, 'who did him much evil,' 4^{14}.

If this view be correct, and this epistle was the last which the Apostle wrote before his martyrdom, it is invested with peculiar interest as containing the dying counsels of one who was not 'behind the chiefest of the Apostles.'

520. Purpose and contents of the Epistle.—One object of writing this epistle was to request Timothy to come to him speedily (4^{9}); because his other friends had left him —all but his faithful comrade Luke (see 4^{10-12}). He desired the presence of Timothy and Mark (the old alienation having been completely healed) that they might both cheer him in his trials, and aid him in the work of the ministry (see verse 11).

Commencing with strong expressions of affectionate regard, he addresses to his 'son Timothy' a series of earnest exhortations to steadfastness, diligence, and patience in his work; to courage and constancy under persecutions; and to the exercise of all personal

virtues; encouraging him by calling to mind his early training in piety and in the knowledge of the Scriptures; reminding him of some who had proved unfaithful in the hour of trial; warning both Timothy and his flock against false teachers, vain controversies, and false professors, the increase of whom is predicted; foretelling the grievous times which were yet to come; and enforcing his solemn charge to Timothy to be vigilant, faithful, and zealous in the discharge of his ministry, by the consideration that his own course was nearly run, and the time of his departure was at hand.

This epistle contains a noble view of the consolation which Christians enjoy in the midst of suffering, and in the prospect of death, 1^{9-18} 2^{9-13} $4^{6-8.16-18}$. The holiest spiritual affection to God and Christ is not only consistent with human friendships, but productive of them, 1^{2-5} $4^{9.21}$ Nowhere are privilege and duty, grace and holiness more closely combined, 2^{19}. In the approaching corruption of Christianity, Paul directs Timothy to the true conservative principle of its purity; not new miracles nor a fresh revelation, but the doctrine in which Timothy had been instructed, and those Scriptures which make the man of God perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works; cf. 3^{14-17} 2 Th 2 2 Pet 1^{15-21} $3^{1-4.14-17}$. How instructive that in the last writings of both Peter and Paul, nor less in the writings of John (Rev 22), and in the prospect of the heresies that were to prevail in the Church, we should be directed to the study of the Scriptures, and that we are thus led to expect no additional disclosure of the Divine will.

521. Key-words and special allusions.—The peculiarities of language are similar to those of the other Pastoral Epistles, but in this there is greater abruptness of style, as if strong, overflowing emotion affected the writer concerning memories of the past and apprehensions of the future. The motive of this epistle is the desire for Timothy's presence; its key-note is 'Hasten! Come! greatly desiring to see thee' (longing, R. V.), 1^{4}; 'Do thy diligence to come shortly,' 4^{9}; 'Do thy diligence to come before winter,' 4^{21}. Conspicuous in this epistle are the personal allusions; no fewer than twenty-three names being mentioned. Much interest attaches to that of Onesiphorus, and the expression of hope concerning him, 1^{18}; also to the mention of the grandmother and mother of Timothy, and the references to Demas, Luke, and Mark. The meaning of Paul's request concerning his cloak (φελόνης), books, and parchments is much disputed, and the interpretations of the commentators curiously inventive. Another of the 'faithful sayings' appears in this epistle, 2^{11-13}, and among its memorable passages is that on the profitableness of inspired Scripture, 3^{16}, and the Apostle's triumphant retrospect of life, 4^{6-8}.

Epistle to the Hebrews

Written about A. D. 68.

522. The occasion and object of writing this epistle are not difficult to discover. The epistle was apparently addressed to *Hebrew Christians*[a], who appear to have been inhabitants of some particular city or region (see 13^{23}), and to have formed an organized society or church which had existed some time; having had pastors who had been removed by death (13^{7}); and having now teachers whom they are exhorted to obey. It has been generally assumed that they were resident in Palestine, either at Jerusalem or Cæsarea. Some considerations, however, favour the view that the epistle was addressed to the Jewish Christians at Alexandria (Wieseler, S. Davidson, &c.); other arguments are advanced to show it was intended for Jewish converts at Rome (Alford, Westcott, Farrar). An opinion has also found considerable support that at Antioch were the readers to whom it was originally sent. 'There alone,' argues the Rev. F. Rendall, following Hofmann, 'existed flourishing Christian churches founded by the earliest missionaries of the gospel; animated with Jewish sympathies; full of interest in the Mosaic worship, and glorying in the name of Hebrew; who nevertheless spoke the Greek language and used the Greek version of the Scriptures.'

523. Time and place of writing.—Where and when this epistle was written cannot be definitely determined. Only one, and that a doubtful indication of *place* is given, 13^{24}, 'They of Italy salute you,' which may mean those among whom the writer was at Rome, or it may mean certain Italians who were with the writer and sent greetings

[a] Some modern critics, however, argue for a strong Gentile element in the church.

to their fellow countrymen. Westcott, Farrar, and other authorities regard the place of writing as left in complete uncertainty. In reference to the date of the epistle it is generally agreed that it was written near, but not after the destruction of Jerusalem. The writer throughout speaks of the Levitical ritual as still in force. 'It is impossible,' as Prof. Marcus Dods observes, 'to suppose that a writer wishing to demonstrate the evanescent nature of the Levitical dispensation, and writing after the Temple services had been discontinued, should not have pointed to that event as strengthening his argument.'

524. Authorship.—The question as to the authorship of the epistle has given rise to a large amount of discussion. Though popularly ascribed to the Apostle Paul [a], great uncertainty has existed from the earliest times. Many arguments, external and internal, are adduced in favour of the Pauline authorship.

1. Those to whom the epistle was sent must have known the writer (see 10^{34} $13^{18.19.23}$): and in preserving and circulating it could hardly fail to communicate their knowledge. Now the *early* Fathers of the Eastern and Alexandrian Churches, in the second and third centuries, tell us that the 'ancients,' who must have been contemporary with those who received the original, if not the same persons, had handed it down to them as a writing of Paul's. And the most learned among them, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Eusebius, though sensible of some difficulties and doubts on the point, held this testimony to be conclusive. Clement, however, regards it as really a translation by Luke from a Hebrew (? Aramaic) original signed by Paul [b], a theory now universally and rightly rejected; while Origen is of opinion that 'the thoughts are the thoughts of the Apostle, but the language and the composition are those of one who recalled from memory and, as it were, made notes of what was said by his master'; adding 'Who wrote the epistle God only knows with certainty.'

2. The Pauline authorship is corroborated by the author's intimate

[a] The heading in the Authorized and Revised Versions, 'The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews' (Stephens, not Elzevir), is, of course, not authoritative. The American Revision omits Paul's name.

[b] Eusebius, however, holds that the translation was made by Clement of Rome, whose Letter to the Corinthians, indeed, shows an intimate acquaintance with this epistle.

acquaintance with the Jewish system—so worthy of the disciple of Gamaliel; and by his sympathizing interest in the salvation of the Jewish people—so like that which is expressed in Ro 9, 10, 11 and Phil 3.

3. The few personal allusions found in the epistle are all perfectly compatible with what we know of the history of Paul.

4. Nor is there anything in the peculiarities of style and treatment of the subject that cannot be satisfactorily reconciled with Paul's other epistles. If found to differ from them in the rhetorical length of words and finish of sentences, it is only the more like his speeches recorded by Luke. So regular a composition would naturally vary in manner from letters of a different character, written under different circumstances. Yet the careful reader may sometimes find the concise expressions, abrupt transition, reasonings addressed to the latent thoughts and objections of the readers, and the occasional involutions and long parentheses, resulting from the kindling of soul and exuberance of feeling, which characterize the Apostle's other writings. So that the internal as well as external evidence appears to support the opinion of the early Fathers, that the epistle is substantially Paul's; though he may have adopted occasionally, as some critics suppose, the phraseology of his companion Luke.

'There is unquestionably a sense in which Origen is right in saying that "the thoughts" of the epistle are the thoughts of Paul. The writer shows the same broad conception of the universality of the gospel as the Apostle of the Gentiles, the same grasp of the age-long purpose of God wrought out through Israel, the same trust in the atoning work of Christ and in His present sovereignty' (Westcott, *Introd.* p. lxxviii). Of modern commentators and biblical critics in favour of the Pauline authorship it will be sufficient to mention the eminent names of John Owen, Lardner, Bengel, Rosenmüller, Ebrard, Moses Stuart, Bloomfield, Kay, Hofmann.

On the other hand, to many and not less capable minds, it has seemed equally discernible that the difference in style and language in the Epistle to the Hebrews from that, for instance, of the Epistles to the Romans, Ephesians, and Philippians is such that there cannot be identity of authorship. Fundamentally the doctrine is the same, but a different tinge is given to its expression: it is that of the **Alexandrian** rather than the **Palestinian** school; there is a marked difference in the spirit and the manner of the citations from the Old Testament; of the twenty-nine direct quotations, all but three are from the Septuagint. Differences also may be noted in the method of argument and style of composition. 'The language of Paul is rugged, disjointed, and impetuous, while this epistle is distinguished by rhetorical skill, studied antithesis, even flow of faultless grammar

and measured march of rhythmical period' (Rendall). The strong personal element and character of Paul is altogether wanting here; nor would Paul, it is urged, who lays such stress on the fact that his gospel was not taught to him by any man, but by direct revelation (Gal 1), have classed himself among those who received the message of salvation from the personal disciples on the evidence of the miracles with which God confirmed their word, $2^{3.4}$. Nor is it after the manner of Paul, who always spoke of Timothy as his 'son,' to call him 'brother,' 13^{23}. For these and other reasons, it is now generally agreed that the epistle must be assigned to other than Pauline authorship.

The range of possibilities as to the authorship must, in any case, be limited to the Pauline circle: and the writer was one who could fittingly speak of Timothy as 'brother.' Luther's conjecture that it might be Apollos, based upon the description of him in Ac 18^{24-28} as a Hellenist Jew, has many supporters: among others, Tholuck, Bunsen, Kurtz, De Pressensé, Hilgenfeld, and Farrar. Another name to which prominence is given is that of Barnabas. Tradition as early as the days of Tertullian ascribed it to him, and much known of him gives weight to the supposition that is accepted as probable by Ullmann, Wieseler, Weiss, Renan, Zahn, Salmon, and Godet. Certain resemblances in style and tone of the epistle to words and idioms occurring in the Third Gospel and the Acts have suggested Luke as the author, and to him it is attributed by Calvin, Döllinger, Delitzsch, and others. It has been recently surmised that Priscilla may have written it, Ac 18^{26}. Paul places her name first, Ro 16^3 2 Tim 4^{19}, as though for some reason the more distinguished. So keenly disputed, however, are all these claims, that such authorities as Ewald, Grimm, Lipsius, S. Davidson are content to attribute the epistle to some Alexandrian Christian of name unknown. The glory of the authorship, like the name of the place where the epistle was written, and the locality of the readers to whom it was addressed must be left in complete uncertainty. But while such confession of ignorance is disappointing, it is really, as Bishop Westcott finely says, 'the confirmation of an inspiriting faith. We acknowledge the Divine authority of the epistle, self-attested and ratified by the illuminated consciousness of the Christian society; . . . and we confess that the wealth of spiritual power was so great in the early Church that he who was enabled to commit to writing this view of the fullness of the truth, has not by that conspicuous service even left his name for the grateful reverence of later ages.'

525. To whom addressed.—Regarding the community to which the epistle was primarily addressed, there are brief

allusions which may direct, if they cannot wholly decide our inquiry. That they were inhabitants of some particular city or region is indicated in 13^{23}. That they formed an organized society or church, which had existed for some time, having had pastors who had been removed by death, appears, as already observed, from 13^{7}; and that they had recognized teachers to whom obedience was due, is implied in 13^{17}. But these remarks would almost equally apply to Jewish Christians in Palestine (as in Jerusalem or Cæsarea) and to those of the Dispersion. The authority and value of the letter is plainly irrespective of the condition of any particular church. For everywhere Christians of Hebrew descent were exposed to the danger of falling back into Judaism, or of attaching too much importance to the ancient Law. The writer, accordingly, sets before them the supreme authority, the peculiar sanctions, and the transcendent glory of the Christian dispensation, as concurring to render unbelief the more inexcusable, and apostasy the more criminal and fatal.

It is worthy of remark how the whole reasoning was fitted to those for whom the epistle was written. Addressing *Jews*, the writer exhibits with due prominence all that they justly venerate; and draws all his illustrations ($12^{16.18}$ $13^{2.10.12.14}$) and examples of what is noble and excellent (11) from their own records and history. When about to make a statement at variance with Jewish views and feelings, he cautiously prepares their minds for it (5^{11}); and he constantly reasons upon their own principles. The Jews had looked upon themselves as especially favoured in possessing a Divine revelation which appointed Moses as the lawgiver, Aaron and his race as the priests, and all the Temple rites as the worship of God. The writer does not overlook this peculiarity; but, accommodating to it his line of proof, shows that the Christian faith is but the completion of their own.

526. Outline.—This epistle may be divided into two principal parts: the *first*, intended to explain the meaning, and prove the inferiority of the Jewish dispensation: the *second*, to confirm and comfort Jewish believers in their religious profession.

1. Having noticed that the Mosaic and the Christian dispensation both proceed from the same Divine Author, the writer shows the surpassing excellency of the latter, as being introduced by the Messiah. (1) Greater than *prophets*, and even than *angels*; notwithstanding His humiliation unto death, which, so far from diminishing His glory, was the very means of accomplishing His great work of redemption (1-2). (2) Superior to *Moses*, their venerated lawgiver, who nevertheless was but a servant. Here the writer solemnly warns the Hebrew Christians, lest they should lose through unbelief that present rest and final glory, of which the Canaan into which *Joshua* had led their forefathers was but a type ($3\ 4^{1-13}$). (3) Then, as the Jews rightly attached the highest importance to their priesthood and sacrifices, he expatiates at length upon the superior excellence and efficacy of the *priesthood and sacrifice of Christ*; shows that the necessary qualifications of a high-priest, namely, that he should be appointed by God and able to sympathize with men, were found in the Lord Jesus ($4^{15,16}\ 5^{10}$): and having cited from the prophetic Scriptures a declaration concerning the supreme and eternal priesthood of the Messiah as typified by Melchisedec, he interrupts his argument with a reproof to those whom he addressed for their small proficiency in Christian knowledge; adding warnings and encouragements (5^{11}-6). Then, returning from this digression, he compares the priesthood of Christ with that of the Jewish high-priests in several particulars (7, 8). He next illustrates the emblematical and temporary nature of the Levitical services, which are realized in Christ; compares the ministrations of the high-priest in the worldly sanctuary with the intercession of Christ in the presence of God above; and contrasts the merely typical virtue of the oft-repeated Jewish sacrifices with the intrinsic and perpetual efficacy of the one perfect and all-sufficient propitiation ($9\ 10^{1-18}$).

2. Upon this reasoning the practical application is grounded. After a general exhortation to steadfastness in faith, hope, and mutual encouragement, the writer points out the aggravated guilt and awful issue of apostasy. Then, having reminded the Hebrew believers of their fortitude and faithful adherence under former trials, he shows the indispensable necessity, in order to their perseverance and salvation, of maintaining the life of *faith* (10^{19-25}). After describing the nature of faith, he proves it to have been the main principle of religion in every age; and illustrates its powerful operation and triumphant efficacy in a long line of heroes, martyrs, and confessors, from Abel to

the close of the Old Testament dispensation ; and above all in Jesus Christ Himself, Whose temptations and sufferings were far beyond theirs (11 12^{1-3}). He further encourages them by reminding them that their afflictions were but the discipline of a Father's hand, and designed for their ultimate good (12^{4-11}) ; enjoins upon them tender mutual consideration and watchfulness ; warns them against bartering, like Esau, spiritual privileges for present gratifications (12^{12-17}) : stimulates them, by contrasting the terrific material splendours of the Mosaic Law with the solemn but cheering spiritual glories of the gospel; and infers that, in proportion to the magnitude of their privileges, would be the danger of neglecting them (12^{18-29}).

In conclusion, he gives specific precepts on various practical duties, and closes with salutations and a beautifully comprehensive benediction embodying the chief theme of the epistle—the 'everlasting covenant' and the dignity and glory of Jesus the Mediator (13^{1-25}).

527. Characteristic words and special passages.—'The keynotes of the epistle,' says Dean Farrar, 'are the phrases "by how much more," and "a better (*κρείττων*) covenant."' This word *better*, he notes, occurs in this epistle no fewer than thirteen times; whereas elsewhere it only occurs twice in St. Peter, and three, or perhaps four, times in St. Paul. See 1^4 6^9 $7^{7.19.22}$ 8^6 9^{23} 10^{34} $11^{16.35.40}$ 12^{24}.

Other leading words which indicate the characteristics of the epistle are *Priest* and *Faith*. The former, with its compounds, occurs upwards of thirty times. Of faith there is the grand and comprehensive description in 11^{1-3}, with the series of illustrations drawn from the Old Testament that form what has well been called 'the Hymn of Faith.'

Setting aside the features which this epistle shares with one or another of the New Testament writings, it is observable that many words occur, not found elsewhere in the apostolic writings, a full list of which is given in Thayer's *Grimm's Lexicon* ; see also Bishop Westcott's article on 'Hebrews' in Smith's *Dict. Bibl.*, revised edition. A noticeable characteristic of the style is its literary and rhetorical finish. Of this the writer just referred to observes : 'it is not unlike that of the Book of Wisdom, but it is nowhere marred by the restless striving after effect which not unfrequently injures the beauty of that masterpiece of Alexandrine Greek.'

On the use in this epistle of the word 'eternal,' it has been pointed out that 'St. John, in his Gospel and epistles, uses this word twenty-three times, but invariably to qualify *life* ; and with him it is rather the combination than the adjective which is characteristic. But in Hebrews *αἰώνιος* is used far more significantly, though less frequently. Jesus is Author of "eternal" salvation (5^9), i. e. of final salvation, which has no peril beyond ; all that salvation can mean is secured by

Him. The elements of Christianity include preaching on "eternal" judgement (6^2), i. e. a judgement which has the character of finality, from which there is no appeal, beyond which there is no fear or no hope. Christ has obtained "eternal" redemption for us (9^{12}); not a redemption like that which was annually achieved for Israel, and which had to be annually repeated, as though its virtue faded away, but a redemption the validity of which abides for ever. Christ has offered Himself through "eternal spirit" (9^{14}), i. e. in Christ's sacrifice we see the final revelation of what God is, that behind which there is nothing in God; so that the religion which rests on that sacrifice rests on the ultimate truth of the Divine nature, and can never be shaken. Those who are called receive the promise of the "eternal" inheritance (9^{15}), not an earthly Canaan, in which they are strangers and pilgrims, and from which they may be exiled, but the city which has the foundations, from which God's people go no more out. And, finally, the blood of Christ is the blood of an "eternal" covenant (13^{20}), i. e. in the death of Christ a religious relation is constituted between God and men which has the character of finality. God—if it may be so expressed—has spoken His last words. He has nothing in reserve, the foundation has been laid of the kingdom which can never be removed. It is this conception of absoluteness or finality in everything Christian which dominates the book.'—*The Death of Christ*, by James Denney, D.D. (1902), pp. 207, 208.

The Seven 'Catholic Epistles.'

528. We have now arrived at the epistles called **Catholic** or **General**, viz. those ascribed, respectively, to James, Peter, John, and Jude. The title of this group is of ancient origin, dating from the second century, and is usually supposed to have been given to distinguish these epistles from those of Paul addressed either to separate churches, or directly to individuals. Strictly speaking three only are general in their character, viz. 2 Peter, 1 John, and Jude. The objection that the Second and Third of John certainly can lay no claim to the title 'general' is regarded by Dr. Gloag as met by the assertion that these epistles were considered merely as an appendix to the principal epistle. Of the title *catholic* he says, 'In process of time it became a technical

term, used to designate that group of epistles as distinguished from the other three groups of writings in the New Testament, viz. the Gospels and Acts, the Pauline Epistles, including Hebrews, and the Apocalypse; and thus lost in a measure its primary meaning.'

General Epistle of James

Jerusalem A. D. 45 or 62.

529. The Writer.—There were two Apostles named *James* or Jacob; one of whom was the son of Zebedee and the brother of John, and was put to death by Herod Agrippa, as related in Ac 12^2; the other, called James the Less, or the Little (Mk 15^{40}), probably in allusion to his stature, was the son of Alphæus or Clopas (see Mt 10^3 Mk 3^{18} Ac 1^{13} Lu 24^{18}).

The latter of these has been generally supposed to have written the epistle. That James 'the brother of the Lord' was the author is held with practical unanimity by Biblical scholars. But whether the two were identical has been gravely doubted. Those who hold the affirmative read 'brother' as 'cousin,' and regard Mary the wife of Clopas as sister of Mary the mother of Jesus, a double unlikelihood; and modern opinion inclines to the belief that 'the Lord's brother' was not one of the Twelve. The question has been fully discussed by Bishop Lightfoot (*Galatians*, Diss. ii. p. 241), and by Dr. J. B. Mayor (*Epistle of St. James*, Introd.), and the conclusion seems fairly established that this James, known as 'James the Just,' was a son of Joseph and Mary, converted after the Lord's Resurrection, and subsequently chief pastor of the church in Jerusalem: see Mk 6^3 Jn 7^5 1 Cor 15^7 Ac 12^{17} 15^{13} 21^{18} Gal 2^9. The martyrdom of this James in Jerusalem is recorded by Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 9. 1, and by Hegesippus the ecclesiastical historian (*apud Euseb.* ii. 23).

Date of the Epistle.—Indications there are that this epistle was written at a very early date. Many recent authorities regard it as the earliest of all the epistles, and assign it to about A. D. 45 (Neander, Alford, Salmon, Weiss,

Plumptre, Gloag, Mayor). They argue that the epistle could not have been written after the council at Jerusalem without some allusion to what was then decided; and, further, because the non-recognition of Gentile Christians in the use of the term 'synagogue' (2^2) for a place of Christian worship, the expectation of the speedy coming of Christ, and the marked absence of anything like developed Christian doctrine are regarded as indications of an early date. Those who assign a later date to the epistle regard it as probably written by James shortly before his martyrdom, A. D. 62 or 63, and as designed to correct certain perversions of Paul's doctrine of justification by faith (Bleek, Ewald, Pfleiderer, Wordsworth, Farrar).

The letter, it is noteworthy, is addressed to Christians in the twelve tribes of the Dispersion (R.V.).

530. Contents.—As they were in trying circumstances, the inspired writer begins with encouragements and counsels specially suited to their condition (1^{1-15}). He then describes the nature of true religion, in its origin, and in its effects upon the heart and the conduct (1^{16-27}); enjoins sincere and impartial love, without reference to outward condition and circumstances (2^{1-13}); and exposes the hypocrisy of the man who pretends to have faith, while his works do not answer to his words; quoting Scripture examples to show that the faith which God had approved had been always evidenced by works (2^{14-27}). Then, to check some prevailing evils arising from a fondness for becoming teachers and censors, he gives cautions and rebukes on those subjects. He exhibits, in a series of striking metaphors, the evils of an unbridled tongue; and contrasts the disputatious, envious, and angry spirit of the schools of earthly wisdom with the pure, peaceful, gentle, and beneficent character of that which is of heavenly origin (3). He exposes the effects of the spirit of the world, as exhibited in the conduct of those who are under its influence; and exhorts to submission to God and resistance to the devil. He calls sinners and hypocrites to repent, and to humble themselves before God; and warns Christians against speaking evil, censuring, or sitting in judgement upon each other (4^{1-12}). He reproves the presumption of those who formed their worldly projects without any sense of their dependence upon God; and the covetousness and oppression of the rich (4^{13-17} 5^{1-6}). Then, returning to the suffering Christians, he encourages them to patience by the prospect of the Lord's coming;

cautions them against swearing; recommends prayer as the best resource in sorrow, and praise as the best expression of joy; gives special directions to the sick; enjoins mutual confessions of faults and intercessions for each other; the efficacy of which he illustrates in the case of Elijah; and, finally, urges the duty of seeking to save an erring brother; and shows the blessed consequence of such an effort where successful (5^{7-20}).

The epistle well illustrates the importance of comparing Scripture with Scripture. According to James, Abraham was justified 'by works' (2^{21}); according to Paul, 'by faith' (Ro 4^{9}). Yet there is no contradiction, but a deep interior harmony. This, unfortunately, Luther could not see, when he called the epistle 'straw.'

Eusebius speaks of this epistle as at first questioned in the Church. In the East, however, it was received from the beginning; and its canonicity was at length universally acknowledged. See Jerome, Augustine, and the Council of Carthage, A.D. 397.

531. Key-words and unusual expressions.—'Wisdom' is one of the key-words of this epistle, and its style may be compared with that of the wisdom literature (*Chokhmah*) of the Old Testament. See 1^{5-8} and 3^{13-18} for the enumeration of the qualities of false wisdom and the true. Note likewise the prominence given to faith and works; to prayer, 1^{5-7} 4^{8} 5^{13-18}; to temptation, $1^{2,12,13,14}$; and, notwithstanding the severity of the style of address in the epistle, the constant recurrence of the word 'brethren.' There are close resemblances between the epistle and our Lord's Sermon on the Mount.

Among peculiar and unusual expressions are—'driven by the wind and tossed,' 1^{6}; 'a doubleminded man' (*ἀνὴρ δίψυχος*), literally a two-souled man, 'unstable,' 1^{8}; 'scorching wind' (*καύσων*), 1^{11}; 'cannot be tempted' (*ἀπείραστός ἐστι*), 1^{13}; 'the Father of lights,' 1^{17}; 'shadow of turning' (*τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα*), i. e. shadow caused by turning, 1^{17}; 'shudder,' 2^{19}; 'the wheel of nature' or 'of birth' (*τροχὸς τῆς γενέσεως*), 3^{6}; 'heaviness' (*κατήφεια*), literally the downcast look of sorrow, 4^{9}; the exclamation 'Go to' (*ἄγε*), 5^{1}, or 'come, come now,' employed to call attention; 'rusted' or tarnished, 5^{3}.

Of special passages observe that in ch. 1 on the sources of evil and of good in man, and that on respect of persons; with the famous passage on justification in ch. 2; and in ch. 3 on the responsibility of speech, and the qualities of the earthly wisdom and the wisdom from above.

First Epistle General of Peter

'Babylon,' c. A. D. 64.

532. The Writer.—Peter, whose original name was Simeon or *Simon*, was a native of Bethsaida, on the Sea of Galilee; and the son of Jonas (or John, R. V.), whence he is called *Bar-jonah* (R. V.), Mt 16^{17}. At the time of his first appearance in the gospel history he was married, and living at Capernaum, Mk $1^{29,30}$; and, like the sons of Zebedee, followed the occupation of a fisherman. He was brought to Jesus by his brother Andrew, who had been a disciple of John the Baptist, but was led by his master's testimony to attach himself to the Divine Teacher. For some time after this, the two brothers continued to follow their business, until they were summoned by our Lord to be in constant attendance upon Him, Mt 4^{18-20}; after which they were His devoted followers.

The numerous facts related of Peter during his attendance upon our Saviour throw much light upon his character at that period. His sincere piety, ardent attachment to his Master, and zeal for His honour, seem to have been blended with rashness and inconstancy; but, after his fall and restoration, and when 'endued with power from on high,' a great change is observable in him. So that he fully justifies the appellation which our Lord had prophetically bestowed on him, calling him *Cephas* or *Petros*; the former an Aramaic, the latter a Greek word, both signifying a *stone* or *rock*. Immediately after the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, Peter was honoured by being commissioned to open the gates of the kingdom of heaven first to the Jews, and afterwards, in the case of Cornelius and his family, to the Gentiles.

These facts do not imply that he had any supreme dignity; while Mt 23^{8} Gal 2^{2} plainly prove that he had not—a conclusion which the testimony of antiquity confirms.

His Later Life.—Of the latter part of Peter's life nothing is known with certainty; but it is supposed that, after his visit to Antioch, mentioned Gal 2^{11}, he remained at

Jerusalem for some years, and then visited Syria and the countries mentioned in the inscription of this epistle, which he wrote when he had gone into the Parthian empire. It is said by some that he afterwards went to Rome and was there put to death by crucifixion, in fulfilment of the prophecy of our Lord respecting him, Jn $21^{18.19}$. Others maintain that he died in Babylonia. Both parties, however, agree that he was put to death in Nero's reign, in the persecutions excited by that emperor.

His alleged residence in Rome.—Three different opinions have been maintained as to whether Peter ever was at Rome. By some, especially by Roman Catholic historians, it is alleged that Peter was for twenty-five years in Rome, and that he was bishop of the church there. By others it is denied that he was ever at Rome at all; while by a third class of writers it is admitted that the Apostle may possibly have gone to Rome, a short time before his death, in the brief interval between the date of Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy and his martyrdom. The last, considering the weight of traditionary testimony, seems to be the most probable opinion. The subject of Peter's connexion with Rome is fully discussed in Farrar's *Early Days of Christianity*, in Dr. Gloag's *Introduction to the Catholic Epistles*, and in Dr. Chase's article on Simon Peter in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*.

This epistle is generally assigned to between A. D. 64 and 67, the latter being the date of the traditional martyrdom of Peter, and the former subsequent to the epistles of Paul to the Romans and to the Ephesians, with the language and arguments of which Peter was evidently acquainted.

533. Destination of the Epistle.—This epistle was addressed to the Jewish Christians of 'the Dispersion' throughout the different provinces of Asia Minor; yet not altogether without reference to the numerous Gentile converts which those churches contained (1^{14} 4^{3}). It appears to have been written from 'Babylon' (5^{13}), which some have supposed to be a mystical name for Rome.

This notion has been favoured not only by writers of the Church of Rome, but by numerous Protestant authorities, e.g. Lardner,

Olshausen, Hofmann, Ewald, Schaff, Salmon, Cook, Farrar, Ramsay, and Moffatt. Early ecclesiastical writers accepted the interpretation, regarding it as confirmed by the name of Babylon being applied to Rome in the Book of Revelation (14^8). Further, there is no definito information that Peter ever was in Babylon, nor of a Christian church existing there. On the other hand, there is no conclusive evidence that at the time the epistle was written the name Babylon was ever given to Rome; nor can any conclusive reason be assigned why such a name should at that time be applied to it; or why Peter should choose a figurative name, which, though adapted to a symbolical style, is plainly unsuited to epistolary writing. In the opinion, therefore, of Erasmus, Calvin, Bengel, Neander, Lightfoot, Pearson, Alford, &c., it has appeared most reasonable to take the name as it stands for Babylon on the Euphrates. Others, amongst them Hatch, Gloag, Dods, regard it as still an open question where the epistle was written. Certainly the order of the names in 1^1 is rather that in which they would appear from the west (Rome) than from the south-east (Babylon).

534. Its character and contents.—This epistle is well described by Leighton, as 'a brief and yet very clear summary, both of the consolations and instructions needful for the encouragement and direction of a Christian in his journey to heaven; elevating his thoughts and desires to that happiness, and strengthening him against all opposition in the way, both that of corruption within, and temptation and afflictions from without. The heads of doctrine contained in it are many; but the main that are most insisted on are these three, *faith*, *obedience*, and *patience*; to establish in believing, to direct in doing, and to comfort in suffering; often setting before those to whom he wrote the matchless example of the Lord Jesus, and the greatness of their engagements to follow him.'

The general object of the epistle is stated in 5^{12}, and the whole may be divided into two parts, exclusive of the salutation ($1^{1.2}$), introduction ($^{3-12}$), and conclusion ($5^{13.14}$).

1. General exhortations to love and holiness (1^{13}-2^{10}).

Antitypes of Judaism.—In this portion of the epistle it is especially shown how the distinctions and privileges of the ancient Church are not lost, but reproduced in a higher form, and conferred upon all

believers. They are a *chosen generation*, and their election is in Christ, 1^2; they have a *land of promise*, incorruptible and unfading, as their 'inheritance,' 1^4; they are a people *for God's own possession*, 2^9; the *Temple* remains, a spiritual house, with Christ the corner-stone, $2^{4.5}$; they have an *Altar* and a *Sacrifice*, the precious blood of Christ, $1^{18.19}$; while they themselves are a *holy* and *royal Priesthood*, $2^{5.9}$; and the *Prophets* themselves wrote and spoke for the Christian Church. There are in this epistle proportionally more quotations from the ancient Scriptures than in any other book of the New Testament.

2. Particular exhortations on specific duties (2^{11}–5^{12}).

While the epistle has thus a practical design, it is as evangelical as if it had been chiefly doctrinal. It points everywhere to Christ; to His atonement foretold by prophets, contemplated by angels appointed before the foundation of the world; to His resurrection, ascension, and gift of the Spirit; His example as a suffering Saviour, and the awful solemnities of the last judgement. Like Paul, he urges the doctrines of the gospel as the great motives to holiness and patience; like him he descends to the enforcement of every relative duty, while giving the most exalted view of our privileges as believers in Christ.

His honourable notice of Paul (2 Pet 3^{15}), who had publicly reproved him, and recorded that reproof in his Epistle to the Galatians, to whom Peter himself was now writing, Gal 2^{11} 1 Pet 1^1 2 Pet 3^1, is a manifestation of true humility. He illustrates in this way his own precept, 1 Pet 5^5, and had clearly not forgotten the lessons of the last days of our Lord. His explicit reference to Christ as the true corner-stone of the Church, 2^{4-7}, seems to betoken allusion to the name which had been conferred upon him, and by anticipation to refute the inference drawn from it that *Peter* is the foundation.

535. Leading ideas and peculiarities of expression.—*Hope* is the leading idea and subject of the epistle. Hope founded on the Resurrection; not a *dead*, but an energizing hope, such as the Resurrection had wrought in the Apostles by dispelling their despair (Farrar); a hope life-giving, and looking to life (De Wette), of which the Resurrection was 'not only the exemplar, but the efficient cause.' Cf. $1^{3.6.7.9.11.13}$, &c. With this is linked the duty of patience under suffering and trial, $1^{6.7}$ 2^{19-21} 3^{13-18} $4^{12.13.19}$.

Another prominent feature of the epistle is the use of the term *grace* as the designation of the whole Christian revelation, corresponding with the epistle 'to the Ephesians.' See $1^{10.13}$ 3^7 4^{10} 5^{12}.

The practical nature of the epistle is seen in the frequency of the expression *to do good*, $2^{14.15.20}$ $3^{6.11.13.16.17}$ 4^{19}.

Many words, never or rarely used by other New Testament writers, occur in this epistle, which in their vividness of expression recall the

touches of graphic description, generally ascribed to Peter, in Mark's Gospel: 'That fadeth not away,' unwithering (ἀμάραντος), 1^4; amaranthine (ἀμαράντινος), 5^4; 'without respect of persons,' 1^{17}, cf. Ac 10^{34}. 'Spiritual milk which is without guile,' 2^2, R. V. spiritual, unadulterated milk (Farrar). 'An example' (ὑπογραμμός), 2^{21}, literally a copy traced by the master, over which the scholar was to write. 'A busybody' (meddler, R. V.) in other men's matters, 4^{15}, is the rendering of one expressive word (ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος) that indicates a man prying into and overseeing everybody's business but his own. Farrar translates it 'other people's bishop.' The title 'Chief-' or Arch-Shepherd applied to Christ, 5^4, is also peculiar to this epistle. So also the remarkable expression, 5^5 'Gird yourselves with humility,' literally as with a sort of frock or apron (ἐγκόμβωμα), worn especially by slaves to keep the under garment clean, the word used being ἐγκομβόομαι.

The passage 3^{17-22} contains thoughts and expressions peculiar to this epistle: Christ preaching to 'the spirits in prison' (ἐν φυλακῇ); baptism as the 'interrogation' (R. V. ἐπερώτημα) of a good conscience toward God.

Second Epistle General of Peter

Between A. D. 64 and 68.

536. Destination and Purpose of the Epistle.—The epistle is addressed to all believers (1^1), and especially to the same persons as the former (3^1). It was written not long before the Apostle's martyrdom (1^{14}), a circumstance that gives it a solemn interest.

As in the earlier epistle he exhorts to patience under persecution, so here he exhorts to perseverance in truth amidst prevailing error and practical infidelity. The best preservative is, as he tells them, progressive piety (1^{3-11}): decisive evidence of the truth of Scripture doctrine being given also by irrefragable testimony and fulfilled prophecy (1^{16-21}). In terms most energetic and awful he warns false teachers, and those who were beginning to yield to their seductions, of their guilt and danger (2^{1-22}), and assures

them that the second coming of the Lord, though long delayed, through long-suffering, is as certain as the fact of the Deluge (3^{1-3}). He then exhibits the bright side of the same truth, and bids Christians be diligent and holy (3^{14-18}). Appealing to Paul's teaching, in confirmation of his views, he marks how men had wrested his teaching so as to make it countenance most pernicious practices, an evil to be remedied not by neglecting those Scriptures, but by increased teachableness and humility ($3^{15,16}$).

Who were the heretics condemned in this epistle is not certainly known. Probably no definite sect is referred to, but corrupters of the Christian Church, whose errors subsequently developed into the various forms of reckless immorality and extravagant asceticism known as Antinomian gnosticism. Their licentious practices (2^{10-15}), their covetousness, their denial of the Lord (2^{1}), their promises of freedom (2^{19}) are clearly defined, and serve to connect the advocates of such views with those mentioned (in nearly the same terms throughout) by Jude and by John, Rev 2^{14}, &c.

537. Question of its authenticity.—The absence of reference to the epistle in the earliest Christian writers, and its enumeration among the Eusebian Antilegomena or disputed books (Part I, § 37), have given rise to grave doubts as to its Petrine authorship. Differences in tone and style from the first epistle have also caused its genuineness to be questioned even by such commentators as Calvin, Erasmus, Grotius, and in later times by Neander, Credner, Huther, Hatch, and Farrar. The large majority of commentators, including such recent authorities as Alford, Plummer, Cook, Lumby, Salmon, and Bigg, accept the epistle as a genuine work of Peter. With the points of difference between the epistles there are also remarkable points of resemblance. Similarity in style and sentiment is recognized in this and the first epistle, and also in the recorded speeches of Peter. The same striking peculiarities of pictorial expressions characteristic of Peter's utterances elsewhere appear here. Difference of purpose must also be noted, to account for difference in treatment of subject; the first epistle being chiefly hortatory and the second polemical. 'Besides,' observes Dr. Gloag, 'it is to be remembered that the Fathers of the fourth century, when the canon of the New Testament was fixed, had many more grounds to go upon than we possess . . . and it was only as the result of careful examination that any writing was admitted as part of the canonical Scriptures.'

Among the peculiarities of this epistle is the remarkable resemblance of certain passages, especially in the second chapter, to the **Epistle of Jude.** It is impossible to resist the conclusion, either that one writer drew from the other, or both from a common source, oral or documentary. The preponderance of opinion in modern times is that Jude was the original; so Neander, Credner, De Wette, Ewald, Lechler, and Reuss, and amongst English scholars Alford, Farrar, Plumptre, Eadie, and Salmon; while the opinion of Luther, Michaelis, Bengel, Stier, and Hengstenberg that Peter's is the earlier epistle has the support of Hofmann, Luthardt, Wordsworth, Plummer, Lumby, Marcus Dods, and Bigg. It is perhaps impossible to come to a definite conclusion on the question, nor indeed is it important.

538. Special words and phrases.—'Knowledge' (*γνῶσις* or *ἐπίγνωσις*) is the key-note of this epistle: cf. 1^{6} 2^{20} 3^{18}. This knowledge is the central point of the Christian life, both theoretically and practically considered. Interesting and important as a sign of identity in authorship of this and the first epistle is the recurrence of the word 'holy,' about fifteen times in all; eight times in the first, six times in the second epistle. In both epistles we meet with the word 'conversation,' i. e. manner of life, 1 Pet $1^{15.17.18}$ 2^{12} $3^{1.2.16}$ 2 Pet $2^{7.18}$ 3^{11}; also the remarkable term 'virtue' applied to God, 1 Pet 2^{9} 2 Pet 1^{3}. The same view of ancient prophecy is given in both epistles, cf. 1 Pet 1^{10-12} 2 Pet 1^{19-21} 3^{2}. The new birth by the word of God, 1 Pet 1^{22} 2^{2}, is found again in 2 Pet 1^{4}.

The same characteristic duplication of terms appears in the second epistle as in the first: 'precious and exceeding great promises,' 1^{4}; 'be not idle nor unfruitful,' 1^{8}; 'he is blind, seeing only what is near,' 1^{9}; 'daring, self-willed,' 2^{10}; 'spots and blemishes,' 2^{13}; 'the day of judgement and destruction,' 3^{7}; 'without spot and blameless,' 3^{14}; 'the ignorant and unstable,' 3^{16}.

Graphic expressions, words which call up a picture to the mind as we read them, abound in both epistles. The following are a few examples from the second epistle: 'One who cannot see afar' (*μυωπάζων*), 1^{9}, literally 'one who has his eyes tight closed,' either from intention or weakness of sight; 'tabernacle,' $1^{13.14}$, i. e. the body, as the tabernacle of the soul; 'eyewitness,' 1^{16}, frequently used by heathen writers of those who have been admitted by initiation into the highest mysteries of their religious worship; 'day-star' (*φωσφόρος*), 1^{19}, the light-bringer; 'feigned' (*πλαστός*), 2^{3}, that can be moulded or bent any way, plastic; 'to cast down to hell' (*ταρταρόω*), 2^{4}, to cast down to Tartarus; 'chains' or 'pits' (R.V. 'of darkness'), 2^{4}; 'turning into ashes' (*τεφρώσας*), 2^{6}; 'to vex' (*βασανίζειν*), 2^{8}, literally 'to put to the torture'; 'with a great noise' (*ῥοιζηδόν*), 3^{10}, but the word implies

the hustling of weapons, or the plash of many waters; 'with fervent heat' (*καυσόω*), 3^{10}; 'to wrest' (*στρεβλόω*) 3^{16}, literally 'to put on the rack.'

What have been called 'the retrospective allusions' in the language of the epistle should be noted as quite in accord with the simple, outspoken character of Peter, e. g. his reference to the narrative of the Transfiguration; his use of the words 'tabernacle,' 'decease,' literally 'exodus,' 1^{15}, cf. Lu 9^{31}, and of the fisherman's expression, 'to catch with a bait.' Thus he speaks (2^{14}) of '*beguiling* (literally "laying a bait for") unstable souls,' and 'they *allure* (set a bait) through the lusts of the flesh,' 2^{18}.

We treasure up the last words of great men. In the immediate prospect of martyrdom, holiness appears to Peter of the first importance, and steadfastness the greatest blessing. His last precept is, 'Grow in the grace and knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,' and his last testimony is to the Divinity of his Lord, 'To Him be the glory both now and for ever. Amen,' 3^{18} R. V.

General Epistle of Jude

cir. A. D. 67 or 68.

539. The Writer.—Jude (Judas), the author of this epistle, describes himself as the 'brother of James,' but does not tell us of which James. Amongst the Apostles there were two who bore this name—James the son of Zebedee, and James the son of Alphæus, Mt 10^3 Lu 6^{15}; and in addition to these, there was also James 'the brother of our Lord,' Gal 1^{19} (see Introd. to the Epistle of James).

Some identify the author of the present epistle with the Apostle 'Judas, not Iscariot,' Jn 14^{22}, known also as Lebbæus, Mt 10^3 (A. V.), and Thaddæus, Mt 10^3, though in Lu 6^{16} the R.V., according to the customary rendering of the idiom, has '*son* of James.' This was the opinion of the Fathers in general, and is adopted by Winer, Hofmann, Lange, Kiel, Tregelles, and Wordsworth. Others oppose this view, arguing that if Jude had been an Apostle, he would have spoken of himself as

such, instead of describing himself as the brother of some one else. Further, the reference in verse 17 seems to imply that the writer was not one of their number. More likely it is that the brothers, James, bishop of the church at Jerusalem, and this Judas, were the brethren of our Lord referred to in Mt 13[55]. This opinion now finds most acceptance amongst expositors.

Beyond such personal characteristics as are suggested by the epistle, little or nothing is known of Jude. One incident of interest, not about himself, but about his descendants, is related by Eusebius (*Eccles. Hist.* iii. 20, 32). Two of Jude's grandsons, it is said, were summoned before Domitian, for this emperor was as much alarmed at the appearance of Christ as Herod. He had heard they were of the royal family of David, and they admitted their descent. But when he learned that their whole property was only thirty-nine plethra of land, i. e. about nine acres, saw that their hands were hardened by labour, and heard that the kingdom which they expected was not to be in this present world, he dismissed them as simpletons whose cause need no longer be feared.

540. Purport, Contents, and Date.—The epistle is addressed to Christians in general, 'to them that are called, beloved in God the Father, and kept for Jesus Christ'; probably with special thought of Jewish Christians in Palestine, as the allusions in the epistle presuppose acquaintance not only with the Old Testament scriptures, but with Jewish traditions, as shown below. Reference has already been made (§ 537) to the remarkable resemblance between this epistle and the second chapter of Peter's second epistle: on the whole, it seems probable that Jude was the earlier.

About the year A. D. 67 or 68 may, then, be assumed as the probable date of the epistle. No reference appears in it to Jerusalem's overthrow, which assuredly would have been referred to among the instances cited of God's retributive justice had it occurred before this epistle was written. The description of the errors prevailing suggests a late rather than an early date in apostolic times for its composition.

The design of the epistle is clearly to guard the Christian Church against false teachers, who resolved all religion into speculative

belief and outward profession, and sought to allure the disciples into insubordination and licentiousness. The whole may be divided into two parts: the first descriptive of the punishment, verses 5-7; the second, of the character of these seducers, verses 8-19. To guard the disciples against being led astray by them, the Apostle refers to the Israelites who had perished in the wilderness, to the angels who had fallen from their original dignity, and the cities of the plain which had been made an example of Divine vengeance; and shows that a similar fate awaited those wicked seducers. He reminds them that it had been predicted that such persons should arise in the last period of the world; exhorts them to steadfastness and prayer, and to efforts for the salvation of others; and concludes with an ascription of praise to Him Who alone could preserve them from falling.

Ungodly men have many pleas to urge in arrest of judgement. 'They had experienced deliverance': but so had Israel, verse 5. 'They had lived near to God, and His favour had exalted them': so had the lost angels, verse 6. 'They but yielded to natural propensity': so did Sodom, verse 7. Thus may the Old Testament be used to illustrate the New, and facts to prove principles.

Extra-Biblical illustrations.—For purposes of illustration Jude, as Paul in certain instances (2 Tim 3^{8} Ac 17^{28} Tit 1^{12}), quotes from other than scriptural sources. The reference to the dispute between Michael and the devil about the body of Moses is said to be taken from *The Assumption* or *Ascension of Moses*, a Jewish apocalyptic work, written, it is supposed, about A. D. 50, fragments only of which are extant [a]. The Ethiopic *Book of Enoch*, quoted in verse 14, was well known in New Testament times, and coincidences of thought and language are found in some of the Pauline Epistles, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and in the Apocalypse. Its production is traced to the second and first centuries B. C. as belonging to a class of apocalyptic literature associated with the name of Enoch. The work consists of five parts or books, multifarious in character, and abounding in interpolations of presumably later date [b].

541. Expressions and allusions peculiar to this Epistle.—The following expressions, among others, are peculiar to this epistle:—'To contend earnestly for' (ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι), verse 3; 'our common salvation,' verse 3 (see R. V.), cf. Tit 1^{4}; 'the faith once for all (see R. V.) delivered to the saints,' verse 3; 'to creep in unawares,' 'privily' R. V. (παρεισδύνειν), verse 4; 'naturally' (φυσικῶς), verse 10;

[a] See Deane's *Pseudepigrapha*, p. 95; Gloag's *Introduction to the Catholic Epistles*, art. 'Jude.'

[b] See Bishop Lawrence's version, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 49; also Gloag, as above, Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, and Drummond's *The Jewish Messiah*.

'feasts of charity,' 'love-feasts' R. V. (*ἀγάπαι*), verse 12; 'whose fruit withereth' (*φθινοπωρινός*, autumnal), verse 12; 'wandering' (*πλανήτης*), verse 13; 'to keep from falling,' 'to guard from stumbling' R. V. (*ἀπταίστους*), verse 24; 'before all time' R. V. (*πρὸ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος*), verse 25.

The writer's fondness for triplets is noteworthy. Observe the threefold salutation and threefold benediction, verses 1, 2. Three examples of Divine retribution are cited, the unbelieving Israelites, the rebel angels, and the cities of the plain, verses 5–7. Three types of wickedness, Cain, Balaam, Korah, verse 11. Three classes of evil-doers, murmurers, discontented, self-willed, verse 16. Three exhortations to Christians, to pray, to keep, to look forward, verses 20, 21. Three modes of Christian service towards the erring (see R. V.), 'on some have mercy, who are in doubt'; 'some save, snatching them out of the fire'; 'on some have mercy with fear,' verses 22, 23. Doxology (R. V.) 'before all time, and now, and for evermore,' verse 25.

First Epistle (General) of John

Towards the close of the first century.

542. Character and Destination of the Epistle.—This sacred writing, though called an epistle, has more of the character of a discourse on the doctrines and duties of Christianity. It appears to have been addressed to believers generally, especially to Gentiles and residents in Asia Minor, among whom John himself had laboured ($2^{7.12-14.20-27}$). The writer had not deemed it necessary to prefix his name; but its remarkable similarity, both in matter and expressions, to the other writings of the Apostle John, confirms the testimony of the early Christians, and affords satisfactory evidence that he was its author. It was certainly written by an eyewitness of the person and labours of our Lord (1^{1-4} 4^{14}). It is commonly supposed to have been written from Ephesus, but at what precise date is uncertain; a late date is highly probable from the errors which are here condemned. Ewald suggests A. D. 90, and Prof. Ramsay A. D. 90–100.

A warning against prevailing errors.—It was evidently one object of this epistle to counteract errors already prevalent. Some, whose errors were those of the Ebionites and of Cerinthus, questioned the *Divine dignity* of our Lord, and denied Him to be the Son of God. These the Apostle calls deceivers and antichrist (2^{22} 4^{15} 5^{1}). Others denied His *humanity*, thus contradicting the real fellowship of Christ with men (Heb 2^{16} 4^{15}), and the reality of His death and propitiation. His incarnation was, as they held, but an appearance, and the story of His life a myth. This delusion the Apostle strongly denounces (4^{3}), and declares that he had himself felt with his hand the body of his Lord (1^{1}), and alludes in decisive terms to the water and blood from His pierced side (5^{6}). A third party seem to have held that it was enough to worship God with the spirit, and that the body might have all possible indulgence. This immoral creed the Apostle refutes by showing that every sin is real transgression (3^{4}); that fellowship with God purifies the Christian, and that by this purity only can we be recognized as His (2^{5} 3^{8-10} 4^{13} 5^{11}).

The errors which are thus rebuked early ripened into heresy, and their advocates were known by different names (see § 475, 3,) e. g. the 'Docetists,' who maintained that Christ had only an apparent body, not a real humanity; the 'Manicheans,' who regarded evil as an attribute of matter; and the 'Nicolaitans' (R.V.), whose tenets were of a licentious character. Whether these various forms of error had made such progress as to have formed defined sects at the time this epistle was written is doubtful; but its contents are such as refute these and similar theories, both of ancient and modern times, and in this respect it possesses peculiar value.

543. The principal truths enforced.—While the correction of prevalent error was clearly one aim of this epistle, it was not the only, perhaps not the chief aim. Other topics are introduced and discussed of the deepest interest, and to these the correction of error seems regarded as subordinate.

1. We are taught the true nature of fellowship with God (1^{3}). He is light (1^{5}) and love; and fellowship implies conformity to Him: *light*, and therefore man must be purified and redeemed (1^{7}–2^{2}): *light*, and therefore man must be holy (2^{3-7}): *love*, and therefore we must love one another (2^{27}). Let, however, Christ be denied, and all these blessings are lost (2^{22-24}).

2. We are taught the blessedness and duties of sonship. Not only fellowship, but adoption is our privilege in Christ; and again we are led to the same results. God is righteous: as His children we too must be righteous (2^{29}–3^{3}). Christ came to take away sin; and in Him is no sin; to Him we must be conformed (3^{4-10}). He gave His life for us, and herein His love is our model (3^{11-18}). Having His Spirit we shall share His other blessings (3^{19-24}). Again, let Christ be denied, in His human nature especially, and these blessings are lost (3^{19}–4^{6}).

3. He had begun with the truth that *God is light*, and thence shown what fellowship with Him and sonship involve; now he gives another view. *God is love* ($4^{7,8}$). Love is His essence, was manifested in the mission and character of His Son, and is the necessary condition of sonship (5^{21}). Love to God and one another, faith in Christ, such confidence as casts out fear, are all among the results which this revelation secures. Only let us truly believe that God gives eternal life, and that life in His Son (5^{11-13}), and we become holy and happy; we are forgiven and sanctified. Reject this truth or any part of it, and we are left without hope. Like the world we lie in wickedness (5^{18}).

Very beautiful is it to mark how from the holiness (light) and love of God the Apostle gathers the doctrine of propitiation, and proves the necessity of holiness. Compare 1^{5}–2^{11} and 4^{7-13}.

Charity and severity.—The general character of this epistle probably gave occasion to the opinion early entertained that John was of

a peculiarly affectionate disposition; and this opinion seems just. Yet none has spoken of false doctrine more sharply. The gentlest Christian may be a son of thunder (Mk 3^{17}) when Christ's honour is at stake; and charity may be exercised in denouncing sin as well as in loving the brethren.

The truth underlying the whole epistle is the necessity of holiness, as the evidence and fruit of faith, 1^{6} $2^{3-11.29}$ $3^{3-15.19.21.24}$ 5^{18}; compare Ro 8^{16} Jas 2^{17-26} Tit 1^{16} $2^{11.12}$ Eph 2^{10} Jn 15^{2}.

544. Leading words and phrases.—The leading truths of this epistle are 'God is light,' 1^{5}; 'He [God] is righteous,' 2^{29}; 'God is love,' 4^{8}.

Observe the emphatic repetition of the words and phrases 'truth,' $1^{6.8}$ $2^{4.21.27}$ 3^{19} 5^{6}; 'love,' 2^{15} 3^{1} $4^{7.8.16.17.18}$; 'light,' 'in the light,' $1^{5.7}$ $2^{9.10}$; 'being born of God,' $1^{3.9}$ 4^{7} $5^{1.4.18}$; 'we know,' 'ye know,' about twenty times; 'to keep His commandments,' $2^{3.4}$ 3^{22} 5^{3}; 'my children' (τεκνία), $2^{1.12.28}$ $3^{7.18}$ 4^{4} 5^{21}; 'little children' (παιδία), $2^{13.18}$; 'beloved,' 2^{7} (R.V.) $3^{2.21}$ $4^{1.7.11}$; 'I write' or 'I wrote,' $2^{12.13}$, &c.

Among expressions which occur only in this epistle note 'propitiation' (ἱλασμός), 2^{2} 4^{10}; 'anointing,' 'unction,' in a purely spiritual sense, $2^{20.27}$; 'antichrist,' $2^{18.22}$ 4^{3}, also in the second epistle verse 7, in the sense of one who claims to be Christ, or one opposed to Him, and such are all who deny that Jesus is Messiah (or Christ), or that the Messiah has come in the flesh. The same person or power is elsewhere referred to, 2 Th 2^{1-12} 1 Tim 4^{1-3} 2 Pet 2^{1}. Whether a lawless but impersonal power, a spirit opposed to Christianity, or some great power for evil yet to be manifested and gathered about a central personal agency is meant, cannot be determined.

Worthy of note as indications of identity in authorship are certain favourite words of the writer occurring in the Gospel, and reappearing in the epistle, e. g. 'light' and 'darkness,' 'life' and 'death,' 'love' and 'hate,' 'truth' and 'witness,' 'to have life' or 'eternal life,' 'to overcome the world,' &c.

On the textual questions in 5^{7-8}, see Part I, § 63.

Second Epistle of John

Written probably at Ephesus towards the end of the first century.

545. Letter to a Christian Lady.—Of the thirteen verses of this epistle, eight are in substance found in the

former letter; and it is concluded from the similarity of style and subject that both were written about the same time, and in reference to the same topics. It is addressed to a Christian lady and her children for the purpose of encouraging them to continue in the truth, and to avoid giving any countenance to deceivers.

Her name is supposed by Clement of Alexandria to have been Eclecta (ἐκλεκτή), a supposition that received the support of Grotius, Wetstein, Middleton, &c. Other expositors, Athanasius among those of early times, and S. Davidson, Alford, W. Alexander, and Dr. S. Cox of recent date, assert the rendering should be 'to the elect Kyria' (Κυρία); but according to the A. V., confirmed by the Revisers, neither word is a proper name, both are appellatives, and correctly translated 'the elect lady'; Luther, Beza, and in more recent years Lardner, Farrar, and Plummer, accept this interpretation. The opinion that it is not to an individual but to a church, or the Church in general, that the letter is addressed, is likewise an old one, held by Jerome, and in modern times it has the support of Bishop Lightfoot, Huther, Ewald, Salmon, Marcus Dods, Adeney. The reasons assigned for this opinion are that it accords with John's frequent use of symbolical or mystical expressions, and that the language of verses 10, 11, 13 is more applicable to a church than an individual, and especially because of the occurrence of a similar expression in 1 Pet 5^{13}, a doubtful reference however, as the allusion cannot be definitely determined. As it admits of no doubt that the third epistle is addressed to an individual, there can be no necessity to regard this letter other than in its most simple and obvious sense, as addressed to a Christian mother, probably a widow, for no mention is made of her husband, and dwelling most likely at Ephesus.

'The elder,' literally 'the presbyter' (ὁ πρεσβύτερος), the name assumed by the author of this and the succeeding epistle, is the same title as that by which Peter designates himself, 1 Pet 5^{1}, and may have been used in either an official, or in its primary, simple sense of one advanced in years. The view that there was another 'John the presbyter,' the author of these epistles, rests on a passage written by Papias, preserved by Eusebius (*Eccles. Hist.* iii. ch. 39), but there are strong reasons for believing that the presbyter John of Papias is the same as John the Apostle.

546. Its main topics and language.—An epistle so addressed shows with what vigilant affection the ministers of the gospel ought to cherish the piety of those whom they

have gained, and it shows no less the importance in the sight of God of the station of a Christian mother, and the earnestness with which she should interest herself in the religious welfare of her children.

Of the resemblance which this epistle bears to the first as evidence that the Apostle John was the writer, Bleek observes: 'Both epistles (the second and the third) present such an affinity with First John, in ideas, exposition, and language, both generally and in particulars, as to lead us to attribute them to the same writer; for this affinity cannot be explained as an imitation. The little that is peculiar to these epistles as distinct from the first epistle and the Gospel, is not of a character to warrant the supposition that they have come from a different hand, and is far outweighed by the points of resemblance.'

Special words.—In this short epistle of only thirteen verses, the word 'love' occurs four times, and 'truth' five times. The word 'commandment' is also repeated four times, and 'walking' thrice. These are all words of frequent occurrence in the other Johannean writings.

Third Epistle of John

Written probably at Ephesus about the close of the first century.

547. To whom addressed.—That the *Gaius* or *Caius*, to whom this epistle is addressed, was the person mentioned in Ro 16^{23} and 1 Cor 1^{14}, though not certain, is highly probable; as he appears to have been an eminent Christian, particularly distinguished for his hospitality to Christian evangelists or missionaries. The Apostle expresses his affectionate joy at this and other evidences of his piety; cautions him against one Diotrephes, noted for his ambition and turbulence; and recommends Demetrius to his friendship; deferring other matters to a personal interview.

This epistle is of special interest from the insight it affords us of the Christian churches in the closing years of the first century. 'It helps us,' observes Prof. S. D. F. Salmond, 'to see what these churches were, not as we idealize them, but in their actual everyday condition, with their excellences and defects, their noble and ignoble figures, their meek and their ambitious members, the errors into which they might be betrayed ; their varied, mixed, and stirring life. It shows us something, too, of their independence, of the kind of ministry that was in exercise among them, and their relation to it, of their order also and administration.'

Comparing these two epistles with that to Philemon, it is evident that the Apostles wrote as Apostles even in their private letters, and that, whatever the theme of their communications, they imparted to each a savour of Christ.

548. Characteristic words.—Short as this epistle is, it is not lacking in some of the characteristic words and expressions found in the Gospel and other writings of John, e. g. 'in truth,' verses 1, 3 ; 'to be of God,' 'to see God,' verse 11 ; 'to bear witness,' verses 5, 12. Words peculiar to it are 'to welcome' (*ὑπολαμβάνειν*), verse 8 ; 'love to have the pre-eminence' (*φιλοπρωτεύειν*), verse 9 ; 'to prate against' (*φλυαρεῖν*), verse 10.

CHAPTER XXI

THE REVELATION OF JOHN

Patmos, A.D. 68–70 *or* A.D. 95–96.

549. Place and date of writing.—This book is styled the *Apocalypse* or *Revelation* (i. e. the revealing or unveiling of that which has been hidden), as consisting of matters revealed *to* John *by* our Lord Jesus Christ. This took place when he was on Patmos, a small rocky island in the Ægean Sea. It is impossible to determine definitely whether John's banishment to this island was in the reign of Domitian or Nero. The generally accepted opinion, resting on the ancient and explicit testimony of Irenæus (A.D. 170), that John saw the vision 'towards the end of the reign of Domitian,' quoted by Eusebius, and repeated by Victorinus, Bishop of Pettau, towards the close of the third century, who wrote the earliest commentary extant on the Apocalypse, does not agree with the tradition preserved by Tertullian (A.D. 220), Jerome (A.D. 378), and others, that the banishment was in the reign of Nero.

A strong argument for the Neronic date is the difference in language between the Revelation and the Gospel of John, a difference so great that it can be satisfactorily accounted for only by the Gospel having been a later work by many years. The language of the Revelation is admittedly rugged: Greek and Hebrew constructions are strangely intermingled. In literary form it is very unlike the smooth Greek of the Gospel and epistles written by the Galilæan fisherman Apostle after living twenty-five or more years in Ephesus amid the influences of Greek culture and civilization. The contents of the Revelation, in many of the symbolical expressions and allusions, are such as agree

with the scenes of horror enacted at Jerusalem at the time of the great Jewish revolt, and with those of the persecutions under that monster of cruelty, Nero. The references to Jerusalem and the Temple in ch. 11 seem clearly to imply their existence at the time the book was written. The prominence given to the expectation of Christ's speedy second coming also points to an early date. With various shades of modification, the evidence that the Revelation was written before the destruction of Jerusalem has satisfied such writers as Wetstein, Neander, Stier, Auberlen, Ewald, Bleek, S. Davidson, Düsterdieck, Stuart, F. D. Maurice, Plumptre, Lightfoot, Westcott, Farrar, and Salmon.

On the other hand, in addition to the traditionary belief, there are internal indications of a later than the Neronic date. The ecclesiastical organization of the churches addressed in the opening chapters shows that they had been founded a considerable time; their state of spiritual declension, as compared with the warm commendation bestowed by Paul in his Epistle 'to the Ephesians,' A.D. 62, the use of the expression 'the Lord's Day,' instead of the earlier and current phrase 'the first day of the week,' also that of 'the synagogue of Satan' and the indications of a more widely-spread persecution than that of the time of Nero, point to the time assigned by Irenæus, somewhere about A.D. 95-96. Such is the opinion of Lardner, Tomline, Burton, Woodhouse, Elliott, Ebrard, Hofmann, Hengstenberg, Wordsworth, Alford, Lee, Ramsay, and Milligan.

The contradictory evidence as to date is explained in some degree by the hypothesis that this, presumably the earliest of the writings of John, received subsequent additions and interpolations. As Prof. Harnack suggests, what was written under Galba, A. D. 68, 'afterwards underwent revision under Vespasian about 75-79, and perhaps in Domitian's reign of terror about 95-96.' It is a supposition that abates, while not entirely removing, the difficulties connected with the testimony of Irenæus, and the difference in language in the Book of Revelation and the Gospel of John. Another hypothesis, as old as the time of Eusebius, that the Revelation should be ascribed to the 'Presbyter John,' a contemporary of the Apostle at Ephesus, is now generally regarded as untenable. The theory of Vischer, a pupil of Harnack, that the book was of Jewish origin, written in Hebrew before the destruction of Jerusalem, and subsequently interpolated from a Christian point of view, need only be mentioned. It is well stated and closely examined by W. H. Simcox (*Cambridge Greek Testament*, Excursus III).

550. Character of the Book.—This book greatly resembles those of Ezekiel and of Daniel, and belongs to the

class of literature known as 'Apocalyptic.' The Apocalypses which began with Daniel and appeared under the titles of great names like Enoch, Moses, Ezra—titles merely, and not meant to indicate authorship—were always intended to encourage and stimulate the people in times of national distress by the assurance of a glorious future in the triumph of Israel's long-wished-for Deliverer. Traces of this literature, as we have seen, are found in the Epistles. As there had been Jewish Apocalyptic writings, so there were Christian writings of the same general character, conveying Divine assurances of overthrow of the forces of evil, and the consummation of all things at the second coming of Christ. Of these the noblest example is this Apocalypse of John in its grandeur, described by Milton as 'the majestic image of a high and stately tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn scenes and acts with a sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies.'

The outline of the book is as follows:—

551. Contents.—The Revelation, or Apocalypse, consists of two principal divisions.

Part I (1–3) relates to 'the things which are'; comprising a preparatory vision exhibiting the Divine perfections and the human sympathy of the Redeemer, and the addresses or epistles to the 'angels,' personifications of the spirit or 'genius' of each of the Seven Churches[a]; each of which consists of three parts: (1) The *Introduction*, referring in each case to some of the attributes of Him Who addresses the Church, taken from the preceding vision, in which a progressive order is observable, and an appropriateness to the general tenor of the epistle which follows; (2) A

[a] So Lightfoot, *Philippians*, pp. 197–8, &c. The personification is in the style of the book—the 'angel of the waters.' Others, as Bunsen, Godet, Trench, Schaff, Wordsworth, &c., hold that the bishops of the churches are intended by the designation.

description of the *characteristics of the Church*, with suitable encouragement, admonition, or reproof; and (3) *Promises of reward* to those who overcome, which are addressed to all the churches.

The remainder of the book (4–22) is occupied with the prophecy of 'the things which shall be hereafter.' It consists of a series of visions, showing forth, by means of symbolical imagery and figurative language, the conflicts and sufferings of the people of God, and His judgements upon their enemies; and concluding with representations of the downfall of the mystic Babylon, type of antagonism to the truth, and the triumph of the New Jerusalem, the Church perfected.

An introductory vision represents the Divine glory (4), the sealed scroll, and the Lamb, who alone is worthy to open it (5). This is followed by the opening of the first six seals (6). The sealing of the 144,000 of the tribes of Israel; the appearance and worship of the innumerable multitude from all nations; and the opening of the seventh seal (7 8^{1}). The vision of an angel offering incense at the altar; followed by the sounding of the first six trumpets (8^{2-13} 9). The vision of a mighty angel, with a little scroll open in his hand; which, after the seven thunders, and the angel's proclamation, John is directed to take and eat (10). The measuring of the temple and altar; the two witnesses; their prophesying, death, resurrection, and ascension; the sounding of the seventh trumpet (11). The vision of the woman persecuted by the dragon; the conflict between Michael and his angels, and the dragon and his angels; preservation of the woman in the wilderness (12). The beast rising up out of the sea, and the second beast coming up out of the earth (13). The vision of the Lamb and the 144,000 on Mount Sion; the proclamations of the three angels; the harvest, and the vintage (15). The pouring out of the seven vials of plagues (16). The angel's description of the woman sitting upon the beast (17). Another angel's proclamation of Babylon's fall and destruction (18), followed by songs of praise and exultation (18 19^{1-10}). 'The Word of God' attended by His faithful followers, by whom the beast and the false prophet, and the confederate kings, are overthrown and destroyed (19^{11-21}). The binding of the dragon, and his imprisonment for a thousand years, during which the saints live and reign with Christ; and at the end of which, Satan, being again loosed, gathers the nations once more to battle

against 'the beloved city,' when he and his rebellious hosts are finally overthrown and cast into the lake of fire (20^{1-10}). Visions of the last judgement, the new heaven and the new earth, and the heavenly Jerusalem (20^{11}–22^{5}) : followed by final addresses from the angel, from Christ, and from the Apostle, declaring the Divine origin, the absolute certainty, and the speedy accomplishment of these predictions (22^{6-21}).

552. Sevenfold arrangement.—The whole may be briefly summed up thus. After the Prologue (1^{1-8}):—

First, Seven epistles to the Seven Churches (1–3).

Secondly, Seven seals (4^{1}–8^{1}).

Thirdly, Seven trumpets sounded (8^{2}–11).

Fourthly, Seven Mystic Figures, (1) The Sun-clothed Woman, (2) The Red Dragon, (3) The Man-child, (4) The First Wild Beast, from the Sea, (5) The Second Wild Beast, from the Land, (6) The Lamb on Mount Sion, (7) The Son of Man on the Cloud.

Fifthly, Seven vials poured out (15, 16).

Sixthly, The enemies of the Church overthrown (17–20).

Seventhly, The Glories of the Holy City, the New Jerusalem (21–22^{5}); Epilogue (22^{6-21}).

553. Various Interpretations. — As no other portion of sacred Scripture is more difficult, so of none have the explanations been more various. The different theories may be arranged under four heads.

1. Some consider the greater part of these prophecies to have had their fulfilment in the early ages of the Church.

In this view Grotius, Hammond, Wetstein, Eichhorn, De Wette, Stuart, Hug, Ewald, Herder, Bleek, Lücke, Düsterdieck, S. Davidson, F. D. Maurice, and Farrar in a measure concur, and of course maintain the earlier date of the book. This is the *Præterist* interpretation.

'Write the things which thou hast seen, and the things which are and the things which shall be hereafter.' These words Dean Farrar regards as the basis of the Præterist system of interpretation of the Revelation ; it describes 'the contemporary state of things in the

Church and the world, and the events which were to follow in immediate sequence.' Those who take this view regard a large portion of the Revelation as referring to the Neronian persecution and the Jewish rebellion. The 'seven kings' of 17^{10} are identified with the emperors Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius (Caligula), Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho. What is said in 13^{18} regarding the 'number' of the beast, 666, is found to correspond with the numerical value of the letters in the words NERON CÆSAR in Hebrew characters (נרון קסר, 200 + 60 + 100 + 50 + 6 + 200 + 50 = 666); or reading NERO for NERON, and thus deducting N = 50, we have 616, which corresponds with an alternative reading. That the writer set forth his great secret according to the numerical value of the Hebrew letters, while the book is written in Greek, may certainly appear strange, until it is remembered that while with Jewish fellow Christians the secret would be safe, to treacherous Gentile informers the more difficult its discovery was made the better.

2. A second class of expositors, comprising the greater number of Protestant writers, regard these prophecies as a delineation of the great features in the history of the world, or of the Church, from the apostolic age to the end of time.

This system of interpretation, generally called the *Historical*, regards the narrative as a continuous history reaching on to the end of time, though some parts of the book are treated as synchronological. Its advocates are Mede (1627), whose conclusions were in a large measure approved by Sir Isaac Newton in his *Prophecies of Holy Writ*, Vitringa, Bishop Newton, Scott, Woodhouse, Bengel, Hengstenberg, Elliott, Keith, Birks, Bishop Wordsworth, Alford (in a modified form), and Grattan Guinness.

While agreeing, however, in this general view, the historical interpreters display the utmost diversity of opinion as to the application of the different symbols in numbers, animated forms, forces of nature, colours, &c.; some extending them more or less to the events of secular history, while others restrict them entirely to the affairs of the Church. It would be wrong to ridicule the mistakes and contradictions of interpreters whose solemn pursuit was that of truth, in their calculations of times and seasons and their interpretations of apocalyptic symbols; but in the fact that authorities of such reputation as Bengel, Wordsworth, Elliott, and others are at hopeless variance, this

system breaks down. Where one interpreter (Elliott) sees in the sixth seal a reference to Constantine, another (Faber) sees allusion to the first French Revolution; where one sees in the star fallen from heaven a good angel (Bengel), another (Elliott) discerns Mohammed: the scorpion locusts that have power for five months mean to Mede one hundred and fifty years of the dominion of the Saracens, but to Vitringa they mean Goths, and to Scherzer Jesuits. All this seems to be arbitrary and hazardous in the extreme.

3. Another class of interpreters, taking an entirely different view from any of those already mentioned, consider the greater part, if not the whole, of this series of prophecies, to belong, in its strictest and fullest sense, to *the last days*.

This interpretation is the *Futurist*, and has been advocated by Maitland, Burgh, J. H. Todd, Isaac Williams, W. Kelly, and others.

According to this system, the epistles to the Seven Churches cover and predict seven actual successive stages of church history. The visions beginning with the fourth chapter, and all the prophetical parts of the book, are to be viewed as a representation of events which are to take place shortly before the second advent of Christ, and the consummation of all things; the *Israel* spoken of here being the *literal* Israel,—the 'two witnesses' being two individuals, probably Moses and Elijah; the *days* in the chronological periods, literal days—and the antichrist or apocalyptic *beast*, under his last head, a personal infidel antichrist, who is to reign over the whole extent of the old Roman empire, and to persecute and triumph over the saints for just three years and a half, until Christ's coming to destroy him. 'It is clear that there can be no discussion as to the accuracy or inaccuracy of the results of this system of interpretation in any of its forms. The future defies criticism.' Archdeacon Lee, in *Speaker's Commentary*.

4. A fourth system of interpretation, known as the *Spiritual* or *Ideal*, is adopted by some of the modern Anglican interpreters, e. g. Bishop Boyd Carpenter in Ellicott's *Commentary*, Archdeacon Lee in the *Speaker's Commentary*, Professor Milligan, and in part by Dean Farrar. This system regards the Revelation as the pictorial unfolding of great principles in constant conflict, though under various forms, and eclectic in its character.

'The Præterist,' says Bishop Carpenter, 'may be right in finding early fulfilments, and the Futurist in expecting undeveloped ones, and the Historical interpreter is unquestionably right in looking for them along the whole line of history; for the words of God mean more than one man, or one school of thought, can compass....' 'The visions of the book do find counterparts in the occurrences of human history. They have had these, and they yet will have these fulfilments, and these fulfilments belong neither wholly to the past nor wholly to the future. The prophecies of God are written in a language which can be read by more than one generation.' Such a view accords well with that of Bacon in his *Advancement of Learning*, that Divine prophecies 'have springing and germinant accomplishment throughout many ages, though the height or fullness of them may refer to some one age' (bk. ii. 3).

554. Distinct and Certain Prophecies.—Whatever difference of opinion may exist among interpreters with respect to the precise times and countries, events, and persons, to which it is supposed these visions refer, they are mostly agreed both as to its general character and design, and as to the lessons to be deduced from it—lessons more or less appropriate to every age of the Church. Thus all have learned from these symbolical representations that Christ is exalted to the highest dignity in heaven, and exercises universal dominion on earth—that the state of the Church of Christ is for a long time to be one of trouble and conflict—that steadfastness and fidelity are our duty—that after the overthrow of its first adversaries the Jews, the great enemy would employ against it other agents—that worldly power and policy, the persecutor and the false prophet, would be allied in seeking to destroy or to corrupt it—that the marks of this unhallowed combination are pride, worldly pomp, a persecuting spirit, a careless and luxurious life—that while exposed to the assaults of these foes, it would ever be under Divine protection—that whatever was opposed to the kingdom of Christ would certainly be overthrown—that even now there is a constant and most intimate connexion between the visible and the invisible world, prayer

and praise ascending continually to the throne of God, and messengers of wrath and mercy descending thence—that the providence and government of God comprehend all subjects and events, and render them subservient to the best ends—that the Church, after passing through a condition of abasement, warfare, and tribulation, will be brought to a state of honour, peace, and felicity—that the Saviour Who redeemed His people by the sacrifice of Himself, ever regards them with infinite tenderness and benignity, aids and defends them by His almighty power, and will receive them at last to His heavenly kingdom—and finally that, the unholy being excluded, all the followers of Christ, of every age and country, will be united in one glorious society, exhibiting perfect holiness, and enjoying everlasting happiness, in the presence of their God and Saviour. These are some of the most important truths contained in this book; they are presented with peculiar vividness and power; and they have contributed much to the faith and love, the fortitude and patience, the hope and joy, of all the followers of the Lord.

The 'Millennium,' depicted in the later part of the book, is a period in which the martyred saints shall reign with Christ, 20[4]. Some interpreters take the 'thousand years' literally: in accordance, however, with the style of Scripture, it more probably signifies a prolonged though finite duration; and the symbolism seems to denote a period during which the moral and spiritual influence of those who have bravely witnessed for the truth ('the *souls* of those that were beheaded,' &c.) shall 'reign' or prevail among men [a].

[a] Thus George Eliot speaks of

> 'those immortal dead who live again
> In minds made better by their presence; live
> In pulses stirred to generosity
> In deeds of daring rectitude; in scorn
> Of miserable aims that end in self.'

This may date from the time when idolatry in the Roman Empire received its final blow; or it may be entirely future. On this point opinions greatly differ. See F. D. Maurice, *On the Apocalypse*, sect. xx.

It should be noted that after the great prophecy of 21^{1-8} there is a vision of the heavenly Jerusalem (in contrast with that of Babylon, ch. 17), which from many of its features must refer to the Church—the *ideal* Church—on earth. See especially 21^{24} 'and the nations shall walk amidst the light thereof,' R. V., the whole world illuminated and blessed by the Church.

Among the prophetic visions of the Apocalypse, there is one peculiarly prominent (17^{18}), which strikingly harmonizes with other prophetic intimations evidently referring to the same subject, 2 Th 2^{3-12} 1 Tim 4^{1-5}. There is unusual agreement among the greater number of the best expositors in explaining these combined prophecies; although some consider them to refer to events still future. They are regarded as predicting the rise and temporary ascendency of a great apostate power in the midst of the Christian Church, which should be distinguished by the following characteristics:—

(1) Eminent corruption of religion, which corruption, by fraud as well as force, it spreads and maintains throughout the world, 2 Th $2^{3.8-10}$ 1 Tim $4^{1.2}$ Rev 17^{2-5} 18^{3-5} 19^{2}. (2) Gross immorality and licentiousness, combined with hypocritical and self-righteous asceticism, 1 Tim $4^{2.3}$. (3) Arrogant and blasphemous pretensions, usurpation of Divine prerogatives, opposition against God, and persecution of His people, 2 Th $2^{4.5}$ Rev 17^{6-14} 18^{6-20} 19^{2}. (4) Great wealth, magnificence, and luxury, Rev 17^{4} $18^{7.8.11-19}$. (5) Reliance upon the support and aid of worldly powers, whose tyranny it sanctions and upholds, Rev $17^{1.2.15.17}$ $18^{3.9}$.

Such is the picture drawn by the hand of prophecy, of this rival and enemy of God, seated in His temple; and its

counterpart is but too clearly seen in the history of a great portion of Christendom. Out of the abundant proofs furnished by the records of the Church during the long, dark night through which she has passed, and even by the present state of the world, it is sufficient to mention a few leading traits of character which mark that system of iniquity in which the fulfilment of these predictions is pre-eminently seen. Gross corruptions of Christian doctrine and worship;—compulsory celibacy and uncommanded austerities, combined with meretricious splendour and a counterfeit Jewish ritual;—blasphemous assumptions of Divine titles and honours, claims of infallibility and supreme authority over the conscience—dispensations and absolution of sins, pretended prophecies and miracles—oppression and persecution of the people of God, carried on with the concurrence and aid of earthly rulers;—all these have been found more or less developed in those antichristian systems which have so greatly prevailed both in Eastern and Western Europe, to the hindrance of the spread of Divine truth, and the ruinous delusion of myriads, who, being blinded by error, perish in their sin.

The fearful errors of this apostasy are not, however, the closing scenes of this book. The 'wicked' or 'lawless one' 'the Lord shall consume with the spirit of His mouth,' 2 Th 2^{8}. She that did corrupt the earth shall be judged, Rev 19^{2}. And this great event, which will cause mourning to some on earth, will occasion great joy and thanksgiving in heaven, Rev 18^{9-19} 19^{1-6}. Again, and again, and again, the cry is heard there, 'Hallelujah'; and the servants of God on earth are summoned to join in the song.

555. Peculiarities in words and phrases.—Of words and phrases peculiar to this book note as characteristic 'the Lord's Day' (*ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα*), 1^{10}; 'the second death,' 2^{11} $20^{6.14}$ 21^{8}; 'dragon' thirteen times in reference to the devil; 'accuser,' 12^{10}; 'brimstone,' 9^{17}; the use of the Hebrew words 'Abaddon,' 9^{11}; 'hallelujah,' $19^{1.3.4.6}$.

No book in the Bible has such numerous references to *angels*, upwards of seventy occurring; noteworthy also is the symbolic use of the number *seven*, in upwards of thirty instances.

It is important to observe certain characteristic peculiarities which betoken an identity of authorship in the Gospel and epistles of John and the Revelation. The following will illustrate :—

1. The application of the title *The Word of God* given to our Lord, 19^{13}. This name 'the Word' is found in the New Testament only in John's writings; cf. Jn 1^{1} 1 Jn 1^{1}.

2. The idea of the Lord Jesus Christ as *a Lamb* occurs in the Revelation twenty-five times, and only elsewhere in Jn $1^{29.36}$.

3. The use of the term *to conquer* (*νικᾶν*), in the sense of overcoming the evil of the world, occurs repeatedly in the letters to the Seven Churches, 2, 3, also in 12^{11} 15^{2} 17^{14} 21^{7}. Cf. 1 Jn $2^{13.14}$ 4^{4} $5^{4.5}$.

4. The word 'true' (*ἀληθινός*), in the sense of real, genuine, contrasted with fictitious, pretended, is found thirteen times in the Gospel and Epistles, and ten times in the Revelation; as 3^{7} 19^{11}. Cf. Jn 1^{14} 15^{1} 1 Jn 5^{20}.

5. The unusual plural *αἵματα* ('bloods') in Rev 18^{24} (R. V.) is found elsewhere only in Jn 1^{13}.

6. The statement in Rev 1^{7}, 'and they which pierced Him,' is found only in Jn 19^{37}, and is there also connected with the same translation of Zec 12^{10}, which differs in rendering from that of the Septuagint.

7. A prominent idea of John in the Gospel, expressed by the noun *μαρτυρία*, variously rendered witness, testimony, record, and the verb *μαρτυρέω*, witness, bear witness, testify, bear record, in the sense of declaration respecting Jesus Christ, of public profession of belief, is prominent also in Revelation. See $1^{2.9}$ 6^{9} $12^{11.17}$ 19^{10} 20^{4} $22^{18.20}$.

8. Other points of resemblance between this book and the Gospel will be found in Dr. S. Davidson's *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. ii, and in Dr. H. R. Reynolds's *Introduction and Exposition of the Gospel of St. John* in the 'Pulpit Commentary.'

Among many works which might be referred to on the Epistles to the Seven Churches are those of Archbishop Trench, Canon Tristram, Dean Plumptre, Dr. Reynolds (*The Expositor*, series i, vols. ii and iii), Prof. Marcus Dods, and Dr. Culross (*Thy First Love, Christ's Message to Ephesus*).

Our work is done. The first chapters of Matthew show us Christ in His weakness; of royal descent indeed, and receiving the profoundest homage, yet poor and persecuted; the last of Revelation show Him with memorials of His suffering—for He is a Lamb still—but triumphant, 'reigning

for ever and ever.' In Genesis we see Paradise lost, and man driven forth from the presence of God; in Revelation *more* than Paradise is regained, men are once more in fellowship with God ($22^{3,4,5}$), a fellowship that shall know no end. Malachi had ended with 'a curse,' the last words of John are of blessing (22^{21}). So characteristic are the various portions of the Inspired Volume throughout: so complete the whole.

APPENDICES

I. SCRIPTURE CHRONOLOGY
with that of Contemporary Nations

II. SCRIPTURE NATURAL HISTORY
Fauna, Flora and Minerals

APPENDIX I

The Old Testament History

The bases of Scripture Chronology, as reckoned from the era of Creation, have been discussed in §§ 195–197. The earliest point of recorded contact between the Chosen People and the heathen world is noted § 178. This was before B. C. 2000 (Abraham in Palestine, and Khammurabi in Babylonia). But it is not possible to arrive, with our present means of information, at more than an approximate statement of the several dates. The following may be accepted (Principal Owen C. Whitehouse) as probable, in regard to the patriarchal history and the abode of Israel in Egypt.

B. C.
2040 Birth of Abraham.
1940 Birth of Isaac (Gen 21^5).
1880 Birth of Jacob (Gen 25^{26}).
1750 Migration of Jacob (Israel) to Egypt (Gen 46^6).
1320 The Exodus (after 430 years) : see p. 324.

Israel

1320 The Exodus[a].
1280 Entrance into Canaan ; and wars ; division of the land.
1255 Death of Joshua (twenty-five years after entering Canaan, Josephus, *Ant.* v. i. § 29). For the period of the Judges, see § 198, p. 325, and § 268, p. 443 ; Othniel to Samuel, about 200 years.

1040 *Beginning of the Regal Period.* Accession of Saul.
[According to Josephus, Saul reigned twenty years ; in Ac 13^{21} the time assigned is 'forty years'—probably a transcriber's error, as it would follow that David, the friend of Jonathan, was born in the tenth year of Saul's reign, 2 Sa 5^4.] Wars with neighbouring tribes. Saul and Jonathan fall in conflict with the Philistines.

[a] Various dates assigned to the Exodus by chronologers : *Rabbins* 1314, *Eusebius* 1512, *Bede* 1499, *Ussher* 1491, *Hales* 1648, *Bengel* 1497.

CHRONOLOGY

Contemporary Annals: Egypt and Babylonia

Egypt, reckoned by dynasties, successive or in some instances concurrent in different parts.

B.C. 4400 (Brugsch) or 3892 (Lepsius). Menes, the founder of the First dynasty (Memphis).

Pyramids built in the Sixth dynasty (3300–3066 Brugsch). Fall of the Memphite dominion. Revival of the Empire under the Theban dynasties from about 2500.

Invasion of the Hyksos or Shepherd-Kings (Fifteenth to Eighteenth dynasties); about 2098–1587. Israel in Egypt in the latter part of this time: see § 179.

The Theban dynasty restored: Nineteenth dynasty. Ramses I c. 1400, Ramses II, the Pharaoh of the Oppression (Sesostris of the Greeks), *c.* 1350, Meneptah II, the Pharaoh of the Exodus: see §§ 180, 181.

Babylonia. Khammurabi, founder of the First Empire (including Akkad to the North, and Sumer (Shinar) to the South), before B.C. 2000.

For the *Hittite Empire* see § 186.

Assyria. Tiglath-pileser I, *c.* 1100, renowned as a hunter. Conflicts with the Hittites (T. G. Pinches, *O. T. Assyria and Babylonia*).

Greece and Asia Minor. Fall of Troy, 1184 (date generally assigned). Codrus, King of Athens, *c.* 1068.

Egypt. *c.* 1200–966. The Twentieth and Twenty-first dynasties: one of the kings of latter dynasty (prob. Pasebchanen II) was father-in-law to Solomon.

Philistia. A warlike tribe of 'strangers' or 'immigrants' (non-Semitic, 'uncircumcised') had at an earlier period established themselves in the south-western corner of Canaan, and eventually gave their name to the whole land 'Palestine.' They were in possession at the time of the Exodus, and were judged too formidable for the Israelites to encounter, Ex 13^{17} (see p. 280). Their five cities or strongholds were Gaza, Ashdod, Askelon, Ekron and Gath. They were long the most unquiet and formidable neighbours of the Israelites, in Solomon's reign they were subject to him, 1 Ki 4^{21-24}.

B. C.

1020 David, king in Hebron : contests for the kingdom with Esh-baal (Ish-bosheth), son of Saul.

1013 David, king in Jerusalem : Nathan and Gad prophets. The ark brought to the Tabernacle on Mount Zion.

c. 990 Rebellion of Absalom.

980 Accession of Solomon.

977 Building of the Temple begun.
969 Dedication of the Temple.
Alliances with other nations; extension of commerce. Internal troubles; Jeroboam's flight to Shishak : Prophet Abijah.
938 Death of Solomon, and Division of the Kingdom.

The Divided Kingdom

Dates mostly as in Kamphausen's 'Chronologie,' 1883

Judah	B.C.	Israel
Rehoboam, 1 Ki 14^{21} 2 Ch 12^{13}. Shemaiah forbids attack on Israel, 1 Ki 12^{21-24} 2 Ch 11^{1-4}. Relapse of the people into idolatry, 1 Ki 14^{22-24}.	937	Jeroboam I (Shechem), 1 Ki 12^{25}. Calf-worship at Dan and Bethel, $12^{28.29}$. A non-Levitical priesthood, $13^{33.34}$. Prophets : a Man of God out of Judah, 13^{1}. Ahijah 14^{7-11}. Death of the young prince Abijah, 14^{12-18}. Constant war with Judah, 14^{30}.
Shishak (Shashanq) plunders Jerusalem, 1 Ki 14^{25-28} 2 Ch 12^{2-12}.		
Abijah, or Abijam ; defeats Jeroboam, 2 Ch 13^{3-21}.	920	
Asa, 1 Ki 15^{3-10} 2 Ch 13^{22}; puts away idolatry and strengthens the kingdom, 1 Ki 15^{11-15} 2 Ch 14^{2-8} 15^{16-18}. Victory over Zerah 'the Ethiopian,' 2 Ch 14^{9-15}. Subsidizes Ben-hadad I against Baasha, 1 Ki 15^{16-22}. Hanani, protesting, is imprisoned, 2 Ch 16^{7-10}. Other prophets, Azariah and Oded.	917	
	915	Nadab, 1 Ki $14^{19.20}$ 15^{25-29}, slain by Baasha. Jeroboam's family extinct.
	914	Baasha, 1 Ki 15^{27-34}, defeated by Ben-hadad I, 2 Ch 16^{1-6}. Denounced by Jehu, 1 Ki 16^{1-4}.
	891	Elah, murdered by Zimri, 1 Ki 16^{6-8}.
	890	Zimri, reigned only for a week : committed suicide on the election of Omri, 1 Ki 16^{9-20}.
	890	Omri, long civil war with Tibni. Samaria built, 1 Ki 16^{23-28}.
	878	Ahab : son of Omri, married Jezebel a Sidonian princess,

Ammon, a Semitic people, idolaters; occupying territory on the east of Jordan (see p. 291); hostile to Israel, especially in the days of Saul and David, to whom two of their kings, Nahash and Hanun, successively offered defiance. David crushed their power, and they continued in abject servitude until the days of Jehoshaphat.

Phœnicia. For the relations of Phœnicia with Israel during the early days of the kingdom, see § 184. HIRAM of Tyre was among the closest of allies with David and Solomon, and by wise and skilful commerce secured great prosperity.

Syria. Zobah, in the north-east ('Aram beyond the River'), was governed in David's time by the warlike King Hadadezer (or Hadarezer), who was decisively defeated by Joab, 2 Sa 8^{3} $10^{15.19}$. Rezon of Zobah made himself master of *Damascus* and greatly harassed Israel in the days of David and Solomon, 1 Ki 11^{23}.

Egypt. SHASHANQ I, 966-935, founder of the 22nd or 'Bubastite' dynasty. On the south wall of the temple of Ammon at Karnak is a long list of conquered cities and districts: among them one that was formerly read *Judah-melek*, 'King of Judah'; now, however, supposed to be *Yehud-hammelik*, probably denoting a town in Dan, Jos 19^{45}. Many of the other names are those of Jewish towns.

ZERAH (Usarkon I), *c.* 920, was a later king of the same dynasty.

Syria. BEN-HADAD I, son or grandson of REZON of Damascus, who had been an 'adversary' to Israel in the days of Solomon, 1 Ki 11^{23-25}. Hadad was a name of the chief Syrian deity, probably the Sun. Two other kings named Ben-hadad are mentioned in Scripture (see below).

Phœnicia. ETHBAAL (Ithobalus), King of Sidon and priest of Astarte, 940-908, father of Jezebel, 1 Ki 16^{31}), gained the throne also of Tyre by assassination.

Greece. Homer, *fl. c.* 950. Hesiod, *c.* 860.

JUDAH	B.C.	ISRAEL
JEHOSHAPHAT: his piety and prosperity, 1 Ki 15^{24} 22^{41-47} 2 Ch 17^{1-6} 20^{31-33}. His son Jehoram married Ahab's daughter Athaliah. The two kings join in the expedition against Syria at Ramoth-gilead; Jehoshaphat reproved by Jehu, 2 Ch 19^{1-3}. Organizes a system of jurisprudence, 19^{4-11}. Defeats a great confederacy (Moab, Ammon, Edom, &c.) in the Valley of Blessing, 2 Ch 20 (see Ps 82, 115).	876	and introduced Baal-worship into Israel: withstood by Elijah. Ben-hadad II besieges Samaria, but is twice defeated and forms an alliance with Ahab; denounced by a prophet, 1 Ki $20^{13.28}$. Naboth's vineyard: prophecy of Micaiah. Ahab falls in the attempt to win Ramoth-gilead from the Syrians, 16^{29}–22^{40}.
Jahaziel and Eliezer, prophets. Abandons naval alliance with Ahaziah, 1 Ki 22^{49}.	856	AHAZIAH: son of Ahab. Revolt of Moab, 1 Ki 22^{51-53} 2 Ki 1^{1}. Dies from the effects of a fall. Elijah translated, 2 Ki 2.
Alliance with Joram against Moab, 2 Ki 3^{5-27}.	854	JEHORAM (or Joram), brother of Ahaziah. War with Moab
JEHORAM. Revolt of Edom, 2 Ki $8^{20.21}$ 2 Ch 21^{8-10}; Jehoram falls into idolatry: attacked by Philistines and Arabians, 2 Ch $21^{16.17}$; unhonoured in his death, 21^{20}.	851	continued, 2 Ki 3 (Tablet of Mesha). Prophecies and miracles of Elisha. Siege of Samaria by Ben-hadad and sudden deliverance, 2 Ki 6^{24}–7^{20}. Afterwards wounded in battle with
AHAZIAH: his fatal alliance with Joram against the Syrians: both kings slain at Jezreel, 2 Ki 9^{16-28}.	843	Syrians, retreats to Jezreel, and is slain by Jehu.
ATHALIAH, mother of Ahaziah, usurps the throne for six years. Slain by Jehoiada, 2 Ki 11.	842	JEHU, general in Joram's army, anointed king, 2 Ki 9^{1-13}. Slays Jezebel, Ahab's sons and
JEHOASH or Joash placed on the throne by Jehoiada at the age of seven, 2 Ki 11 2 Ch 23. Restores the Temple but forsakes Jehovah. Zechariah, son of Jehoiada, protests, and is slain in the court of the Temple, 2 Ch 24^{20-22}. Incursion of the Syrians, 2 Ki $12^{17.18}$ 2 Ch $24^{23.24}$; Joash slain by his servants.	836	Baal's worshippers, 10. Tributary to Shalmaneser.
	814	JEHOAHAZ. Disastrous wars with Hazael and Ben-hadad, 2 Ki 10^{34-36} $13^{1.2}$.
	797	JEHOASH, or Joash. Death of Elisha. Ben-hadad III defeated three times. Victories over Amaziah of Judah, 2 Ch 25^{17-24}.
AMAZIAH: hires Israelite troops to assist him against Edom, but at a prophet's command sends them back, 2 Ch 25^{5-10}. Conquers the Edomites,	796	
	781	JEROBOAM II: an irreligious man, but a prosperous king; reclaims the territory con-

Syria. Ben-hadad II, son of Ben-hadad I, called Hadadezer on the Assyrian monuments ; defeated by Shalmaneser II.

Assyria. Shalmaneser II, 858–823. In the sixth year of his reign, as appears from the monuments, he defeated, at Qarqar in northern Syria, an alliance of twelve kings, among whom appear the names of Ben-hadad of Syria and 'Ahab of Israel.' This, it has been said, 'is the first date in the history of Israel that can be definitely fixed' (B. C. 854). The alliance of Ahab with Syria must have been immediately broken, and followed by the catastrophe at Ramoth-gilead.

Moab. Mesha, 'sheep master,' king, *c.* 854. On the 'Moabite stone' see § 183.

Greece. Legislation of Lycurgus in Sparta, *c.* 850.

Syria. Ben-hadad II murdered by Hazael, who usurps the throne *c.* 850, and reigns for forty-six years. He warred against Israel and Judah with great ferocity, took Gath, and was prevented from entering Jerusalem by a large bribe from Joash, 2 Ki 12^{18}.

Assyria. Tribute of 'Jehu son of Omri' (monument), *c.* 842. See § 187, p. 308. Shalmaneser III, 781.

Egypt. Close of the Twenty-second dynasty (Shashanq III), *c.* 811.

Syria. Ben-hadad III, son of Hazael, lost his father's conquests. Damascus captured by the Assyrian Rimmon-nirari, 803. See § 187, p. 308.

JUDAH	B.C.	ISRAEL
but falls into their idolatry, 2 Ki 14 2 Ch 25^{11-16}. Challenges Joash to battle, but is defeated and afterwards murdered, 2 Ki 14^{19} 2 Ch 25^{27}.		quered by Syria, according to the word of **Jonah**, 2 Ki 14^{25-27}, extended the kingdom in many directions including Damascus and Hamath, 14^{28}. Ministry
UZZIAH (Azariah), under the influence of the prophet **Zechariah**, begins his reign well; develops the resources of the country; fortifies Jerusalem and the outposts of the Judæan territory; secures a fortified post of vantage at Elath; near the end of his reign, invading the priests' office he is stricken with leprosy, Jotham becoming regent, 2 Ki 15^{1-5} 2 Ch 26.	777	of **Joel** (?), **Hosea**, **Amos**.
Jotham as regent.	750	
	741	ZACHARIAH, last of Jehu's line: assassinated by Shallum, 2 Ki $15^{8.11}$.
		SHALLUM, reigns but one month, slain by Menahem.
Isaiah, Micah.	740	MENAHEM, tributary to Assyria.
	737	PEKAHIAH, slain by Pekah.
	736	PEKAH, slain by Hoshea.
JOTHAM, sole king: both as associated with his father and alone he reigned well and prosperously, 2 Ki 15^{32-35} 2 Ch 27^{1-9}, but towards the close of his reign the kingdom was much troubled by the alliance between Israel and Syria, 2 Ki 15^{37}.	735	
AHAZ, an impious and reckless king prone to idolatry, harassed by the confederate forces of Syria and Israel; seeks the aid of Assyria, but is induced to desist by the strong protest of **Isaiah**. Jewish prisoners of war returned by Pekah at the instance of **Oded**, 2 Ch 28^{5-15}.	734	
	730	HOSHEA: attacked and made tributary by Shalmaneser; discontinuing tribute and secretly negotiating with Egypt he is imprisoned by the Assyrian monarch. Samaria is besieged, and its overthrow completed
HEZEKIAH, a deeply religious and generally prosperous king, 2 Ki $18^{7.8}$; in the fourteenth	727 722	by Sargon. **End of the Israelite Monarchy.**

Greece. The First Olympiad, 776, from which dates were reckoned.

Assyria. Solar Eclipse, June 13, 763, which helps to determine the dates in the Eponym Canon.

Rome. Traditional date of the building of the city, 753 (A.U.C.).

Babylon: the era of *Nabonassar*, 747, from which the dates in Ptolemy's Canon are reckoned.

Assyria. TIGLATH-PILESER III (Pul), usurper, 745.

Syria. REZIN, King of Damascus, 745–732, defeated and slain by Tiglath-pileser—the kingdom entirely crushed.

Egypt. Shabaka, or So, the Ethiopian, first king of the Twenty-fifth dynasty, 735, 2 Ki 17^4; Tirhakah last king of that dynasty, 2 Ki 19^9 Is 37^9.

Assyria. Capture of Damascus by Tiglath-pileser III, 732. Ahaz, called Joahaz of Judah, and the tributary princes summoned to meet the Assyrian king at Damascus. See 2 Ki 16^{10}. SHALMANESER IV, 727; Sargon, usurper, 723–2; SENNACHERIB, son of Sargon, 705.

JUDAH	B.C.	ISRAEL
year of his reign, invaded by Sargon[a], Is 10^{24-34}). Isaiah's prophecy of deliverance and of a spiritual kingdom (11^{1}). Illness of the king, and recovery, with promise of life prolonged. Campaign of Sennacherib against Judah, sudden destruction of his army, 2 Ki 18^{17-37} 19 Is 36^{2-22} 37 2 Ch 32^{9-23} (Ps 76). Embassy of Merodach-baladan from Babylon. Isaiah predicts the Captivity, Isa 39.		The Ten Tribes were carried into captivity, and dispersed through the regions subject to Assyria. Their place in Palestine was filled by colonists from the East—a mixed people, from whom sprang the SAMARITANS.

THE JUDÆAN MONARCHY AFTER THE FALL OF SAMARIA

For the latter part of Hezekiah's reign see above.

B.C.

697 MANASSEH restores idolatry and persecutes the worshippers of Jehovah. Unavailing protest of the prophets, 2 Ki $20^{14.19}$ 21^{1-16} 2 Ch 33^{1-10}. (Tradition of Isaiah's martyrdom.) Taken captive by the Assyrian king Esar-haddon and deported to Babylonia. His conversion and reinstatement in his kingdom, 2 Ch 33^{12-17} (not mentioned in Kings). Nahum's ministry, *c.* 660.

642 AMON: his impiety, 2 Ki 21^{19-22} 2 Ch 33^{20-24}; slain by his servants.

640 JOSIAH: his piety, measures against idolatry, restoration of the Temple; discovery of the Book of the Law, 2 Ki 22 2 Ch 34. Huldah, prophetess. Great celebration of the Passover, 2 Ki 23^{21-23} 2 Ch 35^{1-19}. Prophets—Jeremiah, Zephaniah, Habakkuk. The king slain in battle at Megiddo: greatly lamented.

608 JEHOAHAZ or Shallum; son of Josiah, king for three months; deposed and imprisoned by Pharaoh-neco; subsequently exiled to Egypt, where he died, 2 Ki $23^{33.34}$ 2 Ch $36^{3.4}$.

JEHOIAKIM or Eliakim; eldest son of Josiah, made tributary king by Neco.

[a] Such appears the best explanation of 2 Ki 18^{13}. There must be a transcriber's error, either of 'twenty-fourth' for 'fourteenth,' or of 'Sennacherib' for 'Sargon.' The latter solution, which is that of most modern writers, is here adopted.

Babylon. MERODACH-BALADAN, 722–710. Sargon conquers him and holds the kingdom from 710.

Babylon continues subject to *Assyria*, with occasional revolts. Esar-haddon completes the subjugation and holds his court alternately at Babylon and Nineveh, 681–668. His successors occupy the throne until 625, when NABOPOLASSAR becomes viceroy and throws off the Assyrian yoke, *c.* 610.

Egypt. TIRHAKAH (Twenty-fifth dynasty), 693, vanquished by Esar-haddon, and, attempting to regain his kingdom, finally conquered by Asshur-bani-pal, 666. PHARAOH-NECO (Twenty-sixth dynasty), 610. Pharaoh defeated at Carchemish, and finally repelled from the region of the Euphrates, 605, 2 Ki 24^{7}.

Assyria. ESAR-HADDON, 681. ASSHUR-BANI-PAL, son of Esar-haddon. 'the great and noble Asnapper,' Ezr 4^{10}, 669. Sardanapalus of the Greeks. Nineveh finally destroyed by the Chaldæans, 606.

Babylon. Nabopolassar (king, 625–605) loses his western provinces to Pharaoh-neco of Egypt, 609. Sends his son, NEBUCHADREZZAR (or

B.C.

606 After the battle of Carchemish the vassalage of Judah was transferred to Babylon. *Beginning of the Seventy Years' Captivity.* Daniel and his companions taken to Babylon. After three years Jehoiakim broke his oath of allegiance (2 Ki 24^{1}), and troubles ensued, in the midst of which the king fell in some unknown way (see Jer 22^{18-19}).

598 Jehoiachin, son of Jehoiakim, succeeded to his uneasy throne, but occupied it only three months, Nebuchadrezzar himself arriving at Jerusalem, and sending him captive to Babylon, 2 Ki 24^{6-16}.

Zedekiah or Mattaniah, son of Josiah, and uncle therefore to Jehoiachin; weak and perfidious, intriguing with Egypt against Babylon, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Jeremiah; Nebuchadrezzar's captain, Nebuzaradan, took Jerusalem after a protracted siege, slew many of the chief men, and carried

587 Zedekiah, blinded and in chains, to Babylon (fulfilling two predictions, Jer 32^{5} Eze 12^{13}). The Temple was burned; the people were deported, only a few poor persons left to till the land. Jeremiah's *Lamentations* over the fallen city and the desolated land. Ezekiel notes these transactions from his home in Babylonia. Obadiah refers to the cruel exultation of Edom over the catastrophe.

Gedaliah appointed governor of the 'remnant': slain by Ishmael, who schemes to carry them to the Ammonites. His plan is frustrated, but the people seek refuge in Egypt, against the warning protest of Jeremiah, 2 Ki 25^{22-26} Jer $41-43^{7}$. They forcibly carry the prophet with them, and he closes his ministry at Tahpanhes (Daphne), Jer 43, 44.

593–573 Prophecies of Ezekiel, dated from the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity to the twenty-fifth. The 'thirtieth year,' Eze 1^{1}, is explained by the Targum as the thirty-first after the discovery of the Law by Hilkiah: many expositors understand it as the thirtieth from the accession of Nabopolassar; more probably it means the thirtieth year of Ezekiel's life—the priestly age. The year nearly corresponds with the date of Jeremiah's letter to the exiles, Jer 29.

603–537 Prophecies and Visions of Daniel.

561 Jehoiachin's captivity relaxed by Evil-merodach.

536 Decree of Cyrus for the rebuilding of the Temple, and the restoration of the Jews to their own country, 2 Ch $36^{22.23}$ Eze 1^{1-4}.

Return of the Jews. Cyrus restores the vessels of the Temple. An altar set up, Ezr 1^{5-11} 2 3^{1-7} (Ps 87 107 111–114 116 117 125 127 128 134).

Zerubbabel governor of Judæa, nephew and successor of Shealtiel (Salathiel, Mt). See p. 541 and 1 Ch 3^{17-19}.

Joshua (Jeshua) high-priest.

535 Foundation of the Second Temple, under the direction of Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel, Ezr 3^{8-13} 5^{16} (Ps 84 66).

522 Building of the Temple opposed by the Samaritans, Ezr 4^{1-5} (Ps 129).

Nebuchadnezzar), to recover them, 606. Neco overthrown in the decisive battle at Carchemish. Nebuchadrezzar soon afterwards (605) succeeds his father.

Egypt. PHARAOH-HOPHRA, 589 (of the Twenty-sixth dynasty), the Apries of the Greeks, attempted to relieve Jerusalem besieged by Nebuchadrezzar, but in vain, Jer 37. Hophra was deposed by his own subjects, and finally murdered.

Greece. The 'Seven Wise Men'; end of sixth century. Legislation of SOLON at Athens, 594. PISISTRATUS at Athens, 560.

Babylon. Conquests of Nebuchadrezzar: Tyre, 579; Egypt, 569. Death of Nebuchadrezzar, 561. Accession of EVIL-MERODACH; slain and succeeded by NERIGLISSAR (Nergal-sharezer), 559; followed (556) by LABOROSNARCHOD (murdered in the same year) and NABU-NAHID (Nabonidus or Labynetus), an inert king, who made BELSHAZZAR his son viceroy in Babylon.

Media and Persia. CYRUS, son of Cambyses, King of Persia, and nephew of Cyaxares, King of the Medes (who is supposed by some to have been 'Darius the Mede'), after a career of conquest in Western Asia, invaded Babylonia in 538, defeated Nabonidus, and sent Gobryas to occupy Babylon, which he entered without resistance. This Gobryas has also been identified with the mysterious Darius; see §§ 162, 192.

Persia. Death of Cyrus from a wound in battle, 529; his son Cambyses succeeds him.
Egypt conquered by Cambyses, 525.

B.C.

522 Accession of Smerdis (? the Artaxerxes of Ezr 4^{7-11}).
Building of the Temple arrested by order of the Persian king.

521 Under Darius Hystaspis the building was resumed, **Haggai** and
520 **Zechariah** incite the people to the work, and exhort them to repentance, Ezr 4^{24} 5^{1} Hag 1^{1-11} Ezr 5^{2} Hag 1^{12-15} 2^{1-9} Zec 1^{1-6} Hag 2^{10-23} Zec 1^{7-21} 2-6.

519 The building again interrupted, and resumed, Ezr 5^{3-17} 6^{1-13} (Ps 138) Zec 7 8.

515 Dedication of the Temple, Ezr 6^{14-22} (Psalms 48 81 146-150).

A blank in the record.

478 Esther made queen by Xerxes.

473 Haman's plot against the Jews; its frustration; institution of the Feast of Purim.

458 Ezra commissioned by Artaxerxes Longimanus to visit Jerusalem; he causes the people to put away their heathen wives, Ezr 7-10.

446 Nehemiah commissioned by Artaxerxes to visit Jerusalem as governor (*Tirshatha*), and to rebuild the wall, Ne 1 2^{1-8}.

445 Tobiah, Sanballat, and Gashmu (Geshem) strive to hinder the work, Ne 2^{9-20} (3) 4.
Nehemiah relieves the Jews oppressed by usury; his own generosity, Ne 5.

444 The wall completed by the Jews and dedicated, Ne 6^{15}-7. Great celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles; Ezra publicly reads the Law, and offers solemn prayer, 8, 9.

434 Nehemiah returns to Persia.

432 Second commission of Nehemiah, and measures of reformation, Ne 7-13. **Malachi** prophesies: probably a contemporary of Nehemiah, but the date is variously estimated.

END OF THE OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY

Detached Genealogies, &c., were probably inserted after the completion of the Canon. See 1 Ch 1-9 Ne 12^{10-26}.

MEDO-PERSIAN KINGS AFTER CYRUS:—

529 Cambyses (*Ahasuerus*, Ezr 4^{6}).
522 Smerdis, Magian impostor (*Artaxerxes*, Ezr 4^{7-11}).
521 Darius, son of Hystaspes.
485 Xerxes, son of Darius (*Ahasuerus*, Est).
465 Artaxerxes Longimanus (*Artaxerxes*, Ne).
424 Darius II (Nothus).
404 Artaxerxes II (Mnemon). } Not mentioned in Scripture.
359 Artaxerxes III (Ochus).
336 Darius III (Codomannus), Ne 12^{22}, a later insertion.

Codomannus was the Darius vanquished by Alexander the Great, B. C. 330; and with his fall the Persian Empire passed away (see Dan $2^{39.40}$ $7^{5.6}$ $8^{5.6.20.22}$).

Rome. The republic established, *c.* 508. Decemvirs appointed, 451. Laws of the Twelve Tables.

Teachers in the Farther East.

Death of CONFUCIUS, 478 (Dr. Legge).
Death of BUDDHA, 477 (Max Müller).

Greece invaded by the Persian kings.
490 Battle of Marathon; Darius Hystaspis defeated by the Greeks.
484 Birth of Herodotus.
480 Invasion of Greece by Xerxes; battles of Thermopylæ and Salamis.

471 Birth of Thucydides (d. *c.* 401).

444 Pericles supreme at Athens.
(*c.*) Birth of Xenophon.

431 Beginning of the Peloponnesian war.
Birth of Plato (d. 347).

Interval between the Old

B.C.	PALESTINE
413	*Joiada*, high-priest, son of Eliashib, Ne $12^{10.11.22}$.
c. 409	Rival temple built on Mount Gerizim.
373	*Jonathan*, also called Johanan, high-priest, Ne 12^{22}.
341	*Jaddua*, high-priest, Ne $12^{11.22}$.
332	ALEXANDER having destroyed Tyre visits Jerusalem. Jaddua averts his anger (traditional).
323	Alexander dies; his kingdom divided.
321	*Onias I.* high-priest.
320	PTOLEMY I (Soter), King of Egypt, captures Jerusalem, plants Jews in Alexandria and Cyrene.
314	Antigonus conquers Palestine from Ptolemy.
306	**The dominion of Alexander formed into four kingdoms as foretold by Daniel.**
302	Palestine retaken by Ptolemy.
300	*Simon* the Just, high-priest.
292	*Eleazar*, high-priest.
285	Version of the LXX commenced at Alexandria under PTOLEMY II.
277	*Manasseh*, high-priest.

and New Testaments

B.C.	Persia, Syria, and Egypt	B.C.	Europe
404	Artaxerxes II (Mnemon), Persia.		
401	Death of Cyrus the Younger.	401	Retreat of Ten Thousand Greeks.
		399	Death of Socrates.
		387	Rome burnt by the Gauls.
		384	Birth of Aristotle (d. 322).
		382	Birth of Demosthenes (d. 322).
359	Artaxerxes III (Ochus), Persia.		
		356	Birth of Alexander the Great.
338	Arses (or Arogus).	341	Birth of Epicurus (d. 270).
336	Darius III, Codomannus, Persia.		
334	Alexander, defeats Persia on the Granicus; 333, at Issus; 331, at Arbela; the Persian Empire ends.		
323	Ptolemy I (Soter), son of Lagos, gains Egypt.		
	The list of kings below as in Mahaffy; '*Empire of the Ptolemies*,' 1895.	320	Berosus, Chaldæan historian, *fl.*
312	Seleucus (Nicator) obtains *Syria*. Era of the Seleucidæ begins.		
301	Battle of Ipsus. Antigonus defeated by Seleucus, and slain.	300	Manetho of Heliopolis, *fl*
	Palestine alternately subject to these kingdoms.		
	Egypt.	B.C. *Syria.*	
		287	Birth of Archimedes (d. 212)
285	Ptolemy II (Philadelphus).		
		280	Antiochus I (Soter).
		264	First Punic War.

B.C. PALESTINE

250 *Onias II*, high-priest, for a time withholds tribute from Ptolemy III (Euergetes). Hellenistic innovations begin to spread amongst the upper classes.

219 ANTIOCHUS III (the Great) tries to obtain Palestine.
217 *Simon II*, high-priest.
PTOLEMY IV (Philopator) defeats him at Raphia, but is prevented from entering the Holy of Holies; persecutes the Jews in Alexandria and alienates those in Judæa.
205 ANTIOCHUS (the Great) obtains Palestine.

c. 200 The sect of the Sadducees founded.
198 *Onias III*, high-priest.

180 *Probable date of Ecclesiasticus.*

175 *Joshua* (or Jason), brother of Onias, buys high-priesthood of Antiochus.
172 *Menelaus*, high-priest. Onias murdered.
168 Antiochus takes Jerusalem, slays 40,000 persons, plunders the Temple.
167 Antiochus persecutes the Jews, desecrates the Temple. Noble revolt of Mattathias and his five sons.
165 *Judas Maccabæus* purifies the Temple and institutes the Feast of Dedication.
163 Alcimus, high-priest. Menelaus slain.

161 Judas Maccabæus slain in battle at Eleasa: succeeded in command by Jonathan, youngest son of Mattathias.
153 *Jonathan* becomes high-priest; *first of the line of the Hasmonæan priest-princes.*

143 *Simon*, last of the five sons of Mattathias, becomes high-priest.

Syria and Egypt				Europe
B.C.	*Egypt.*	B.C.	*Syria.*	B.C.
		260	Antiochus II (Theos).	
247	Ptolemy III (Euergetes).			
		246	Seleucus II (Callinicus).	
		225	Seleucus III (Ceraunus).	
		223	Antiochus III (the Great).	
222	Ptolemy IV (Philopator).			
				219 Beginning of Second Punic War.
				216 Battle of Cannæ.
205	Ptolemy V (Epiphanes).			
				202 Hannibal defeated in Africa by Scipio Africanus.
				201 End of Second Punic War.
		187	Seleucus IV (Philopator).	
				184 Death of Plautus.
182	Ptolemy VI (Eupator).			
182	Ptolemy VII (Philometor).			
		175	Antiochus IV (Epiphanes).	
				168 Macedonian War. Battle of Pydna.
		164	Antiochus V (Eupator).	
		162	Demetrius I (Soter).	
				159 Death of Terence.
		150	Alexander-Balas, usurper.	
				149 Third Punic War begins, lasts three years.
146	Ptolemy VIII (Philopator Neos).	146	Demetrius II (Nicator).	146 Carthage taken and destroyed by Scipio, Corinth by Mummius.
145	Ptolemy IX (Physcon, or Euergetes II).	145	Antiochus VI, son of Balas, aided by Tryphon opposes Demetrius.	

B.C. PALESTINE

141 Simon frees the Jews from foreign rule; the sovereignty and the priesthood confirmed by the Jews to him and his posterity.

135 Simon murdered by one Ptolemy. *John Hyrcanus*, his second son, succeeds him.

130 John Hyrcanus throws off the Syrian yoke. He destroys the temple on Mount Gerizim.

107 *Aristobulus* succeeds his father Hyrcanus, and assumes the title of King of the Jews.

106 ALEXANDER JANNÆUS succeeds his brother Aristobulus.

79 Jannæus dies. ALEXANDRA his wife succeeds, and makes her son *Hyrcanus* high-priest, and favours the Pharisees.

75 Birth of Hillel.

70 Alexandra dies. HYRCANUS II succeeds, but is forced to yield the crown to his younger brother ARISTOBULUS.

65 Hyrcanus endeavours to regain the crown.

Syria and Egypt				Europe	
B.C.	*Egypt.*	B.C.	*Syria.*	B.C.	
		142	Tryphon usurps throne of Syria (Babylon).		
		137	Antiochus VII (Sidetes), brother of Demetrius II, defeats Tryphon.	133–121	The Gracchi.
		128	He is slain in Parthia. Release of Demetrius II.		
		126	Alexander - Zebina.		
		125	Antiochus VIII (Grypus).		
117	Cleopatra III and her sons: Ptolemy X (Lathyrus, Soter II), Ptolemy XI (Alexander I).	113	Antiochus IX (Cyzicenus).	111–106	Jugurthine War.
				106	Birth of Pompey and Cicero.
				100	Julius Cæsar born (d. 44).
		95	Antiochus X (Eusebes).	95	Birth of Lucretius (d. 55).
				90–88	The Social (Italian) War.
					Civil War of Marius and Sulla.
				86	Birth of Sallust (d. 34).
		83	Tigranes of Armenia.		
81	Ptolemy XII (Alexander II).				
80	Ptolemy XIII (Auletes).				
				70	Consulship of Pompey and Crassus.
					Birth of Vergil (d. 19).
		69	Tigranes conquered by Lucullus.		
			Antiochus 'the Asiatic,' *the last King of Syria* set up by the Romans.		
		64	Pompey completes the conquest of Syria,		

B.C. PALESTINE

63 Pompey supports Hyrcanus ; takes Jerusalem ; great slaughter of the Jews. Pompey enters the Holy of Holies.

57 Aristobulus and his son Alexander; raising disturbances, are vanquished by Gabinius, the Roman Governor of Syria.

54 Crassus plunders the Temple.

47 ANTIPATER, appointed by Julius Cæsar Procurator of Judæa, makes his son HEROD Governor of Galilee, and PHASAEL, of Jerusalem.

43 Antipater poisoned ; Herod and Phasael revenge his death.

40 The Parthians, having taken Jerusalem, slay Phasael, and place ANTIGONUS (last Hasmonæan) on throne of Jerusalem. Herod flees to Rome, and is appointed King of the Jews.

37 Herod retakes Jerusalem, and establishes himself as King of Judæa ; reigns thirty-four years.

35 Herod makes *Aristobulus III*, brother of his wife Mariamne, high-priest, but afterwards murders him.

34 Hillel and Shammai.

29 Execution of Mariamne

Syria and Egypt		Europe
B.C. *Egypt.*	B.C. *Syria.*	B.C.
	and annexes it to the Roman Empire and forces Tigranes to peace.	63 Cicero, Consul. Catiline conspiracy. 60 First triumvirate, Pompey, Cæsar, Crassus. 59 Birth of Livy (d. 17 A. D.).
	Roman Governors.	
58 Auletes banished for awhile. (Reign of Berenice for two years.) Auletes returns.	57 Gabinius.	58–51 Cæsar's campaigns in Gaul.
	54 Crassus; overthrown by the Parthians.	52 Pompey sole consul.
51 Cleopatra VI, daughter of Auletes, and her brothers Ptolemy XIV and Ptolemy XV. *The Wisdom of Solomon* (?)		49 Civil war between Cæsar and Pompey.
		48 Battle of Pharsalia. Murder of Pompey in Egypt.
47 Cleopatra sole Queen of Egypt.		46 Reformation of the Calendar by Cæsar. 44 Cæsar assassinated.
	43 C. Cassius Longinus. After this Syria ruled by *legati.*	43 Second triumvirate, C. Octavius, M. Antony, M. Lepidus. Cicero put to death. Birth of Ovid (d. 18 A. D.).
		42 Battle of Philippi. Deaths of Brutus and Cassius. The Roman world subject to the triumvirate.
41 Meeting of Antony and Cleopatra at Tarsus.		
		32 War between Octavius and Antony.
		31 Battle of Actium. Establishment of the Roman Empire.
30 Deaths of Antony and Cleopatra.		

B.C. PALESTINE

25 Herod rebuilds Samaria, and calls it Sebaste

22 Herod begins to build Cæsarea. Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Batanæa are added to his dominions.
Simon appointed high-priest.
17 Herod after two years' preparation begins to rebuild and enlarge the Temple.

6 Aristobulus and Alexander, the sons of Mariamne, strangled.
5 Simon deposed, and *Mattathias* made high-priest, who is also deposed in favour of *Joazar*, son of Simon.
4 Birth of JESUS CHRIST (the common era of A. D. commences four years later).

THE NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY

A. D.
4 BIRTH OF JESUS CHRIST.

8 The child Jesus in the Temple.

26 Beginning of *John the Baptist's* ministry.
27–30 Our Lord's ministry, chiefly in Galilee; selection and mission of the Apostles.
29 Christ at the Feast of Tabernacles, 22nd Tisri (Oct.), and at the Feast of Dedication, 25th Chisleu (Dec.).
30 CRUCIFIXION, RESURRECTION, and ASCENSION of CHRIST.
Pentecost: Descent of the Holy Spirit.
33–4 Martyrdom of Stephen. Great persecution by the Jews. *Conversion of Paul.*
35 Paul's first visit to Jerusalem.

[*For the different views of chronologers on the dates in Acts, especially as connected with the life of Paul, see Parallel Table, Introduction to Acts, §§ 473, 474. The dates in the present table are chiefly from Prof. W. M. Ramsay.*]

Between 40 and 50 (?) **Epistle of James**, the brother of the Lord, to Christians of the Dispersion.

Syria and Egypt		Europe
B.C. *Egypt.*	B.C. *Syria.*	B.C.
27 Made a Roman province.	27 Syria made an imperial province.	27 Octavius made Emperor for ten years, and receives the title Augustus.
	23 M. Vipsanius Agrippa *legatus.*	25 The Gate of Janus shut.
	20 Augustus visits Syria and meets Herod.	18 Imperial dignity confirmed, 8 B.C., 3 and 12 A. D.
	9–8 C. Sentius Saturnus *legatus.*	
	7 Census of Palestine.	

Contemporary Annals

A. D.

4 Death of Herod the Great. Archelaus obtains Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa; Herod Antipas, Galilee; Herod Philip, the NE. trans-Jordanic districts.
6 Archelaus banished.
7 Coponius, Procurator of Judæa; *Ananus*, high-priest.
8 Cyrenius completes the 'enrolment,' Lu 2.
9 Marcus Ambivius, procurator.
13 Annius Rufus, procurator.
14 Death of the Emperor Augustus; accession of Tiberius.
15 Valerius Gratus, procurator.
17 *Caiaphas*, high-priest.
26 Pontius Pilate, procurator.

33 Deposition and banishment of Pontius Pilate. Death of Herod Philip.
37 Death of Tiberius: his successor Caius Caligula; Marcellus, procurator; *Jonathan*, high-priest; Herod Agrippa obtains the tetrarchy of Philip.
38 Birth of Josephus, the Jewish historian.
39 Herod Antipas deposed; the tetrarchy of Galilee conferred upon H. Agrippa.

A.D.

40 Rest of the Church, in consequence of Jewish opposition to the profanation of the Temple by the emperor.
Conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch. Evangelization of Samaria (the deacon Philip).

43 Conversion of Cornelius through Peter's ministry. Preaching to Gentiles at Antioch by fugitives from Jerusalem; Barnabas brings Paul to that city; disciples first called Christians.

44 Martyrdom of James the son of Zebedee. Imprisonment of Peter: his miraculous deliverance and departure from Jerusalem.

46 Paul and Barnabas visit Jerusalem with alms for the brethren.

47 *First missionary journey of Paul* (with Barnabas) in Cyprus and Asia Minor.

49 **Council at Jerusalem on the admission of Gentiles into the Church.**

51 *Second missionary journey of Paul* (with Silas). Introduction of the gospel into Europe (Macedonia). Visit to Galatia.

51, 52 Paul at Athens and Corinth.
Epistles to the Thessalonians.

53 Paul visits Jerusalem, and returns to Antioch.

54 *Third missionary journey*: Galatia, Phrygia, to Ephesus, where the Apostle spends the greater part of three years.

57 **First Epistle to the Corinthians**, from Ephesus.
Paul in Macedonia. **Second Epistle to the Corinthians.**

57 or 58 **Epistle to the Galatians.**

58 Paul in Achaia (Corinth). **Epistle to the Romans.**
Paul at Jerusalem. Arrest in the Temple.

57–59 Paul in Cæsarea.

59, 60 Paul sails for Rome: shipwreck; reaches Rome.

62, 63 **Epistles to the churches in Proconsular Asia ('Ephesians'); to the Colossians and Philemon: Philippians.**

62 *End of history in the Acts.* Paul tried and acquitted; leaves Rome.

63 (?) **First Epistle of Peter**, from 'Babylon,' perhaps Rome.

63–66 Paul travels in Macedonia, Asia Minor, Crete, and perhaps Spain.

64 **First Epistle to Timothy.**
Epistle to Titus.
Persecution of Christians in Rome.

66 Paul winters at Nicopolis; sent to Rome.

67 Second trial of the Apostle at Rome.

c. 68 **Epistle to the Hebrews** (anonymous).

67 or 68 **Second Epistle to Timothy.**
Second Epistle of Peter. Epistle of Jude (?).
Paul (and Peter?) martyred at Rome.
Probable date of the **Apocalypse of John.**

70 Christians retire to Pella.

c. 90 **Epistles of John.**

95 Persecution of Christians, Jews, and 'philosophers' by Domitian.
Date (according to some) of the **Apocalypse.** *The Apostle John is thought to have survived until nearly the close of the century.*

A.D.

40 Command to erect a colossal statue of Caligula in the Holy of Holies at Jerusalem.

41 Caligula assassinated : CLAUDIUS his successor ; H. Agrippa adds Judæa to his tetrarchies ; the kingdom of Judæa.

44 Death of H. Agrippa at Cæsarea.
CUSPIUS FADUS, procurator.

46 Great famine in Judæa.
TIBERIUS ALEXANDER, procurator.

48 VENTIDIUS CUMANUS, procurator, with FELIX.

51 FELIX, sole procurator.

52 Jews banished from Rome by Claudius (with 'Chaldæans, soothsayers (*mathematici*) and astrologers,' *Tacitus*).

54 Death of Claudius : NERO his successor.

59 PORCIUS FESTUS, procurator.

61 *Joseph*, son of Simon, high-priest.

62 ALBINUS, procurator.

64 GESSIUS FLORUS, procurator.
Completion of 'Herod's' temple.
Burning of Rome : blame laid on the Christians.

66 Jewish war begins. Vespasian the Roman general. Galilee and Peræa subjugated.

68 Death of Nero. GALBA proclaimed his successor.

69 OTHO, VITELLIUS, VESPASIAN successively raised to the imperial throne. Titus commands his father's army in Judæa.

70 Siege and capture of Jerusalem.

79 Vespasian succeeded by TITUS.

81 Titus succeeded by DOMITIAN.

96 Death of Domitian (NERVA, his successor, d. 98, followed by TRAJAN).

APPENDIX II

NATURAL HISTORY

I. Animals of Scripture

1. QUADRUPEDS

Ape. Heb. *Qoph* (or monkey); from S. India or Ceylon, 1 Ki 10[22] 2 Ch 9[21].

Ass. Heb. *Chămôr* (reddish), Gen 12[16] 45[23]. *Athôn* (she-ass), Num 22[21–33]. *'Ayir* (colt), Is 30[6.24]. *Pĕrĕ* (wild ass), Ps 104[11].

Badger. Heb. *Tachash.* Certainly not the badger: probably the porpoise or seal. R. V. reads for 'badgers' skins' (outer covering of the ark) 'sealskins' (marg. *or porpoise-skins*), Ex 25[5], &c.

Bat. Heb. *'Atallēph*, Dt 14[18] Is 2[20].

Bear. Heb. *Dōbh.* The Syrian bear of naturalists, 2 Sa 17[8] Pr 28[15].

Behemoth. Plural of Heb. word for *beast* or *cattle*; the hippopotamus (denoting bigness), Job 40[15–24].

Boar. Heb. *Chăzir*, the wild boar, devastator of vineyards, Ps 80[13].

Bull. **Several words** for the male of the herd. Heb. *Abbir* (mighty), Ps 68[30]; *Bāqār*, Ex 29[1], &c. *'Eghel* (bull-calf), Jer 31[18] *Par* (bullock), *passim.* *Shōr*, generic, an animal of the ox species, *very frequent.*

Camel. Heb. *Gāmāl, passim.*

Cattle. Heb. *Bĕhēmah* (see *Behemoth*), also rendered beast, a collective word, *passim*; *Baqar*, Eccl 2[7] Joel 1[18]. But a frequent word is **Miqnēh**, literally **possession or substance,** cattle in the East being the most valuable property, Gen 4[20], &c.

Chamois. Heb. *Zĕmer*, Dt 14[5]. Probably a species of wild sheep, 'leaper.'

Coney. Heb. *Shāphān*, 'the hider.' *Hyrax Syriacus*, a small quadruped of the rabbit kind; dweller in rocky cavities, Dt 14[7] Ps 104[18] Pr 30[26].

Deer, Fallow. Properly the roebuck, Dt 14[5] 1 Ki 4[23] (R. V.). Heb. *Yachmûr.*

Dog. Heb. *Kĕlebh.* **Not domesticated as in Europe, but unclean,** wild and fierce in towns and villages of the East, the terror of the streets. Occasionally set to guard the flock, Job 30[1], but in that character regarded as vile and loathsome.

Dromedary. Three Hebrew words are so rendered: *Bĕker*, Is 60[6] Jer 2[23] (R. V. 'young camel'); *Rĕkesh*, 1 Ki 4[28] (R. V. 'swift steed'); *Rammak*, Est 8[10] (lit. 'offspring of mares').

Ferret. A lizard, probably the *gecko* (R. V.), Lev 11^{30}. Heb. *'Anāqāh*, 'groaner.'

Fox. Or **jackal** (R. V. marg.), Ps $63^{10.11}$ Ct 2^{15}, &c. Heb. *Shû'al.*

Goat. Heb. *'Ez*, the usual word, Gen 15^{9}, &c. *'Attûdh*, 'he-goat,' Ps 66^{15} Is 34^{6}. *Sa'ir* (hairy), Lev 16 *throughout*, 2 Ch 29^{23} Eze 43^{25}. Wild goat, *Yā'el*, 1 Sa 24^{2}, perhaps the *ibex*. *'Aqqô*, Dt 14^{5}.

Greyhound. Some render the Heb. *Zarzîr* (loin-girt) or *war-horse* (R. V. marg.).

Hare. Heb. *'Arnébheth*, Lev 11^{6} Dt 14^{7}. It does not really 'chew the cud,' but has a habit of moving the jaw *as if* doing so. 'For popular guidance this description was better than a more scientific one.'—Dr. P. SCHAFF.

Hart. Heb. *'Ayyāl*, Ps 42^{1}, &c. Young hart, fawn. *'Opher*, Ct $2^{9.17}$ 8^{14}.

Horse. Heb. *Sûs*, *passim*. *Sûsah*, fem. *mare*, or perhaps collective, a *team of horses*, Ct 1^{9}.

Hyena. Not in English version, but according to Gesenius the right rendering of *tsābhûa'*, 'speckled bird,' Jer 12^{9}. *Zeboîm*, 1 Sa 13^{18}, 'the valley of hyenas.'

Leopard. Heb. *Nāmēr*, 'spotted,' Is 11^{6} Jer 13^{23}.

Lion. The number and variety of names expressively show the attention aroused in a pastoral community by this terror of their flocks and herds. Heb. *Laïsh*, *Shāchāl*, *'Arî* (tearer), *Kĕphîr* (young lion), *Lābhi* (lion or lioness). All these words occur in Job $4^{10.11}$.

Mole. Heb. *Chăpharpērah*, 'digger of holes,' Is 2^{20}. (*Gesen*, rat) prob. of burrowing and gnawing animals generally. *Tinshémeth*, Lev 11^{30}, the chameleon.

Mouse. Heb. *'Akbār*, 'burrower,' esp. field-mouse, Lev 11^{29}, &c.

Mule. Heb. *Péred*, *Pirdah*, generally. In Est 8^{10} *Rékhesh*, 'swift steed,' as 1 Ki 4^{28} (A. V. 'dromedary') Mic 1^{13}. In Gen 36^{24} the word is different, and probably means 'hot springs' (so R. V.).

Pygarg. A Greek word (LXX), 'white-haunched,' some species of antelope, Dt 14^{5}. Heb. *Dishôn.*

Roebuck. Roe, the gazelle. Heb. *Tsĕbhî*, f. *Tsĕbhiyyah*, in general, Pr 5^{19}. *Yaălah*, 'doe' (R. V.) or chamois.

Satyrs. Heb. *Sĕ'irîm*, 'hairy ones,' Is 13^{21}, perhaps he-goats; or generally for wild denizens of the wilderness. Twice rendered 'devils,' Lev 17^{7} 2 Ch 11^{15} ('he-goats' R. V.) as objects of worship.

Sheep. Several words so rendered, as natural among a pastoral people. Heb. *Seh*, 'one of a flock.' *Tsōn*, 'flock.' *Kébhes* (fem. *Kibhsah*) or *Kesebh*, 'he-lamb.' *Rākhēl*, 'ewe.' *'Ayil*, 'ram.' Gr. *πρόβατον*, *sheep*. *ἀμνός* or *ἄρνιον*, 'lamb.' *ποίμνη*, 'flock.'

Swine. Heb. *Chăzîr*, Gr. *χοῖρος*, Lev 11^{7}, &c.

Unicorn. Heb. *Rĕ'ēm*. Properly **buffalo** or (as R. V.) wild ox, Num 23^{22}, &c.

Weasel. Heb. *Chōled*, 'glider,' Lev 11^{29}.

Whale. Heb. *Tannîn*, any sea-monster. So R. V. Gen 1^{21} Job 7^{12}. In Eze 32^{2} 'dragon.'

Wolf. Heb. *Zĕ'ēbh*, 'tawny'; Gr. *λύκος*. The terror of flocks in Palestine; a frequent emblem of cruelty and greed.

2. BIRDS.

Bittern. Heb. *Qippōd*; but more probably porcupine, as R. V., Is 14^{23} 34^{11} Zep 2^{14}.

Cormorant. Rather pelican, Is 34^{11} Zep 2^{14}. Heb. *Qa'ath*. In Lev 11^{17} Dt 14^{17} the cormorant is intended. See R. V. Heb. *Shālākh*, 'diver.'

Crane. In two passages 'crane' and 'swallow' should be transposed (as R. V.), Is 38^{14} Jer 8^{7}. Heb. *Sûs* and *'Anûr*.

Cuckoo. Rather sea-mew (R. V.), Lev 11^{16} Dt 14^{15}. Heb. *Shachaph*, 'slender.'

Dove. Heb. *Yônah*. Gr. *περιστερά*. Frequent in Old Testament. In New Testament Mt 3^{16} and parallels; Mt 10^{16} 21^{12}, &c. See Turtledove.

Eagle. Heb. *Nésher*. Gr. *ἀετός*, Dt 19^{4} Is 40^{31}, &c., Rev 4^{7} 12^{14} and var. read. 8^{15}; for *angel* see R. V. The gier-eagle, Lev 11^{18} Dt 14^{17}, Heb. *Racham*, is a species of vulture; and in Mt 24^{28} Lu 17^{37} the preferable translation seems to be 'vultures,' as R. V. marg.

Hawk. Heb. *Nēts* (swift-flier), Lev 11^{16} Dt 14^{15} Job 39^{26}. Night-hawk, *Tachmas*, Lev 11^{16} Dt 14^{15}. See Swan.

Heron. Heb. *'Anaphah*, Lev 11^{19} Dt 14^{18}. Possibly the ibis.

Kite. Heb. *Ayyah*, Lev 11^{14} Dt 14^{13}.

Lapwing. Heb. *Dûkhiphath*, Lev 11^{19} Dt 14^{18}. Probably the hoopoe (R. V.).

Osprey. Heb. *'Ozniyyah*, a species of eagle, Lev 11^{13} Dt 14^{12}, a fish-feeding bird.

Ossifrage. 'Bone-breaker,' Heb. *Péres*, Lev 11^{13} Dt 14^{12}. The gier-eagle.

Ostrich. See Owl. In addition to the passages there cited, Lam 4^{3} has the Heb. *Yĕ'ēnîm*, pl. for ostriches, and Job 39^{13-18} gives a vivid description of the ostrich's habits. The word rendered in A. V. 'peacocks' (Heb. *Rĕnānim*) should undoubtedly be ostriches, and 'ostrich' at the end of the verse is a mistake. See R. V.

Owl. Heb. *Yanshûph* (twilight bird). 'Great owl,' Lev 11^{17} Dt 14^{15} Is 34^{11}. 'Little owl,' *Kôs*, Ps 102^{6} Lev 11^{17} Dt 14^{16}. But as this word means *cup*, it possibly here denotes pelican, from its pouch. *Lîlith*, 'screech-owl,' Is 34^{14}, properly night-monster (so R. V.). *Ya'ănah* (crier), always preceded by *Bath-*, 'daughter of,' means the ostrich, Lev 11^{16} Dt 14^{15} Job 30^{29} Is 13^{21} 34^{13} 43^{20} Jer 50^{39} Mic 1^{8}. See R. V.

Partridge. Heb. *Qorē* (caller), 1 Sa 26^{20} Jer 17^{11}.

Peacock. Not a native of Palestine. See Ostrich. Peacocks were imported by Solomon, 1 Ki 10^{22}. Heb. pl. *Tûkiyyim*.

Pelican. See Cormorant.

Quail. Ex 16^{13} Num $11^{31.32}$ Ps 105^{40}. Mentioned only in the narrative of the Exodus. Heb. *Sĕlav*.

Raven. Heb. *'Orēbh* (croaker), also Crow, Gen 8^{7} Ps 147^{9} Pr 30^{17}, &c.

Sparrow. Heb. *Tsippôr* (chirper). Any small bird, especially the sparrow, Ps 84^{3}. Also translated bird (fowl), as Lev 14^{4-7} Ps 8^{8}.

Stork. Heb. *Chăsîdah* (**the pious, from the affectionate care of** her offspring), Ps 104^{17} Zec 5^{9}. On Job 39^{13} see Ostrich, and R. V. ('kindly' or 'stork-like').

Swallow. Heb. *Dĕrōr* (free or swift-flying), Ps 84^{3} Pr 26^{2}. See Crane.

Swan. Heb. *Tanshémeth*, Lev 11^{18} Dt 14^{16} (A. V.). But R. V. has 'horned owl.' Other interpreters propose Lizard or Pelican.

Turtledove. Heb. *Tôr*, from the bird's note, Gen 15^{9} Lev $5^{7.11}$ Ps 74^{19} Ct 2^{12}. New Testament τρυγών, Lu 2^{24}.

Vulture. In Job 28^{7} for vulture, Heb. *Ayyah*, read falcon (R. V.), elsewhere kite. So for *Dayyah* (*Da'ah*), darter, Lev 11^{14} Dt 14^{13} Is 34^{15}. See Eagle.

3. REPTILES

Adder. Heb. *'Akhshûbh*, Ps 140^{3}. *Péthen* or asp, Ps 58^{4} 91^{13}. *Tsiph'oni* (basilisk), Pr 23^{32}. *Shĕphiphon*, the horned snake, Gen 49^{17}.

Asp. See foregoing, Dt 32^{33} Job $20^{14.16}$ Is 11^{8}.

Chameleon. *Koach*, Lev 11^{30} (R. V. 'land-crocodile'); a large kind of lizard. See Mole.

Cockatrice. Heb. *Tsepha'*, *Tsiphŏni*, basilisk, Is 11^{8} 14^{29} 59^{5} Jer 8^{17}. See R. V. marg. Adder.

Dragon. Heb. *Tannin*, **any sea-monster or large land reptile,** Ps 74^{13} 148^{7} Is 27^{1} Ez 29^{3}. In Ex 7^{9-12} translated 'serpent.' So Ps 91^{13} in R. V., and *plur.* jackal in Job 30^{29} Ps 44^{19}, with other passages describing desolation. In New Testament (Apoc.) δράκων, symbolical of the forces of evil.

Ferret. Heb. *'Anaqah*, a kind of lizard; perhaps the gecko, Lev 11^{30}. The name signifies 'moaning,' 'crying,' as Ps 12^{5} 102^{20} Mal 2^{13}.

Frog. Heb. *Tsĕphardēa'*, Gk. βάτραχος, Ex 8^{2-13} Rev 16^{13}.

Leviathan. A Hebrew word untranslated. Job 41 the crocodile, Ps 104^{26} a sea-monster; Is 27^{1} symbol of Babylonian power, comp. Ps 74^{14}. In Job 3^{8} for 'their mourning,' read 'leviathan,' referring probably to some form of incantation (R. V.).

Lizard. Heb. *Lĕta'ah*, Lev 11^{30}, precise species unknown.

Serpent. Heb. *Nachash*, Gr. ὄφις, Gen 3 Jn 3^{14}, &c. The generic term.

Serpent (Fiery). Heb. *Saraph* (**the same word as seraph,** 'burning one'), with or without Nachash, Num $21^{6.8}$ Dt 8^{15}. In Is 14^{29} 30^{6} called also a *flying* serpent, from its habit of darting from tree to tree.

Snail. Heb. *Chomet*, Lev 11^{30}, rather sand-lizard, as R.V. *Shablûl*, Ps 58^{8}.

Tortoise. Heb. *Tsabh* (slow-mover), classed with lizards, Lev 11^{29}, otherwise unknown.

Viper. Heb. *'Eph'eh*, any poisonous serpent, Job 20^{16} Is 30^{6} 59^{5}, Gr. ἔχιδνα, lit. Ac 28^{3}; fig. Mt 3^{7} 12^{34} 23^{33}.

4. INSECTS (*Invertebrata* generally).

Ant. Heb. *Nĕmalah*, Pr 6^{6} 30^{25}.

Bee. Heb. *Dĕbhorah*, Dt 1^{44} Judg 14^{8} Ps 118^{12} Is 7^{18}.

Beetle. Heb. *Chargōl* (leaper), Lev 11^{22}. Perhaps some species of locust.

Caterpillar. See Locust.

Flea. Heb. *Par'osh*, 1 Sa 24^{14} 26^{20}.

Fly. Heb. *Zĕbhûbh* (whence Baal-zebub, 'lord of the fly'), Eccl 10^{1} Is 7^{8}. *'Arobh*, Ex $8^{21.29}$ Ps 78^{45} 105^{31}.

Gnat. Gr. *κώνωψ*, Mt 23^{24}, in the proverbial expression 'to strain out the gnat and swallow the camel.' See R. V.

Hornet. Heb. *Tsir'ah*, Ex 23^{28} Dt 7^{20} Jos 24^{12}.

Horseleech. Heb. *'Alûqah*, Pr. 30^{15} (or 'vampire,' R. V. marg.).

Lice. Heb. *Kinnim*, Ex 8^{16-18} Ps 105^{31} (or 'sand-flies,' R. V.).

Locust. **The number of words for this destroyer of vegetation and crops** is very expressive. Four occur in Joel 1^{4}: Heb. *Gazam*, 'palmer-worm,' also Am 4^{9}; *'Arbeh* (prolific), also Ex 10^{4-19}, &c., 'locust'; *Yeleq*, 'canker-worm,' also Ps 105^{34}; *Chasîl* (browser), 'caterpillar,' also Ps 78^{46}. Other words are *Chāgābh* (hopper), Num 13^{33} 2 Ch 7^{13}; *Gēbh* or *Gôbh* (cutter), Is 33^{4} Am 7^{1}; *Tsĕlātsal* (chirper), Dt 28^{42}. This last word is also used for cymbals.

Moth. Heb. *'Ash*, Job 4^{19} Ps 39^{11} Is 51^{8}. New Testament Gr. *σής*, Mt $6^{19.20}$ Lu 12^{33}.

Palmer-worm. See Locust.

Scorpion. Heb. *'Aqrabh*, Gr. *σκορπίος*, Dt 8^{15} Lu 11^{12} Rev $9^{3.5}$ (used for a stinging scourge, 1 Ki 12^{11}).

Spider. Heb. *'Akkabhish*, Job 8^{14} Is 59^{5}. *Sĕmāmîth*, Pr 30^{28}, is rather a small kind of lizard. See R. V.

Worm. Heb. *Rimmah*, Ex 16^{24} Job 24^{20}. *Tôlă'*, Dt 28^{39} Ps 22^{6} Is 66^{24}. *Sās*, Is 51^{8}. See Moth. *Zochēl* (crawling things), Mic 7^{17}, Gr. *σκώληξ*, Mk 9^{48} (from Is *loc. cit.*).

II. Plants of Scripture

TREES AND FLOWERS.

Almond is the name of two trees mentioned in Scripture; the one, *Lûz*, translated 'hazel' (A. V.) Gen 30^{37}, is the wild almond, and the other, *Shaqed*, the cultivated almond, Num 17^{8} Gen 43^{11}, from its early blossoms, a symbol of any sudden interposition, Jer 1^{11}, and, from their whiteness, of old age, Eccl 12^{5}.

Almug, or *Algum* (Heb.). Sandal-wood best answers the description in 1 Ki $10^{11.12}$. The latter name, 2 Ch 2^{8} and $9^{10.11}$, is probably an error of transcribers.

Aloes, properly *lign-aloes*, Num 24^{6}; to be distinguished from the common flowering aloe. The wood is highly odoriferous: see Ps 45^{8} Pr 7^{17} Ct 4^{14} Jn 19^{40}. Heb. *'Ahalim*; Gr. *ἀλόη*.

Anise, or dill, occurs only in Mt 23^{23} (*ἄνηθον*). It is an herb of small value. Its seeds are aromatic and carminative, yielding a volatile oil.

Apple. Often thought to be the quince, which is in the East more highly scented, and much sweeter than in Europe; or it may be the apricot, as Dr. Tristram thinks: Pr 25^{11} Joel 1^{12} Ct $2^{3.5}$ 7^{8}. Heb. *Tappûach*.

Ash, Is 44^{14} (A. V.), should properly be fir-tree, as R. V. Heb. *'Oren*.

Balm. Gen 37^{25} Jer 8^{22}, &c., a medicinal gum, a production of Gilead, probably the *opobalsamum*. Heb. *Tsŏrî*.

Barley. Ex 9^{31}, &c., the well-known grain. Heb. *Sĕ'orah* (the hairy plant).

Bay-tree only in Ps 37^{35}; the *Laurus nobilis*, an evergreen with an agreeable spicy odour. But R. V. has 'a tree in its native soil.' Heb. *Ezrach.*

Bean. 2 Sa 17^{28} Eze 4^{9}. Heb. *Bôl.*

Box-tree, the same as that of Europe, though in the East it grows wild and large, Is 41^{19} 60^{13}. Specially adapted to mountainous districts, and a calcareous limestone soil, like Lebanon. Heb. *Tĕashshûr.*

Briers. The thorny plants of Palestine are very numerous, and Rabbinical writers say that as many as twenty-two words are used in Scripture to express this species. The particular plants indicated by these words are generally not known, but they are nearly all thorny and useless.

Brier, Barqanim, Judg $8^{7.16}$, some thorny, prickly plant, but sometimes rendered 'threshing instrument,' as Rosenm. *Chedēq,* Pr 15^{19} Mic 7^{4}, 'a brier,' a species of nightshade, *Solanum spinosum* (Royle, Tristram). *Sirpad,* Is 55^{13}. *Sillon,* Ez 28^{24}. *Shamir* (often). *Sarabhim,* Ez 2^{6} (the last form not identified).

Bramble, Judg $9^{14.15}$, &c. Heb. *'Atād,* by some supposed to be the 'thorn' with which Christ was crowned (*Spina Christi*), properly *thorn,* which see. Also *Choach,* thorn or thistle, which see.

Bush (Heb. *Sĕneh*), Ex 3^{2} Dt 33^{16}. The Greek word *βάτος* means bramble: and the *Rubus sanctus* is common in Palestine.

Nettle, Pr 24^{31} Job 30^{7} Zep 2^{9}. *Charûl* Royle thinks wild mustard. It is destructive to other vegetation; common to the East; in English, charlock. The nettle is probably the plant mentioned in Is 34^{13} Ho 9^{6} Pr 24^{31} (*Qimmosh*), where it is so translated.

Thistles, Gen 3^{18}, *τρίβολος* in LXX and New Testament, Mt 7^{16} Heb 6^{8}; a common prickly plant, spreading over the ground. Heb. *Dardar.*

Thorns, a general name. Heb. *Atad,* Ps 58^{9}, also *bramble*; see above *Choach,* also *thistle,* Job 41^{2} Pr 26^{9} Is 34^{13}, and once in pl. *hooks* or *chains,* 2 Ch 33^{11} (R. V.). *Chēdeq,* also *brier*; *na'atzûtz,* a thorn hedge, Is 55^{13}. *Mesûbhah,* Mic 7^{4}. *Sir,* Eccl 7^{6}. *Tsēn,* Job 5^{5}. *Qôts* (collective, often). *Qimmashōn,* Pr 24^{31}. *Shayith,* Is 5^{6}, &c. *ἄκανθα* generally in the LXX; also in Mt 7^{16} $13^{7.22}$ 27^{29} Jn $19^{2.5}$.

The number and variety of these words illustrate the abundance of plants of this class in Palestine. The common bramble and the holy bramble (*Rubus sanctus*) abound: and thistles cover large tracts of ground, and grow to a prodigious size; among others, travellers mention the white Syrian thistle, with the Egyptian or purple variety, and the musk-scented thistle (*Carduus mollis*).

Calamus or sweet cane, Ex 30^{23} Ct 4^{14} Eze 27^{19} Is 43^{24} Jer 6^{20}. This plant is found in Asia and Egypt, though the most fragrant are said in Jer to come from a far country. It was one of the ingredients of the anointing oil of the Sanctuary. Heb. *Qaneh.*

Camphire (different from camphor), probably the henna (Gr. *κύπρος*) of the East: a fragrant shrub, with flowers like those of the lilac. The leaves form a powder used for dyeing the nails and eyebrows, Ct 1^{14} 4^{13}. Heb. *Kopher.*

Caper-berry (Eccl 12^{5} R. V.), a shrub growing on walls and rocks.

The flower-buds, preserved in vinegar, are a stimulating condiment. Heb. *'Abhiyonah.*

Carob-tree, a leguminous shrub found in the countries bordering the Mediterranean, yielding large pods with sweetish seeds, palatable and useful as food for cattle and swine: the 'husks' of Lu 15^{16} (Gr. *κεράτια*).

Cassia, Ex 30^{24} Eze 27^{19}; an inferior kind of cinnamon. The bark yields an essential oil, less aromatic than cinnamon, but in larger quantities, and of a more pungent taste. Heb. *Qiddah, Qĕtsi'oth.*

Cedar, the name generally of coniferous trees, especially of the noblest of the tribe, the cedar of Lebanon. The cedar of the Pentateuch (Lev $14^{4.6}$) was probably a juniper, which tree is common in the desert of Sinai. Heb. *Erez.*

Chestnut-tree, Gen 30^{37} Eze 31^{8}, probably the plane, *Platanus orientalis,* one of the most magnificent of trees. Those of Assyria were especially fine, see Eze 31. Heb. *'Armôn.*

Cinnamon, Ex 30^{23} Pr 7^{17} Ct 4^{14} Rev 18^{13}, the bark of the *Laurus kinnamomum.* The plant is found in India and China; but the best kind is from Malabar and Ceylon. Heb. *Qinnamôn.*

Cockle, Job 31^{40} (R. V. 'noisome weeds'), perhaps the darnel or 'tares' of the parable, Mt 13^{30}. The plural is translated 'wild grapes,' Is 5^{2}. The fruit is narcotic and poisonous. Heb. *Ba'shah.*

Coriander, an umbelliferous plant, yielding a fruit (called seed), the size of a pepper-corn, globular, greyish, and aromatic. It is common in the south of Europe, and is cultivated in Essex, Ex 16^{31} Num 11^{7}. Heb. *Gad.*

Cucumber, Num 11^{5} Is 1^{8}; rightly translated. Extensively cultivated in the East. Heb. *Qishshuim.*

Dove's-dung, 2 Ki 6^{25}, perhaps the chick-pea, a vetch common in the East. The same name is still applied in Arabic to the dung of pigeons, and to these peas (Bochart, Taylor). Some suppose that the root of a wild-flower, the star of Bethlehem, is the article here mentioned. Heb. *Dibhyonim* (Qĕrî).

Ebony, Eze 27^{15}, wood greatly prized for its colour and hardness. It is the heart-wood of a date-tree, which grows in great abundance in the East, and especially in Ceylon. Heb. *Hobhnim.*

Fig-tree, properly translated: a native of the East; with broad shady leaves (1 Ki 4^{25}). The fig sprouts at the vernal equinox, and yields three crops of fruit, the first ripening about the end of June, having a fine flavour, and generally eaten green (Jer 24^{2}). The others are often preserved in masses or cakes, 1 Sa 25^{18}, &c. Heb. *Tĕ'ĕnah. Pag,* green-fig, cf. 2^{13}; Gr. *σῦκον, συκῆ,* freq. in N.T.

Fir-tree is frequently mentioned in Scripture, 2 Sa 6^{5} Ct 1^{17}, &c., and probably includes various coniferous trees. Some regard the cypress and juniper as the true representatives of *berosh*; others the cedar, and others the common pine. All are found in Palestine; and as cedar and fir constantly occur together in Scripture, they probably include the whole genus. Heb. *Bĕrosh.*

Fitches, i.e. vetches, occurs only in Is $28^{25.27}$, and is probably a species of *Nigella* (black cummin, R.V. *marg.*). The seeds are black, and are used in the East, like carraway seeds, for the purpose of imparting to food an aromatic, acrid taste. Heb. *Qetzach.*

Flag (translated meadow, in Gen 41[2,18]) Job 8[11], probably any green herbaceous plants of luxuriant growth. Heb. *Achû*.

Flax (*Pishtah*, once translated 'tow,' Is 43[17], more properly 'a wick'): the common plant so called, used to make linen, cord, and torches; extensively cultivated in Egypt and Syria. Gr. λίνον, Mt 12[20].

Shēsh, translated fine linen and silk, was probably the *hemp* plant, in Arabic *hasheesh*, yielding an intoxicating drink (whence assassin), now known as the *bang* of the East. The plant is cultivated in Persia, Europe, and India.

Three other words are translated linen in the English version, *Badh*, *Bûts*, and *Sadin*, the first in the Pentateuch, &c., and is probably the *linen* made from flax; the second only in Chronicles and the Prophets, and is probably *cotton* cloth, a product not mentioned till after the Captivity: it is generally translated 'fine linen'; the third only in Pr 31[24] Is 3[23] 'linen raiment.' The βύσσος of the New Testament was probably linen. In the LXX, βύσσος represents both words, *Badh* and *Bûts*; for *Sadin*, σινδών is used (see Mt 27[59] and parallels). The word *cotton* does not occur in Scripture, but the Hebrew *Karpas*, in Est 1[6], is translated *green* (A. V.) and *cotton* (R. V.). The cotton plant seems not to have been known in Palestine before the Captivity.

Galbanum, Ex 30[34] only, a very powerful and not very fragrant gum, exuded by a shrub belonging to the family of Umbelliferæ. It was used in preparing incense. Heb. *Chelbĕnah*.

Garlick, Num 11[5] only. This plant is now known by the name of eschalot, or shalot, and is common in Europe (*Allium Escalonium*, i. e. of Ascalon). Herodotus states that it was supplied in large quantities to the labourers engaged in the erection of the Pyramids. Heb. *Shûm*.

Gopher is mentioned only in Gen 6[14]. Probably a tree of the pine tribe, perhaps cypress, which is very abundant in Assyria. Heb. *Gopher*.

Gourd, Jon 4[6–10], Heb. *Qiqayôn*, is now generally admitted to be the *Palma Christi*, or castor-oil plant. It is of very rapid growth, with broad palmate leaves, and giving, especially when young, an ample shade. The oil is obtained from the seeds of the tree.

Gourd, wild, 2 Ki 4[39]. Heb. pl. *Paqqu'ôth*. The wild cucumber, whose leaves are like those of the vine, but of a poisonous quality and bitter taste.

Hemlock, Ho 10[4]. Heb. *Rōsh*. Translated 'gall' in Dt 29[18] Ps 69[21] Lam 3[19], &c. Probably a general name for any bitter herb (Heb. *La'anah*, Am 6[12] (R. V.) 'wormwood').

Hyssop, Ex 12[22] Jn 19[29], &c., either marjoram, a small shrub, its leaves covered with soft woolly down, adapted to retain fluid; or the thorny caper, which grows wild in Syria, and is possessed of detergent properties. Heb. *'Ezôbh*, Gr. ὕσσωπος.

Juniper, 1 Ki 19[4,5] Ps 120[4]; probably the Spanish broom. The wood of this tree burns with a remarkably light flame, giving out great heat: hence 'coals of juniper' in Ps 120 (and R. V. marg. Job 30[4], 'to warm them'). Heb. *Rothem*.

Leeks, Num 11[5]. The word so translated is rendered 'grass,' 1 Ki 18[5]; 'herb,' Job 8[12]; and 'hay,' Pr 27[25]. It properly means anything

green. But it is translated 'leeks' in these passages by most of the versions; and the plant has been known (and indeed worshipped) in Egypt from very early times. Heb. *Chatsir.*

Lentiles, a kind of pulse, from a small annual, and used for making soups and pottage. It is of the colour of chocolate (reddish-brown), and is compared by Pliny to the colour of the reddish sand around the pyramids. Wilkinson (*Ancient Egypt*) has given a picture of lentile-pottage making, taken from an ancient slab. Gen 25^{34} 2 Sa 17^{28}. Heb. *'Adashim.*

Lily. This word is probably applicable to several plants common in Palestine. In most passages of Scripture where the word is used, there is reference to the lotus, or water-lily of the Nile. This species was eaten as food: the roots, stalks, and seeds are all very grateful, both fresh and dried. Hence the allusion to feeding among lilies. The 'lily of the valley,' i. e. of the water-courses, belongs also to this species, Ct $2^{2.16}$ 4^{5}, &c. The flower was worn on festive occasions, and formed one of the ornaments of the Temple, 1 Ki 7^{19}. Heb. *Shûshān.*

The lily of the New Testament (κρίνον) is the scarlet martagon lily (*Lil. chalcedonicum*), a stately turban-like flower. It flowers in April and May, when the Sermon on the Mount was probably delivered, and is indigenous throughout Galilee. It is called in the New Testament the 'lily of the field,' Mt 6^{28}.

Mallows, only in Job 30^{4}, R. V. 'salt-wort,' *Atriplex halimus*; is still used by the poor as a common dish. Heb. *Mallûach.*

Mandrakes, Gen $30^{14.16}$ Ct 7^{13}, *Atropa mandragora*, a plant like lettuce in size and shape, but of dark green leaves. The fruit is of the size of a small apple, and ripens in wheat-harvest (May). It is noted for its exhilarating and genial virtues. Heb. *Dudaim.*

Melon, Num 11^{5}. The gourd tribe, to which cucumbers and melons belong, are great favourites in the East, and abound in Egypt and India. There are different kinds—the Egyptian (*Cucumis chate*), the common water-melon, &c., all of which are probably included in the Scripture name. Heb. *'Abhattichim.*

Millet, Eze 4^{9}, the *Panicum miliaceum* of botanists, a small grain sometimes cultivated in England for feeding poultry, and grown throughout the East. It is used for food in Persia and in India. Heb. *Dochan.*

Mulberry, in the New Testament, *sycamine*-tree, Lu 17^{6} (very different from the *sycomore*, which is a kind of fig), is the mulberry of Europe, very common in Palestine. The word translated 'mulberry' in 2 Sa $5^{23.24}$ 1 Ch $14^{14.15}$ probably means *balsam-tree.* The rustling of its leaves answers the description given in these passages. The same word occurs in Ps 84^{6}, and is there regarded (A. V.) as a proper name (*Baca*), but most of the versions (as R. V.) translate it 'weeping.' Valley of Baca = 'vale of tears.'

Mustard (σίναπι), is either a species of the plant known in England under this name, which has one of the smallest seeds, and is itself among the tallest of herbaceous plants, or the *Salvadora Persica*, a shrub or tree, whose seeds are used for the same purpose as mustard (Royle, Irby).

Myrrh is the representative of two words in Hebrew, of which the

first (*Môr*, *σμύρνα*) is properly translated, Ex 30^{23} Ps 45^{8} &c. Jn 19^{39}. It is a gum exuded by the *Balsamodendron myrrha*, and other plants. It is highly aromatic and medicinal, and moderately stimulating. The Greeks used it to drug their wine. The shrub is found in Arabia and Africa.

Bĕdolach, Gen 2^{12} Num 11^{7}, is probably a gum, still known as *bdellium*. The gum exudes from more than one tree, and is found in both India and Africa.

Lôt is properly labdanum. It is a gum exuded by the cistus, and is now used chiefly in fumigation, Gen 37^{25} 43^{11}. Other similar gums mentioned in Scripture are—

Balm (*Tsŏri*), Gen 37^{25} Jer 8^{22}. It is probably the balm or balsam of Gilead (the Hebrew of which word, however, *Bĕsem*, is generally translated *spice*, or *sweet odours*). This tree is common in Arabia and Africa. The gum is obtained in small quantities, and is highly aromatic and medicinal.

Frankincense (*Lĕbhonah*), is a gum taken from a species of storax, and is highly fragrant. It was employed chiefly for fumigation, and was largely used in the service of the Temple. It was regarded as an emblem of prayer, Lev 2^{1} Ps $145^{1,2}$ Rev $8^{3,4}$.

Spicery (*Nĕkh'oth*), Gen 37^{25} 43^{11}, is a kind of gum, perhaps taken from the tragacanth tree.

Stacte (*Nātāph*), occurs only in Ex 30^{34}, and is another gum, not now certainly known. Celsius thinks it an inferior kind of myrrh.

Myrtle grows wild in Palestine, and reaches the height of twenty feet. Its leaves are dark and glossy, and its white flowers highly aromatic. Its branches were used at the Feast of Tabernacles, Ne 8^{15} Is 41^{17-19}. Heb. *Hădhas*.

Nard, Mk 14^{3}. Heb. *Nērd*, Gk. *νάρδος*, translated *spikenard*, the Indian plant *Nardostachys jatamansi*, yielding a delicious and costly perfume. The root and the leaves that grow out of it have the appearance of spikes, hence the name (*stachys* = spike). Ct 1^{12} $4^{13,14}$ Mk 14^{3} Jn 12^{3}.

Nut is the translation of two Hebrew words: *Botnim*, Gen 43^{11}, pistachio-nuts, well known in Syria and India, but not in Egypt, and *'Eghoz*, the walnut-tree, Ct 6^{11}, which is called in Pers. and Arab. 'gouz.'

Oak, Gen 35^{8} Is 2^{13} 6^{13} 44^{14} Eze 27^{6} Ho 4^{13} Am 2^{9} Zec 11^{2}. In other passages where the word 'oak' is found, the word ought to be *terebinth*, or turpentine-tree (see *teil*). The oak is not common in Palestine, nor is the English oak (*Quercus robur*) found there. Oaks of Bashan are still of large size; but they are chiefly either the evergreen oak (*Q. ilex*), the prickly-cupped oak (*Q. valonia*), or the Kermes oak. Heb. *'Allon*.

Olive, an evergreen, common from Italy to Cabul. The unripe fruit is preserved in a solution of salt, and is used for dessert; when ripe, it is bruised in mills, and yields an oil of peculiar purity and value. Both the oil and the tree were used in the Feast of Tabernacles. In Judæa it was a symbol of prosperity, Ps 52^{8}, and in all ages it has been an emblem of peace.

The wild olive (Ro $11^{17,24}$) was probably a wild species of the *Olea Europæa*. It was a common mode of grafting in Italy, to insert

a branch of the wild olive on the stock of the cultivated plant (*Columella*). Heb. *Zayith*, Gr. ἐλαία.

Onion, a plant well known in this country and in the East. In hot climates it loses its acrid taste, and is highly agreeable and nutritious, Num 11[5]. Heb. *Bĕtzel*.

Palm, or date-tree, is one of the most valuable eastern trees, Ex 15[27]. It flourished especially in the valley of Jordan (hence Jericho, the City of Palm-trees) and in the deserts of Syria (*Tamar* = Palmyra). It was considered characteristic of Judæa, being first met with there by nations travelling southward from Europe. Heb. *Tāmār*, Gr. *φοινιξ*, whence Phœnicia.

Pomegranate ('grained-apple'), a tree of great value in hot climates. Its fruit is globular, and as large as a good-sized apple. The interior contains a quantity of purple or rosy seeds, with a sweet juice, of a slightly acid taste, 1 Sa 14[2]. The tree is not unlike the common hawthorn, but larger. It is cultivated in North Africa and throughout Asia. Hag 2[19] Dt 8[8] Ct 8[2] Joel 1[12]. Heb. *Rimmon*.

Carved pomegranates were placed on the capitals of the columns of the Temple, Ex 28[33.34].

Poplar, Ho 4[13], is either the white poplar or the storax-tree, Gen 30[37], LXX, and R.V. marg. The latter yields the fragrant resin of frankincense. Either tree answers the description given in Genesis and Hosea. Heb. *Libhneh*.

Reed, a tall, grassy plant, consisting of a long, hollow-jointed stem, with sharp-cutting leaves. The plant grows on the banks of rivers and in moist places, 1 Ki 14[15] Job 40[21] Is 19[6.7] 36[6] Ez 40[5] Mt 11[7], and was used for measuring, fishing, walking, &c.

A small kind was used for writing, 3 Jn 13. This reed is very abundant in the marshes between the Tigris and the Euphrates. Heb. *Qaneh*, Gk. *κάλαμος*.

Rose, Ct 2[1] Is 35[1]. Though the rose was known in Syria, the dog-rose being common on the mountains, and the damask rose taking its name from Damascus, it is not mentioned in Scripture; the word so translated being (as its name implies) a bulbous-rooted plant. It is probably the sweet narcissus, abundant in the plain of Sharon, in fact the characteristic wild flower of the district. Heb. *Chăvatzĕleth*.

Rue, only in Lu 11[42], is the common garden-plant so called. Its leaves emit a strong and bitter odour, and were formerly used medicinally. Gr. *πήγανον*.

Rush, Ex 2[3] Is 9[14] 19[15], translated also 'hook,' Job 41[2] ('rope of rushes,' R. V. marg.), and 'bulrush,' Is 58[5] (A. V.), the Egyptian *papyrus*, Is 18[2] (R. V.), which belongs to the tribe, not of rushes, but of sedges. It grows eight or ten feet high. The stem is triangular, and without leaves, but is adorned with a large, flocculent, bushy top. The plant was used for making boats, sails, mats, and ropes; the stem itself yielding the celebrated paper of Egypt. The plant is found in all parts of the Nile, near Babylon, and in India. Heb. *Gomē*, *Agmôn*.

Saffron, Ct 4[14]. The stigmas and style of the yellow crocus formed this fragrant perfume, which was used to flavour both meat and wine, and as a powerful stimulative medicine. It is very common

throughout Asia, and derives its English name from the Arabic '*zafran*.' Heb. *Karkōm*.

Shittah-tree, the acacia, or Egyptian thorn, Ex 25^5, &c. The stem is straight and thorny, the bark is a greyish-black, the wood very light and durable, and therefore well adapted for a movable structure like the Tabernacle. All this species bear flowers, and are remarkable for their fragrance and beauty. Heb. plur. *Shittim*.

Sycomore, 1 Ki 10^{27} Ps 78^{47}, &c., erroneously translated by the LXX *συκάμινος* (see Mulberry). In its leaves it resembles the mulberry, but is really a fig-tree, bearing a coarse, inferior fruit (*Ficus sycomorus*). It is lofty and shady (Lu 19^4), with wood of no great value (1 Ki 10^{27} 2 Ch 1^{15}). The mummy-cases of Egypt were generally made of it. Heb. *Shiqmah*. This tree must be distinguished from the English sycamore, which is a kind of maple.

Tares (ζιζάνια), Mt 13^{25}, the *Lolium temulentum*, a kind of darnel, or grass, resembling wheat until the seeds appear. It impoverishes the soil, and bears a seed of deleterious properties.

Teil-tree, Is 6^{13}, an old English name for the 'lime-tree,' which is not found in Palestine. The R. V. rightly has 'terebinth' in the above passage. So has R. V. for A. V. 'elm' in Ho 4^{13}, and for 'oak' in Gen 35^4 marg. and in other passages. See Oak. It is also known as the turpentine-tree, from the fragrant substance exuding from its bark. Heb. *Elah*.

Thyine-wood, Rev 18^{12}, was in great demand among the Romans, who called it thya, or citron-wood. It grows only in the neighbourhood of Mount Atlas, in Africa, and yields the 'sandarach' rosin of commerce. It is highly balsamic and odoriferous. Gr. *θύινον*.

Vine, Gen 9^{20}, &c., a well-known tree, and highly esteemed throughout the East. The vine of Eshcol was especially celebrated, Num $13^{23.24}$. The vine was grown on terraces on the hills of Palestine, Is 5^1 Mic 1^6, or elsewhere on the ground, Eze $17^{6.7}$. Sometimes it formed an arbour, 1 Ki 4^{25} Ho 2^{12}, propped up and trained. Often metaphorically used, as in Jn 15. A noble vine = men of generous disposition, Jer 2^{21}. A strange, or wild vine = men ignoble and degenerate, Dt 32^{32}, &c. Heb. *Gēphen* (also *Sorēq*, yielding rich red or purple grapes, Is 5^2 Jer 2^4 Gen 49^{11}, also denoting the valley that produced them, Judg 16^4), Gr. *ἄμπελος*.

Willow, Ps 137^2 Is 44^4, was well known in Judæa, and one species, the weeping willow, is the *Salix Babylonica*. Heb. *'Erebh*. *Tsaphtsāphah*, Ez 17^5, is probably the Egyptian willow (*Salix Ægyptiaca*).

Wormwood, 'root of bitterness,' Dt 29^{17} Rev $8^{10.11}$, an emblem of trouble. There are various species of this tribe (*Artemisia*), of which the English plant (*A. absinthium*) is a specimen. Several kinds are found in Judæa, all exceedingly bitter. The wormwood of commerce consists of the tops of the plants, flowers, and young seeds intermixed. Heb. *La'ănah*, Gr. *ἀψίνθιον*.

III. Minerals of Scripture

1. EARTHS AND OTHER MINERAL SUBSTANCES.

Bitumen, or asphalt, translated *slime*, is an earth-resin, abounding in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea and elsewhere. It was used as cement, Gen 11[3], as it still is in some parts of the East. Pliny states that the Egyptians used it for making the papyrus boats of the Nile water-tight (see Ex 2[3]). Heb. *Chēmar*, Gr. *ἄσφαλτος*.

Brimstone, or sulphur, a mineral found in a natural state; also obtained by art from pyrites and various rock formations. It is found in Palestine in both states, Gen 19[24.25] Ps 11[6] Eze 38[22] Is 30[33] 34[9] Rev 14[10]. Heb. *Gophrîth*, Gr. *θεῖον*.

Clay, an unctuous earth, used in making earthenware, Is 29[16] 45[9] Jer 18[4.6], and, when mixed with sand, for building, Job 4[19]. Heb. *Chomer*, *Tît* (mire), *Mêlet* (mortar).

Earth has three representatives in Hebrew: *'Erets* = *the* earth, habitable and uninhabited; *'Adamah*, properly, red earth, cultivable land, and sometimes the whole earth; *'Aphar*, dry earth, or dust. There are also words for very fine dust (Dt 28[24] Nah 1[3]), and a dust-particle, or atom (Is 40[15]). Clods of earth have three names, Job 7[5] 31[33] Joel 1[17].

Nitre (or carbonate of soda), *Nêther*, a mineral alkali (as *Borîth*, translated soap, is a vegetable alkali), found in a natural state in Egypt, Jer 2[22] (R. V. 'lye') and Pr 25[20] only. Vinegar (any acid) makes it emit a disagreeable odour, and destroys its qualities; hence the last passage.

Salt abounds in Palestine. The Dead Sea is strongly impregnated with it. The Salt-valley of 2 Sa 8[13] 1 Ch 18[12] Ps 60, is a large plain south-west of the Dead Sea. The salt-pits of Zep 2[9] were probably such as are still dug in the borders of the Dead Sea, into which the water runs, and where a thick crust of salt is soon deposited. Often figuratively used, as 'a covenant of salt,' 2 Ch 13[5] Ps 107[34] (because nothing can grow in a soil covered with salt, Jer 17[6] Judg 9[45]) Col 4[6] (apposite, pure discourse) Mt 5[13] Mk 9[50]. Heb. *Melach*, Gr. *ἅλς*.

Sand abounds in Palestine, and is often used as a comparison, to express abundance, extensiveness, weight, &c. Heb. *Chôl*, Gr. *ἄμμος*.

2. STONES AND ROCKS.

Alabaster (from the Arabic, *the whitish* stone) of the moderns, is a variety of gypsum: among the ancients, the word was applied to a kind of onyx, a hard stalagmitic deposit from water impregnated with carbonate of lime, Mt 26[7] Mk 14[3] Lu 7[37]. It was much used for perfumery-boxes (Pliny), as it still is in Egypt. Gr. *ἀλάβαστρον*.

Chalk-stone, Is 27[9], lime-stone, the chief material of the hills of Syria and Palestine. It is hard and whitish; sometimes yellow or grey. Heb. *Gîr*.

Crystal, Eze 1^{22}, literally *ice* (Heb.), Job 28^{17} (*Zĕkhûkhîth*), a transparent, glass-like stone, of the flint family. *Qerach, Gabhîsh,* Job 28^{18} (R. V.). Gr. *κρύσταλλος,* Rev 4^{6} 22^{1}.

Flint, Dt 8^{15} 32^{13} Ps 114^{8} Is 50^{7} Job 28^{9}. The rocks of Sinai, to which in Dt 8 the word is applied, are granite, porphyry, and greenstone, and such rocks are no doubt intended. Heb. *Challamish,* and in Eze 3^{9} *tsûr* (rock).

Lime, Is 33^{12} Am 2^{1}. Heb. *Sîd,* translated plaster, Dt $27^{2.4}$.

Marble is limestone of a close texture. The name in Hebrew means 'whiteness' (generally applied to linen), 1 Ch 29^{2} Est 1^{6} Ct 5^{15}. Heb. *Shēsh.*

Rock. High precipitous rocks, fit for refuge, are called *Sela'*, Judg $15^{8.11}$ 1 Sa 14^{4} Ps 18^{2}, &c. *Tsûr* is the generic name, also very frequent. Gr. *πέτρα,* Mt $7^{24.25}$ Mk 15^{46} 1 Cor 10^{4}, &c.

Stone (Heb. *'Ebhen*), is generic. ('Gravel' is *Chātsāts,* from a root signifying 'to break up.') Gr. *λίθος, πέτρος* Jn 1^{42}.

3. PRECIOUS STONES.

Agate, a semi-transparent, variegated mineral, crystalline in structure, so called from the river Achates in Sicily (Pliny), Ex 28^{19} 39^{22}. Heb. *Shĕbhû.* The word in Is 54^{12} Ez 27^{16} is *Kadkod.* A similar Arabic word means vivid redness, and the stone here meant is probably the oriental ruby; so R. V.

Amethyst, a kind of blue, transparent quartz, sometimes purple or greyish. Heb. *'Achlamah,* from a word signifying *dream*; Gr. *ἀμέθυστος,* from a word for *drunkenness.* (The Hebrews supposed the amethyst to have the power of procuring dreams, the Greeks of preventing intoxication.) Ex 28^{19} 39^{12}.

Beryl. Heb. *Tarshish,* Gr. *βήρυλλος.* Tarshish stone, or *chrysolith,* properly a gem of yellow *gold* lustre, sometimes verging to yellow green, Ex 28^{20} 39^{13} Ct 5^{14} Eze 1^{16} &c. Rev 21^{20}. See Onyx.

Carbuncle (Heb. *Bareqath* or *Baréqeth,* flashing as lightning); the word so translated is rather the oriental emerald (*σμάραγδος*), a beautiful green, of different shades, Ex 28^{17} Eze 28^{13}, so LXX Jos.

In Is 54^{12} the literal meaning is 'sparkling stone.' 'Carbuncle' is derived, etymologically, from carbo, a glowing coal. See Emerald.

Diamond (1) Heb. *Yahălom.* A *hard* gem (literally 'hammered'). Possibly the onyx, a kind of chalcedony, of various tints. When red, called sardonyx (see Sardius); reddish grey, chalcedonyx; tawny, memphitonyx. The onyx was semi-transparent (like the human *nail,* hence its name), and was much used for cameos and seals, Ex 28^{18} Eze 28^{13}.

(2) Heb. *Shamîr,* Jer 17^{1} (also Eze 3^{9} Zec 7^{12}, translated *adamant*), and probably means *emery,* an aluminous mineral, very hard, used for polishing glass.

The diamond was unknown to the Jews.

Emerald, or rather the carbuncle, under which name several brilliant red stones were included, especially the ruby, garnet, &c., Ex 28^{18} Eze 28^{13}. Heb. *Nophekh.*

Jasper, an opaque gem, of various tints, green, red, and yellow, Ex 28^{20} Eze 28^{13} Rev 4^{3} $21^{11.18.19}$. Heb. *Yāshĕpheh*, Gr. *ἴασπις*.

Ligure (A. V. Ex 28^{9} 39^{12}, a word no longer used), R. V. *hyacinth* or *jacinth*, a transparent gem, orange-yellow-red, found in Ceylon and India, Rev 21^{20} 9^{17}. Heb. *Léshem*, Gr. *ὑάκινθος*.

Onyx, probably the *beryl* or *chrysoprase*, Gen 2^{12} Rev 21^{20} (i. e. a leek-green stone), generally transparent, and of a pale green colour, Ex 25^{7} Eze 28^{13}. Heb. *Shoham*.

Sapphire, a transparent gem, generally sky-blue, and very hard; hence the floor of the throne of God in heaven is compared to it, Ex 24^{10} Eze 1^{26} Rev 21^{19}. Heb. *Sappîr*. The sapphire of the Greeks (*σάπφειρος*) was our *lapis lazuli*; the same colour as the Scripture sapphire, but much softer.

Sardius (Heb. *'Odem, red* stone), properly carnelian (*à carne*), a flesh-coloured gem, of the chalcedony family. It was found largely at *Sardis*, in Lydia, Ex 28^{17} Eze 28^{13} Rev 4^{3} 21^{20}.

Topaz, a yellow gem, with red, grey, or green tinge, found in South Arabia. Hence the topaz of Cush; an island in the Red Sea being called Topaz island (Pliny). Job 28^{19} Ex 28^{17} Eze 28^{13} Rev 21^{20}. Heb. *Pitdah*.

The descriptions in Revelation, it will be noticed, are closely connected with those in Exodus and in Ezekiel.

4. METALS.

Amber, Eze $1^{4.27}$ 8^{2}, properly, a metal composed of copper and gold. Heb. *Chashmal*. Electron, which is used by the LXX to translate it, meant also amber. The corresponding Greek word (*χαλκολίβανον*) is found in Rev 1^{15}, 'burnished brass.'

Antimony, or stibium, does not directly occur in the Bible; but its use is implied in the words translated *paint* (viz. the eyes), literally, with antimony, 2 Ki 9^{30} Jer 4^{30} Eze 23^{40}. The verb is *kachal*, to colour with *al-kohol*, a fine black powder made from the metal. See Is 54^{11} (R. V. marg.).

Brass. This compound metal—copper and zinc—was unknown in Scripture times. Where we read brass, we are generally to understand either *copper* or a mixture of copper and tin (nine parts of the former to one of the latter), i. e. *bronze*. The word 'brazen' is used in the same sense. This mixed metal was susceptible of a high polish, and was used for mirrors, Ex 38^{8} Job 37^{18} Is 3^{23}, where looking-*glasses* is out of place: see R. V. 'Steel' (Jos 20^{24} 2 Sa 22^{35} Ps 18^{34} Jer 15^{12}) should be 'brass,' as R. V., with the same meaning. Heb. *Nĕchosheth*, Gr. *χαλκός*.

Gold (Heb. *Sĕgor, Kéthem*, what is *concealed, treasure*; *Charûts*, what is *lustrous*; *Pāz, pure* gold; and *Zāhābh*, gold itself, its mineral name), Gr. *χρυσός*. In Job 22^{24} 'gold' (A. V.), 'treasure' R. V., *Bétzer*, is literally *ore*, 'something broken off.' The Jews obtained their gold chiefly from Sheba and Ophir, both in Arabia, 1 Ki 9^{28} Ps 45^{9}. At present, no gold is found there, but ancient writers affirm that it was formerly found in considerable quantities. 'Uphaz,' probably = Ophir, Dn 10^{5}, and 'Parvaim,' 2 Ch 3^{6}, may mean 'eastern regions' (Ges.). Beaten, or perhaps alloyed (Ges.) gold

is mentioned, 1 Ki $10^{16.17}$. Gold and silver were sometimes purified by fire, Pr 17^{3}, lead, antimony, salt, tin, and bran being used in the process. Golden ornaments were early used; and beaten gold was used for overlaying parts of the Temple structure, furniture, and decorations. The first mention of gold money is in David's age, 1 Ch 21^{25}, *weight*, not *coinage* : see § 213.

Iron was largely found in Syria, even in the earliest times, Dt 8^{9}. Instruments and tools were made of it, Num 35^{16} Dt 27^{5}. *Steel* is called in Jer 15^{12} 'northern iron.' The tribe celebrated in ancient times for making it were called Chalybes, and resided near the Black Sea. Another name for steel (*Pĕlādah*, from the Arabic) is translated 'torches,' Nah 2^{4}, more probably iron scythes. Heb. *Barzel*.

Lead is first mentioned Ex 15^{10}. Before quicksilver was known it was used to purify silver. Hence several expressions, Jer 6^{29} Eze 22^{18}. Heb. *'Opheréth*. In Am 7^{7} a weight of lead, or plummet, is mentioned. The word is the Arabic for lead (Heb. *'Anakh*).

Silver, Heb. *Késeph*, literally, as in Greek (*ἀργύριον*), white metal, is found native, and combined with sulphur and acids. It often lies in veins, Job 28^{1}, and was purified by lead and heat (see Lead). Lead and silver combined is called silver dross; the separated silver, purified silver, Ps 12^{6}. It was brought (among other places) from Spain, Eze 27^{12} Jer 10^{9}. In very early times we find it in use, Gen $23^{15.16}$. Many utensils were made of it, Gen 44^{2} Ex 12^{35} Num 7^{13} 10^{2}. The earliest mention of it as money is in Gen 20^{16}, *weight*, not *coinage*, § 213 : see also Gen 23^{16} Jer 32^{9}.

Tin is first mentioned Num 31^{22}. Later, the Tyrians imported it from Tarshish, Eze 27^{12} : a levelling instrument of tin is mentioned, Zec 4^{10}. This word is also used for the refuse of lead and silver (see Lead) in Is 1^{25}. Heb. *Bĕdil*.

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